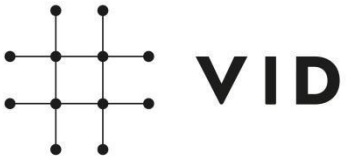

Values, attitudes, and visions unfolded:

A qualitative study on first and second-generation Muslim migrants in Norway

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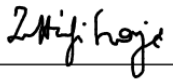
Name: 

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Acknowledgment

I dedicate this thesis to every person on this planet who has even been on the move. The academic field of migration is being investigated under scrutiny, yet the human aspect of it is often objectified and overlooked. The following study makes a faint attempt to illuminate those who partake in such a journey and decided to entrust me with their stories and the responsibility to tell those in a veritable manner. Without the kind cooperation and willingness of the informants to be part of my project, this thesis would have never been realized.

Emphasizing the academic nature of my work, I would like to express my appreciation to my teachers, Frédérique Brossard Børhaug, Frieder Ludwig, and Norma Wong for their inspiring personality and expertise. In addition, I am thankful for all the VID Specialized University staff and my dear classmates for the infinite help they provided me along this stimulating and transformative journey.

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Last but not least, I am greatly indebted to my family members and loved ones who have always encouraged me to stay curious, to acknowledge my strengths and to keep my attentive eyes on the sensitive social issues in the world that need to be advocated. I hope that I could be of service to people and amplify the voices of those in need.

Abbreviations

CHM	Center for Holocaust and Minority Studies
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KIA	Kristent Interkulturelt Arbeid (Christian Intercultural Work)
MIPEX	Migrant Integration Policy Index
NSD	Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (Norwegian Social Science data services)
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SSB	Statistisk sentralbyrå (Statistics Norway)
STL	Samarbeidsrådet for tros- og livssynssamfunn (Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities)
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The argument about Islam and Muslims is getting wide publicity globally in the last two decades. The immigration to Norway started in the sixties mainly with labour migration. Research shows that since the late 1960s, more and more Muslim immigrants have been arriving to Norway. In the first two decades, these people predominantly entered the labor market, mostly from Pakistan, Turkey and Morocco (Hoffmann & Moe, 2020, p. 15).

Since the mid-1970s, the Muslim population has risen remarkably and many contemporary researchers have drawn attention to this phenomenon (Leirvik, 2005; Jacobsen, 2011; Døving et al., 2012; Eriksen, 2013; Leirvik, 2014; Hoffmann & Moe, 2017; Hoffmann & Moe, 2020). More and more publications appear within the Scandinavian scientific field about intercultural education, social cohesion and governance of diversity (Eriksen, 2013; Liebmann, 2019; Osler & Lybæk, 2014, Hoffmann & Moe, 2020).

In the following, I would like to address certain topics which are essential when one attempts to investigate further about the discussion of people from Muslim cultural-religious backgrounds and to find their place within the Norwegian context. On a personal note, growing up in Hungary right after the regime change in the nineties, after decades of decline in religious practice and the former prevalent well-known communist cultural policy (TTT[1]) within the country's borders, open religious practice was in a relatively dormant condition. Even though I was born into a non-religious family and raised in a secular environment, from an early age I was presented with a multicolored religious map by my parents. Wandering through this cultural maze, I was able to get acquainted with the various streams of Christianity in Hungary, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism, as well as certain nationalities who have historically lived within the country. Due to Hungary's strong religious homogenization and xenophobic tendencies as a result of historical conquests and repression as well as the growing spread of globalization (mass media), it was around 2001 when I really got conscious about the "European Muslim presence" after the terrorist attack in the

[1] Tiltott, Tűrt, Támogatott – Popular communist "cultural policy", became widespread in Hungary, after the Second World War, which limited the existence, distribution and publication of intellectual, cultural, spiritual products and communities based on the system's direct political control. Literal translation: Forbidden, Tolerated, Supported. Source: Wikipedia https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/TTT (Retrieved: 2021-03-09)

United States (9/11) took place. There have been more influences ostensibly since then and my interest strengthened and deepened.

Since I have always been drawn to the topics of religion, culture and human value systems, when the opportunity arose, I threw myself into the fields of exploration. Upon my arrival to Norway, the country's society seemed greatly multicultural and I was honestly fascinated to see so many different people living here. Thanks to fellow researchers, there are plenty of accessible studies (Døving et al., 2012; Bøe & Flaskerud, 2017) which focus on specific groups of Muslim immigrants in Norway, yet the classification is usually made with regard to their national/ethnic identity. That is to say that immigrant groups are being analysed primarily based on their respective national background (i.e. Somali-, Syrian-, Pakistani migrant community, etc.), meanwhile they could easily be judged on the basis of their cultural-religious affiliation. In other words, considering the cross-border and cross-societal nature of the perception of Muslims, I believe it may be interesting to look at how these concepts are seen and perceived by immigrants who set foot in Norway from all over the globe. A rather interesting concept brought up by several authors (Jacobsen, 2011; Weatherhead & Daiches, 2015), argued that all Muslims deemed to be part of the one community (Ummah Wahida, referenced from the Qur'an), as "a religious rationale" in spite of their national belonging (Weatherhead & Daiches, 2015, pp. 2399-2401). This notion gave me the determination not to focus on specific ethnic groups, but to grasp their cultural-religious affiliation and comprehend the diversity of Muslims.

Friberg and Sterri (2021) stated that in the last half century, mass numbers of immigrants with distinct religious backgrounds and piety were granted admission to Western European countries (traditionally Christian societies). In Europe, this cultural minority group is diverse, visible and divisive. We shall see that despite the participants' similar cultural-religious background, they hold distinct narratives. Just as Eriksen noted (2013) the Norwegian government attempts to foster equality, I also believe that providing an opportunity to represent a significant group of the diverse Norwegian society with fair conditions and careful portrayal is paramount. One of the aims of my research is to raise the voice of these "new Norwegians" (Eriksen, 2013, p. 6), precisely because I would like to investigate certain areas (cultural-religious practices, attitudes to the host country, community belonging and integration) through their eyes. To supplement the informants' subjective experiences and perceptions, by communicating some guidelines and Norwegian policies of integration and cultural initiatives, my attempt will be to compare the integration practice of the Norwegian society on paper as well as through the experiences of Muslim informants. With the help of my research, I would like to unfold how and to what extent

Muslim immigrants foster human dignity to develop a more diverse and tolerant Norwegian society.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

In the first chapter, I will begin with outlining the framework of the study and my personal objectives. After presenting the main objectives, I will introduce the defition of migration, share the terminology that I will use to denote the study group in the longitudinal section of a study (Muslim) and bring in the Islamophobia phenomenon. Ultimately, I will reflect on the concept of social belonging and a few integrative and inclusive practices and policies on migration, education and prejudice reduction within the Norwegian context. The second chapter mainly focuses on methodological issues and everything related to the conduct of the research. In the third chapter, as part of the relevant theoretical literature review, different dimensions of migration will be described, I will also elaborate particularly on the cultural aspects of Islam, Muslims in Europe, and the rise of Islamophobia. Furthermore, I will provide insights into the Norwegian context in terms of the country's culture, immigration policy and briefly touch on the integration process. From there, the study will concentrate on the coding process and key areas of the thematic analysis methodology, reinforced by and reflected on relevant theories if necessary, so the fourth chapter will be committed to the research analysis. I will conclude by discussing the main research findings and comprising the evaluation of the thesis' major targets and objectives in the fifth chapter.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

According to Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project[2], the religiosity indicator numbers significantly altered in the past ten years. Based on the data of the Statistics Norway 2020, 69 percent (3 686 715) of the total population identify with and list themselves as members of the Church of Norway[3]. In addition to this number, there are 372 651 more who identify themselves with Christianity (mostly Polish immigrants, some Africans with Pentecostal belonging and a number of others with Norwegian and mixed background who belong to one of the smaller Christian communities)[4]. That is to say, according to Statistics Norway's numbers from 2020 alone in Norway there were more than 4 million (4 059 366) people from the Christian faith. That is an

[2] Source: http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/regions/europe/religious_demography#/?affiliations_religion_id=0&affiliations_year=2020 (2021-05-30)
[3] Source: https://www.ssb.no/en/kultur-og-fritid/statistikker/kirke_kostra (2021-05-30)
[4] Source: https://www.ssb.no/en/kultur-og-fritid/statistikker/trosamf (2021-05-30)

immense number of faith believers in a country of little more than 5 million (5 367 580)[5]. However, I would like to note that the statistics show ratios but do not always depict real life accurately. Consequently, Statistics Norway (hereinafter SSB) displays figures of the religious affiliation, but perhaps factual practitioners are fewer. Last year in Norway, people from Islamic background counted more than 182 826[6] according to the data of Statistics Norway. However, realistically these numbers and their proportion within the society are even higher, because SSB considers only registered members in the Islamic mosques. Therefore, the approximate number of people from Muslim cultural background is around 350 000 in Norway. Why are these numbers important? Muslims make up about 4 percent of the total population, therefore "Islam is the biggest minority religion in Norway" (Hoffmann & Moe, 2020, p. 257).

Several scholars argued that as much as religion, religious affiliation can bring people together, it could easily erect walls between different religious denominations (Allport, 1954, 1979; Clarke, 2009; Smith et al., 2013). Khyati Joshi (2016) quoted: "Immigrants' religious identities can be barriers to integration in European countries when the group is religiously different from the official or unofficial state-sanctioned religion." (p. 126)

According to the Population Survey and Minority Study of Center For Studies of The Holocaust and Religious Minorities (hereinafter CHM), researchers found great ignorance with regard to Muslims, mainly resulted by the society's inadequacy of knowledge and lack of contact (2017, p. 71). They also verified the presence of prevalent negative stereotypes toward Muslim minority members in the Norwegian population, vague and general stereotypes are sadly predominant when it comes to evaluating Muslims (Hoffmann & Moe, 2017). Many scholars argued that the explicit communication in the fight against terrorism made certain divisions between social categories more discernible (Carling et al., 2014; Snyder et al., 2016; Inglehart, 2021). People tend to know so little about Muslim societies' cultural setting and its religion so that the very idea of mingling with an '*innvandrer*'[7], equipped with potentially radical ideas seems rather terrifying. Osler and Lybaek (2014) also reaffirm that alongside the secularisation of society "visible minorities remain vulnerable to Islamophobic discourses, hate speech, and the threat of extremist violence." (2014, p. 548) Indeed, on a global scale, there is a growing sense of prejudice, hostility (*'fiendtlighet'*) and skepticism towards Muslims. Eriksen (2013) noted that even though Muslim people make up less than a third of the total number of immigrants in Norway, they are prone to receive overly heated arguments both from the political and social sphere. Impartial discussion is

[5] Source: https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/folkemengde/aar-per-1-januar (2021-05-30)
[6] Source: https://www.ssb.no/en/kultur-og-fritid/statistikker/trosamf (2021-02-06)
[7] immigrant in Norwegian – the author.

essential to provide adequate support to those discriminated against and also to preserve democratic ideals (Osler & Lybaek, 2014).

1.4 Objectives of the Study

Eriksen (2013) found that discourses about integration, national identity, immigration policies and multiculturalism in Norway have significantly gained interest in the last period. Norway is often referred as *flerkulturelle samfunn*[8], in other words, a multicultural society. As such, the members of this society come from various cultural backgrounds.

I intend to realise a small-scale research reflecting on this diverse immigrant study population tied together by one common characteristic, namely Muslim cultural-religious background. It is important to consider that this affiliation could be distinguished differently, on the basis of their cultural belonging, based on membership affiliation or even on personal choice (Leirvik, 2014). Instead of focusing on one distinct ethnic minority group in Norway, I chose to collect a small-scale but diversified sample of Muslims.

My main aim is rather to unfold what kind of driving forces are present in the lives of these selected individuals. I wish to answer whether or not these Muslim migrants are to be considered agents who foster diversity within the Norwegian society? My research seeks to capture commonalities and contrasting elements within a small-scale sample of the Nordic Muslim community in the second year of the global pandemic.

Through their testimonies the comprehension of how they perceive the culture of their country of origin as well as the host country and what kind of obstacles they face in their integration journey will be discussed. This master thesis will focus predominantly on culture, values and attitudes of observed Muslims' in relation to their integration in Norway and how they represent social diversity and human values within the host country.

I hope that my work can bring new aspects to the discussion table about Muslim communities and that it will be worthy to contribute to the field of diversity, integration and interfaith relations.

All the United Nations state members approved The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development[9] in 2015 which set out several global objectives to pursue. The Agenda "seeks to strengthen universal peace", determined to bring equality and dignity to all peoples and foster inclusive, non-violent societies (UN, 2015, N.A.), even more so with the current world pandemic situation.

[8] Source: Thomas Hylland, Eriksen. Flerkulturelle samfunn. (2018). In *Store Norske Leksikon*. https://snl.no/flerkulturelle_samfunn
[9] Source: UN Sustainable Development Goals. https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda (2021-03-08)

According to the UN Economic and Social Council's (ECOSOC) recent report from the Secretary-General (2020)[10], migrants are the most vulnerable group affected disproportionately by the current pandemic. Regulating and reducing the exacerbated inequalities and providing the much-needed legal framework to all people affected is of key importance so that the rule of law can act fairly and humanely with regard to migration processes. Since my research revolves around the migratory experiences of Muslim immigrants in Norway, I would like to introduce certain fields of study such as inequality, discrimination and Islamophobia, and analyse the informants' observation on these matters. My research focuses on immigrants, predominantly on labour migration and immigration for educational purposes, secondly on people who arrived in Norway to seek asylum, wishing to get a refugee status. Through my investigation and analysis, I would like to open up how the informants I talked to view topics like integration, stereotypes, freedom of human rights, social cooperation, all of which are essential to developing inclusive societies.

Mårtensson and Vongraven (2014) recapitulate the aspect and importance of human rights in the course of interfaith dialogue, emphasizing its potential to balance differences resulting from inequalities in power-relations. I would like to accentuate the impressions and witness statements of Muslim immigrants in order to address prevailing stereotypes, reduce prejudices and provide a vision to achieve a forward-thinking, peaceful cohabitation. My research seeks to reveal how, if so, Muslim migrant cultural-religious experiences and intercultural awareness are related. I would like to note down recommendations by scholars promoting multiculturalism, culturally relevant teaching and cross-cultural sensitivity and how these could keep the diverse Norwegian society conflict-free.

After justifying the selection criteria of the researched target group (Muslim classification based on cultural background), I present the main objectives and the basic theoretical structure of my research. I would like to put forward that my research is not applicable to comparing the life narratives or the Muslim migrants, because of certain discrepancies resulting from their diverse backgrounds, the varied length of time spent in migration as well as distinct migration strategies.

1.5 Questions of the Study

The main question that I attempt to answer through my study is:

[10] Source: UN Economic and Social Council 2020 E/2020/57. https://undocs.org/en/E/2020/57 (2021-03-08)

How could these Muslim migrants themselves be considered agents of inclusion who foster diversity as opposed to the mainstream notion of considering “them” the guardians of traditional Islamic culture?

The research questions are as follows:

Q1. What is their main reason for migration?

Q2. What characteristics are outlined and attributed to Muslim culture by the informants?

Q3. What perception do the informants have of Norway?

Q4. What are the key components identified on the immigrants’ integration journey?

As I remarked above, in the theoretical overview, I will address the topics of migration, Muslim culture, values and integration within Norway. In order to place my research in context, I use relevant books and international reports in the field of migration. I would also like to focus on aspects of Muslim culture as well as Norwegian values, characteristics. Additionally, I will include some concepts on discrimination, stereotypes, anti-Muslim sentiments and Islamophobia. Lastly, the field of integration, topics such as inclusive education, interculturalism, human rights and freedom of speech will be covered by transnational reports and references, Norwegian policy directives, supplemented by intercultural education experts.

1.5.1 Migration

I would like to emphasize how broad and multidisciplinary the study of migration is: there are always push-and-pull factors at play. As Eppsteiner and Hagan (2016) concluded, the majority of the migrants mention a couple of factors, such as war, internal armed conflict, migration caused by climate change, unsatisfactory work opportunities, ethnic cleansing or religious persecution. Since my research will not focus on one nationality or ethnic group, I predict that the sample through the informants’ personal statements will therefore present a variety of reasons.

1.5.2 Muslim Cultural-Religious Background

The effect of religion on migrant identity was revealed by Eppsteiner and Hagan (2016) and they claimed the global presence of religion is often carried along in the course of migration. According to the authors, it may provide them with guidance, endurance, protection, mindfulness, psychological coping along their journey and resilience during integration (Eppsteiner & Hagan, 2016). I would like to emphasize that even though my target group (Muslims in Norway) certainly

has shared characteristics, they belong to different ethnic groups, various religious backgrounds and piety (Hoffmann & Moe, 2020). Therefore, when analyzing the data from the qualitative perspective, I will aspire to present the multifaceted nature of this matter. Most likely I will find mutual and distinct interpretations on how the informants view their own cultural tradition. I am also very much interested in how the "second generation" migrants[11] (Døving et al., 2012) approach the Muslim tradition differently from first generation counterparties and what embodies the informants' own cultural-religious tradition.

1.5.3 Culture in Norway

The Norwegian's Government Action Plan against Racism and Discrimination on the Grounds of Ethnicity and Religion stated that "Norway is a society of small differences, with trust between people and a high degree of security." (2020, p. 4) The report (Meld. St. 8. [2018–2019], p. 7) The Power of Culture – Cultural Policy for the Future[12] noted as a declaration to build society, freedom of speech and tolerance should be foundational ideas when it comes to culture and cultural policy. Since my research is not focused on statements from members of the majority society, my attempt will be to comprehend the Norwegian creed expressed on the basis of official guidelines, state declarations, case studies, and reports realized in Norway. Eriksen (2013) argues that "Contemporary Norway is divided when it comes to questions of cultural diversity and immigration." (p. 13) However, one may be enriched by new inspirations and cultural interchange during immigration (Meld. St. 8. [2018–2019], p. 8).

1.5.4 Diversity, Integration, Inclusion

Eriksen (2013) underlines that fair and just treatment in society is key in order to improve all members' sense of belonging. He urges to leave behind cultural assimilation on behalf of social integration and he proposes a notion of cohesive society based on fundamental values, instead of ethnic homogeneity. Due to accelerating globalization, it is no longer sufficient if individuals familiarize themselves with their respective national identities. Banks (2008) argues that members of certain groups (ethnic, religious, etc.) tend not to identify with their respective nation-states, "because they do not see their hopes, dreams, visions, and possibilities reflected in the nation-state [..]" (Banks, 2008, p. 133). Like Eriksen (2013), Banks (2008) promotes an equitable solution between unity and diversity.

[11] hyphenated in the original – the author
[12] Meld. St. 8. [2018–2019]. *The Power of Culture – Cultural Policy for the Future.* Report to the Storting (white paper) Summary. Ministry of Culture. https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/meld.-st.-8-20182019/id2620206/?ch=1 (Retrieved: 2021-03-28)

Chapter 2.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Data collection methods and tools

The following chapter is dedicated entirely to the research methodology. First, I will introduce the necessary steps and preparation of the data collection. Then, a small section will address the mode of research (thematic analysis with storytelling) along relevant methodological literature, the interview questionnaire, the researcher's position and the most important factors about the informants included.

Once I committed myself to using qualitative analysis, I started to work on building up the application to submit it to the Norwegian Social Science data services[13] (hereinafter NSD) timely.

In the beginning, I wished to get access to a diverse, heterogenous Muslim community so I reached out to several local organisations. Little did I know in advance about the arduous nature of my objectives, so the idea of binding through online faith groups and promoting my research through such sources seemed feasible. As a result of the cumbersome and unsuccessful targeting process, I accepted that in the absence of cooperation from respective Muslim communities, I would focus on a modified way of recruitment, therefore from the second phase of my research, while broadening the informant's target pool, I mainly relied on gatekeepers and their social network. The possible consequences of this alteration will be illustrated later in the course of the analysis.

Due to sensitive information and the possibility of touching on topics such as ethnic and cultural-religious background in my research, I greatly benefited from the legal and ethical reference NSD has provided me with. Even more so since contemporary researchers (Døving et al., 2012) investigating Pakistani Muslims in Norway – encountered moderate obstacles due to the high sensitivity of the interviewees to privacy-issues when referring to fellow acquaintances. Due to current GDPR policy guidelines as well as the aforementioned research (Døving et al., 2012) with former experiences with regard to privacy issues, I ruminated then discarded the use of multiple snowballing approach.

[13] Source: Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste https://www.nsd.no/ (2021-02-04)

Moreover, based on the conclusions of a similar study (Døving et al., 2012) on the integration strategy of Pakistani migrants, I was quite certain that I would find myself facing similar obstacles during the sample selection process. As my main interest is aimed at the informants' life cycles through migration in order to dismantle particles of each participant's Muslim cultural-religious background, and to collect the values and visions corresponding to diversity in their integration journey, I would rather investigate individual instruments and drives. Waardenburg (2000; cited in Leirvik, 2014) indicated that religious identities have transformed and are now greatly individualized and multiplied in post-modern societies.

2.1.1 Interview

Although I truly enjoy diving deep into the realms of text studies, I cannot get rid of the analytic social scientist within me who is committed to conducting field research. In fact, qualitative methodology is a better fit when someone intends to disclose delicate topics, such as religious affiliation, ethnic groups, distressing events of any sort, etc. (Tracy, 2010; Silverman, 2011).

When it comes to methodology, I was taught that representativeness of the sample is key when carrying out quantitative research (Silverman, 2011). When someone intends to carry out a quantitative research to orient within certain attitudes and values, they build on surveys with interval scales, demographic elements, standardised variables and statements, but everything on the questionnaires must be quantifiable so the results could be measured. Conducting qualitative interviews is an entirely different challenge. According to Silverman, "[..] a number of practices which originate from quantitative studies may be inappropriate to qualitative research." (2011, p. 81). He claimed that its forte lies in its potential to interpret certain practices', contrasting to nature of the quantitative research, it focuses on understanding the phenomena, not only the what but also the how (Silverman, 2011). Willig and Stainton-Rogers (2008) also reassured that certain qualitative methods as thematic analysis focus on "the content of the talk (that is, what people say)" (p. 62).

Having taken a glimpse of my main research questions, my study seeks to find perceptions and narratives of individuals of factual phenomena, namely the cultural-religious aspect, the topic of migration and integration, delivered by the informants.

When I began to read relevant methodology literature, I came across a remarkably interesting article about life story research in the field of counselling and psychotherapy from Kim Etherington (2009). Although the Bristol-based Professor Emerita approached from the narrative

interview methodology, I found a few points of reference between what she explained and what I was aiming to realize. Since my research focused on certain areas, I had to discard the idea of conducting narrative interviews, yet I decided to consider and refer to some basic principles of the technique. As Etherington (2009) puts it,

> [..] a story helps the teller (and the listener) to organise information about the storyteller's personal and social lives; how they have interpreted past events; the values, beliefs and experiences that guide those interpretations; and their hopes, intentions and plans for the future. (2009, p. 225)

Even though I was willing to compromise on some of the freedom of the narrative interview technique, my aim was to get a better understanding of the participants' personal perspectives, main values and beliefs.

At last, semi-structured interviews were carried out, with the guiding questions breaking down the dialogue into thematic blocks, meanwhile intervention was avoided, certain narrative elements and the informants' narrative direction in each discussion were upheld with great respect. "The researcher develops a set of questions which are used to guide, not dictate, the course of the interview and if participants open up novel and interesting areas of inquiry these are pursued." (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008, p. 188)

Let me disclose Willig and Stainton-Rogers' (2008, pp. 41-42) chart which included and identified the three 'E's', distinguished between variant data collection methods. Based on the authors' chart, my methodology combined experiencing (story-telling) and enquiring (semi-structured interview) tools. Thanks to the intermediary role, my intention is to amplify and bring about more inclusive attitudes as well as pointing out and tackling the needs of the main target group, immigrant Muslims.

2.1.2 Interview Guide

A detailed interview guide was developed, focusing on a few thematic blocks as a direction of action. I used a semi-structured interview methodology during each dialogue, where open-ended questions were raised. The informants gave permission for recording the interviews, each of them approved and signed a declaration of consent document prior to the interview. Although I aspired to achieve a dialogue completion, some individuals could easily answer most of these questions and others find certain topics more difficult to cover.

2.1.3 Personal Observation and Participation

As someone who lives in a transnational family and finds fundamental joy in the topic of intercultural affairs, I am really interested in different cultural belongings and backgrounds. It is quite hard to research religion in Hungary due to the legacies of communism and half a century of societal structural change. When I arrived in Norway, I was captivated by the religious plurality that I experienced. As I disclosed earlier, in Eriksen's (2013) study on immigration and national identity in Norway, the author highlighted that a society that was once as homogenous as the Norwegian, it is inevitable to sustain heterogeneity and enhance social cohesion. The scholar proposed certain measures in order to foster diversity and strengthen unity (Eriksen, 2013). Despite the fact that I grew up in a non-religious family, I was rather captivated by certain spiritual practices and concomitant affiliations. Keeping in mind that Norway is rather diverse in terms of cultural-religious minorities, I wish to realize an investigative analysis focusing on the perspectives of members of Muslim minority with regards to migration-related experience, culture, as well as integration into the Norwegian society.

2.2 Respondents Sample Size

Regardless of whether I wanted to realize a bigger and more diverse sample collection, several factors hindered my progress from early on. Since I decided to accomplish my research in English instead of Norwegian, I needed to take into account that English as lingua franca[14], the language of interaction would be neither the researcher's, nor the informants' mother tongue. Consequently, I reached out to members of the immigrant population with a good level of English knowledge. This particularly imposed limits on the available target pool of informants.

Of course, getting a native Norwegian speaker in Norway (perhaps a translator-mediator from the relevant given cultures) would not have been a difficult challenge to meet, however, considering the extra administrative duties, additional organisation of the briefing prior to the interview, lack of material conditions for financial compensation, not to mention the sensitive nature of the research topic, I decided to pursue the data collection individually.

After due consideration, given the topic of migration, I assumed that my potential informants might have been exposed to such interaction previously. In the light of formal and content requirements of the thesis research and the magnitude of the qualitative sampling considered, I

[14] Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Lingua franca. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. Retrieved February 3, 2021, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/lingua%20franca

have a rather firm conviction the participants sample size will prove satisfactory. I will summarize my concluding remarks on this matter in the Limitations section.

2.3 The Respondents Biographical and Demographic Data

2.3.1 Short Biography of the informants

Muhammad (I1, Arab Peninsula)

Very friendly and youthful bachelor male in his thirties with a university degree in formal sciences. At the time of the interview he was unemployed, further educating and upskilling himself to broaden his chances in finding a relevant job. I found him very knowledgeable in the realm of Islamic teachings, he was also very curious about humanism, different value systems and religious beliefs.

Rashid (I2, Tanzania)

Well-educated, private man between 25-30, qualified in applied social sciences. At the time of the interview, he was working full-time apart from being a full-time dad. He testified to a high level of critical thinking, tolerance and dedication. He came off as someone who is well-read, familiar with several religions and relevant customs and independently builds up his own belief systems by incorporating selected divine principles.

Farid (I3, Iran)

Outgoing, approachable young man in his late twenties, trained and graduated at a vocational school in his country of origin. Alongside his part-time employment, he works as a freelance creative artist. He did not identify as a religious person, does not belong to any religious community. He was rather drawn to the idea of global citizenship, global consciousness and emphasized the power of mutual respect.

Rezma (I4, Pakistan)

Very kind and sentimental woman in her late thirties, bicultural daughter of immigrant parents from South Asia with intercultural competence, holding a university degree in humanities. At the time of the interview, she was working full-time with the articulated goal of finding a permanent job. Unmarried, in an ambiguous relationship towards her cultural heritage and the regulations of Islam.

Saada (I5, Turkey)

Very optimistic and outspoken, energetic second-generation mother of Turkish-origin in her thirties, qualified in humanities. She considers herself a non-believer coming from a Muslim tradition. She is an advocate for inclusion, intercultural understanding, she also pointed out her bicultural minority belonging.

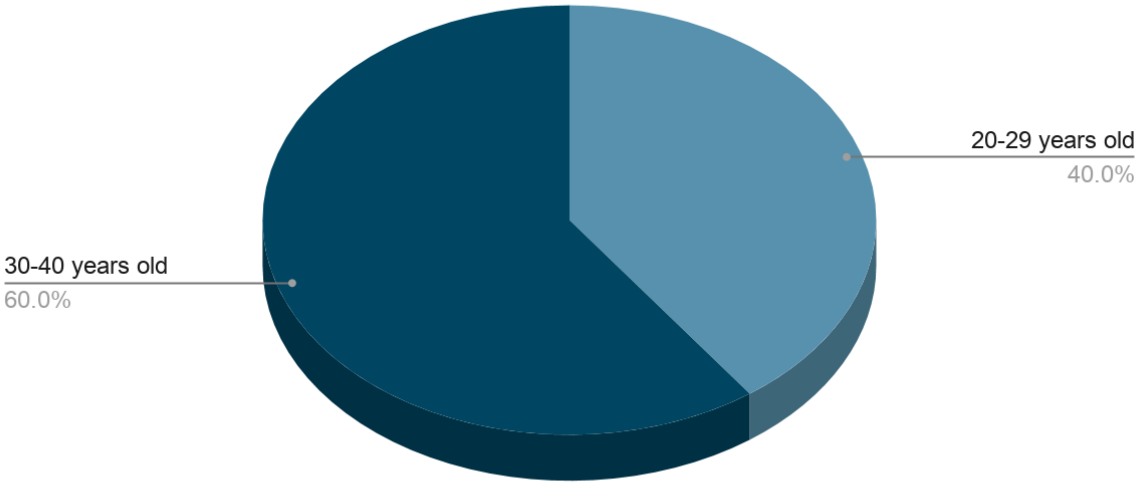
2.3.2 Age

All of my informants are people who have legal capacity, are above 18 years old. This choice has mainly practical reasons. In order to interview under-age people, the researcher has to have the consent of the children's parents, legal guardians or caretakers.

Moreover, the identity construction and personality development is significantly evolving during someone's teenage years, even though the thought of following someone along their personal change is certainly inspiring, yet when done unprofessionally, it could result in a few underlying long-term effects.

Another issue I want to touch on is a methodological matter, precisely linked to age-groups, yet it slightly corresponds to the topic of generations. I came across informants who consider themselves "second generation" migrants (Døving et al., 2012). I would like to use a terminology based on a similar viewpoint and definition from Døving et al. (2012), disclosed earlier. These individuals are not considered migrants legally, as they were born and/or raised in Norway. They hold full citizenship yet they might have some inherited cultural characteristics from their migrant ascendants, therefore I will refer to them as per second-generation migrants.

Respondents' age (N=5, made by author, 2021)

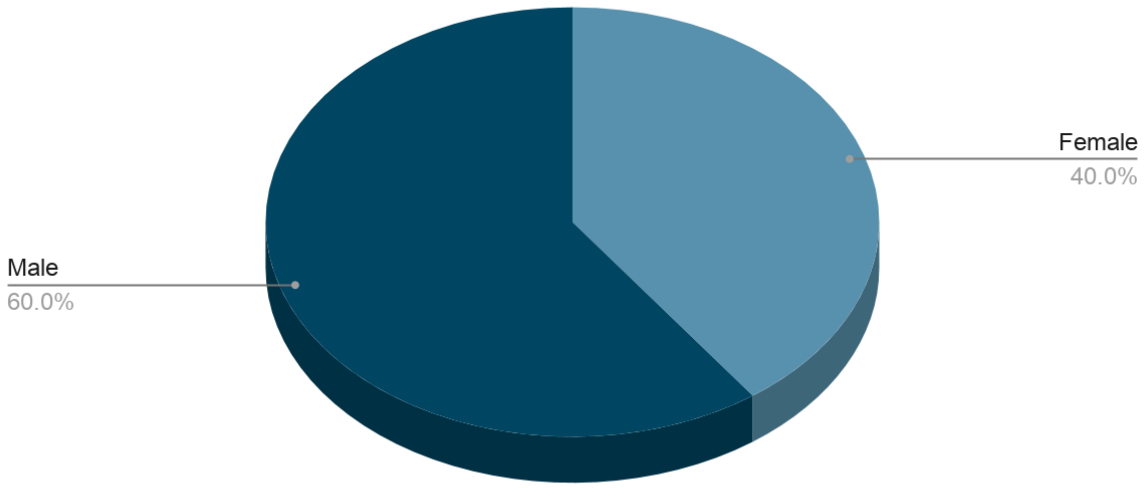


My assumption was that if I only focused on the younger generation that perhaps would impede a wider range of personal stories spanning across several generations within the Muslim community. I did not intend to focus on the generation of young adults, however, after conducting the interviews I noted that it accidentally happened. Even though I did not use age-disaggregated frameworks my data mainly consists of personal statements of people from their late twenties to late thirties. This may be related to English language proficiency, which is more typical within the young generation, something that comes with their educational integration, while the older generation is more likely to gain linguistic competence in the language of the host country (Norwegian) as a priority.

2.3.3 Gender and Education Levels

My plan was that the sample would reflect the participation of men and women in a proportion of fifty percent. During the data collection, it was perhaps a bit more difficult to find a cross-section with female informants when scheduling the interview, although only one female informant raised the issue explicitly of finding it difficult to manage their individual time due to feeding and caring for their child.

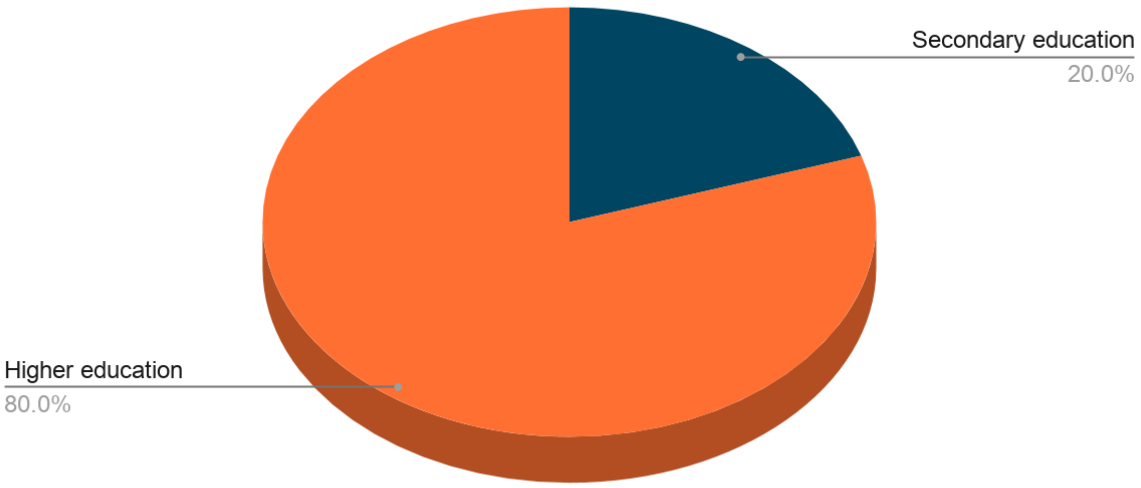
Respondents' gender (N=5, made by author, 2021)



My initial hypothesis was that participation in education (at any level) could positively correlate with successful integration in the future. However, I did not undertake to set any rigid conditions for education, consequently an involvement of an educational institution in Norway is not a condition for participation in research, only a desired indicator. Since Norway has a well-known, operating introduction program[15], it could serve as the first point of contact for some first-generation migrants. While for those second-generation migrants who grew up in Norway, education is also to be considered as a pledge on the road for one's prosperous future. As it is seen in the attached chart below, all but one informant disposed of at least a bachelor degree.

[15] Source: New In Norway
http://www.nyinorge.no/no/Familiegjenforening/Ny-i-Norge/Norskopplaring-og-utdanning/Introduksjonsordningen/Introduksjonsprogram/ (2021-02-07)

Respondents' level of education (N=5, made by author, 2021)



2.3.4 Religious Affiliation

Although, the main participatory condition for the research was Muslim background, being a practicing Muslim was not a prerequisite. My aim was to target informants who bear cultural and/or religious Muslim background and repatriated individually or on the basis of family reunification and reside in Norway. Pointing out these informants' traditions, values and practices would introduce the reader with varied veritable Muslim attributes and perceptions, as well as depict the variability of religiosity of the Norwegian Muslim society in its pluralistic nature.

2.3.5 Cultural Background

The creation of cultural dimensions is associated with Geert Hofstede's name. Before beginning the data analysis, it might be interesting to review the cultural baggages that the selected Muslim immigrants brought with them to Norway. The very visual online cultural survey tool[16] allows the visitors to select and compare up to four countries based on the cultural dimensions discerned by Hofstede. With the help of this cultural kit, certain relevant dimensions (Power Distance, Individualism, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance) will be demonstrated below. Now, I would like to highlight that these cultural dimensions rather serve informational purposes to complement the personal impressions of the informants, therefore I do not intend to explain the behavior of

[16] Source: Hofstede Insights: Culture Compass. Retrieved from https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/ (2021-04-16)

the informants with the listed dimensional values. The reader will shortly notice that there is an odd one out among the demonstrated countries, namely Arabian Peninsula*[17]. It has to be included as a geographical region to protect one vulnerable informant's anonymity.

2.3.5.1 Power Distance

Hofstede (2010, p. 61) formulated that the scores on power distance tell the reader "about the *dependence* relationships in the country." It marks the degree to which members of a given state's institutions and organizations establish a status hierarchy and adapt to unequal subordinate and superior power relations. Consequently, in large-power-distance countries characterized by compliance of the person with lower power, generally there is an unequal distribution of power. In Figure 1., it is noticeable that while the informants came from countries of high power distance (55 or higher), in the Norwegian society this value is significantly lower (31). This dimension is overlapping Triandis' (2004) concept on horizontal individualism which will be presented later, and it is related to status-hierarchical relationships.

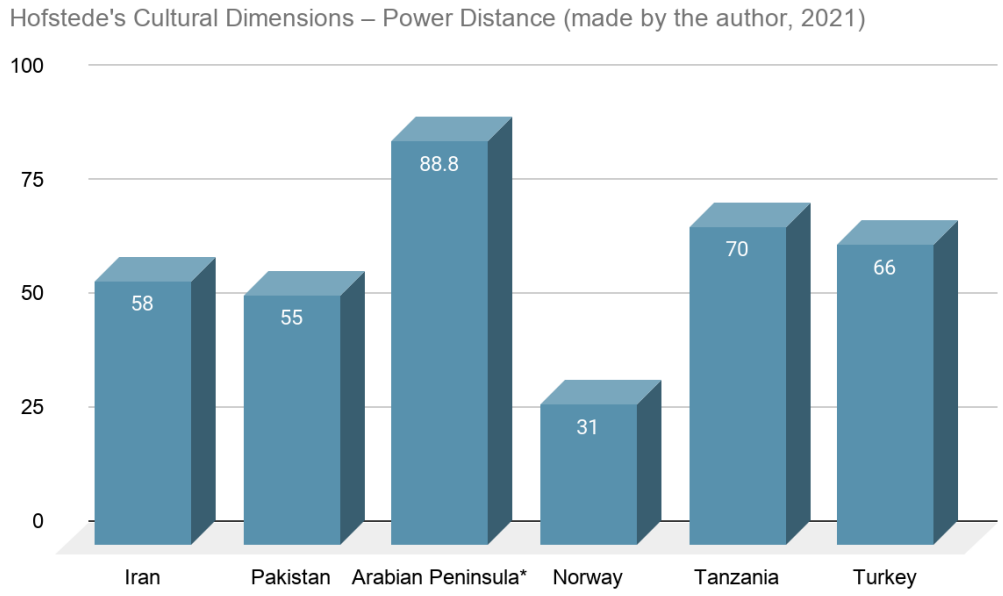


Figure 1.

Hofstede (2010) Dimensions of National Cultures / Cultural Dimensions – Power Distance Index (PDI) pp. 57–59.

2.3.5.2 Individualism

Being the best known dimension of the Dutch social psychologist, the score on individualism displays to what extent people focus on themselves and their closest ones. While collectivist

[17] Although eight countries make up the Arabian Peninsula, only six of them had applicable approximate figures on Hofstede's dimensions: These are Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Iraq and Jordan. The displayed value therefore reflects the mean value of these six countries.

societies highlight loyalty, interdependence and mutual caretaking, individualism is characterized by heightened levels of self-reliance (Hofstede, 2010, p. 92). Now, it is crucial to note that individualism-collectivism should not be taken as a dichotomy, rather a spectrum that could evolve according to geographical and temporal changes. Based on the scores on Figure 2. below, Norway is estimated by far the most individualistic (69) and the informants' countries of origin fall into the collectivist spectrum.

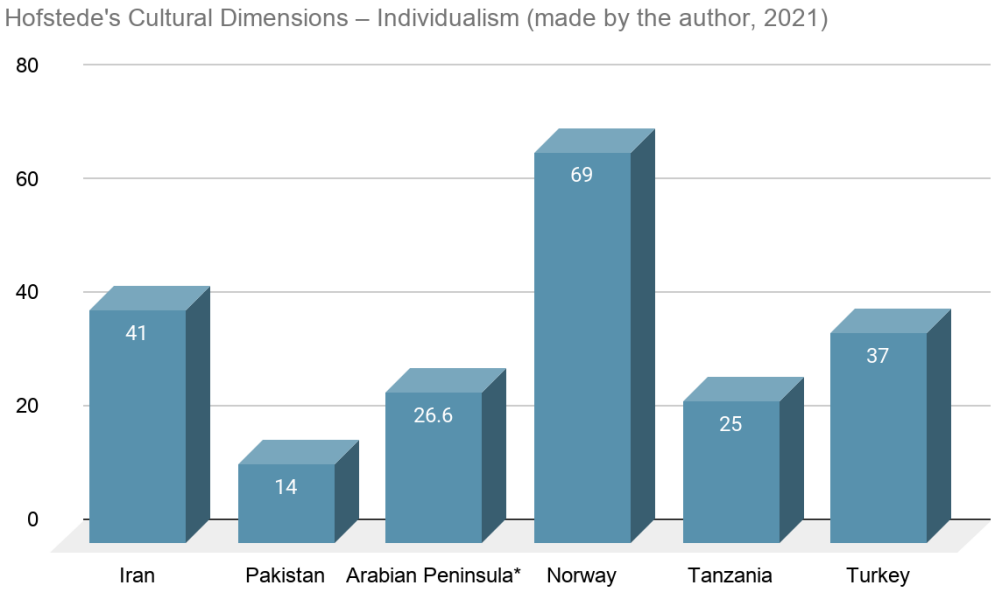


Figure 2. Hofstede (2010) Dimensions of National Cultures / Cultural Dimensions – Individualism Index (IDV) pp. 95–97.

2.3.5.3 Masculinity

This dimension shows how pertinent competition, achievement and recognition are in the examined countries. According to Hofstede's (2010) findings, a masculine society upholds traditional gender roles, men are expected to be strong and preoccupied with achieving material success, while women are predetermined to provide tenderness and primary care for the family. On the opposite side of the spectrum, feminine society includes overlap in gender roles, providing suitable conditions for both men and women to seize their opportunities. As the data shows on Figure 3., masculinity predominantly characterizes all of the informants' homelands, but is absent in the case of Norway (8), which is regarded as a feminine society.

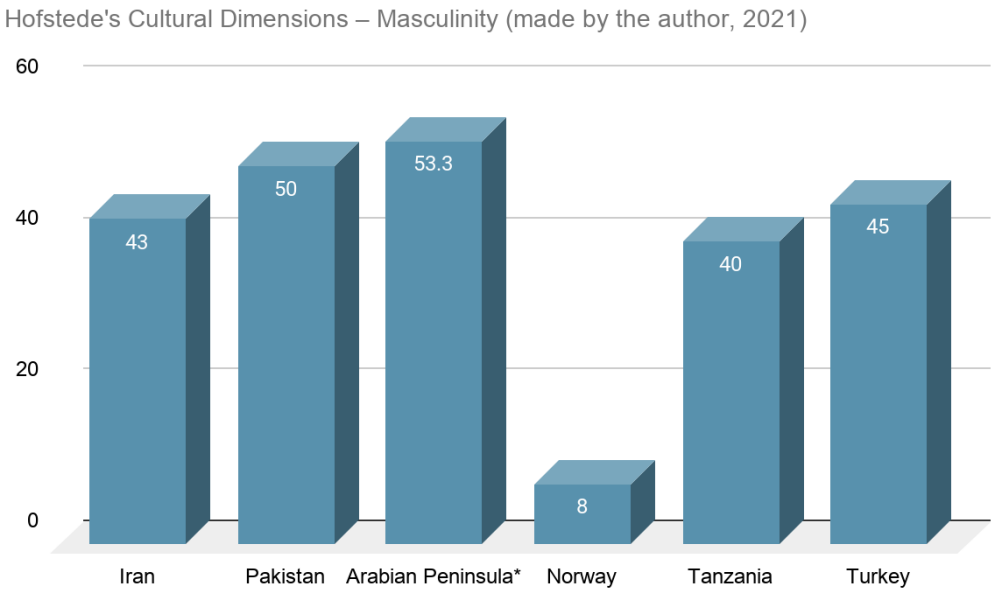


Figure 3.

Hofstede (2010) Dimensions of National Cultures / Cultural Dimensions – Masculinity Index (MAS) pp. 141–143.

2.3.5.4 Uncertainty Avoidance

The dimension Uncertainty Avoidance shows "the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations." (Hofstede, 2010, p. 191). High uncertainty avoidance countries tend to preserve strict codes of conduct, set out a great number of rules, regardless of actual functionality. Hofstede (2010, p. 203) made the comparison between strong uncertainty avoidance "What is different is dangerous" and weak uncertainty avoidance "What is different is curious". This is the first dimension (please refer to Figure 4.) where Norway (50) did not differ strikingly from the African country, but the other examined countries produced higher values.

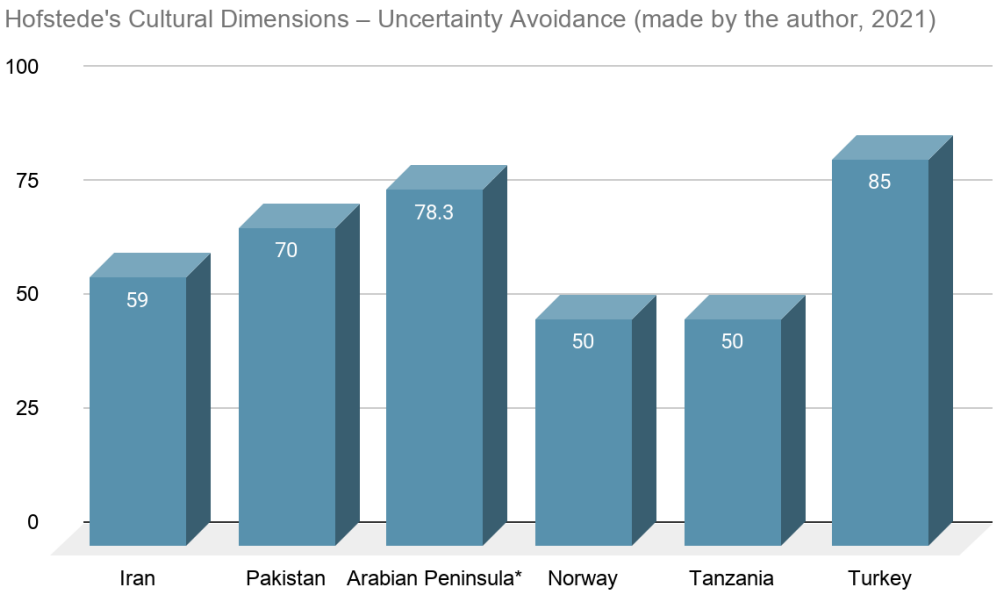


Figure 4.

Hofstede (2010) Dimensions of National Cultures / Cultural Dimensions – Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) pp. 192–194.

2.4 Data Analysis

The primary goal of this research would not be reliability, reproducibility or validity, rather to seek after commonalities, thematic patterns in each informant's stories and possibly to answer the main defining research questions. I am interested in whether Muslims could be considered as agents who promote social cohesion, diversity and inclusive society. My aim is to analyse the selected Muslim individuals' cultural backgrounds and what views they have on the topic of migration, and how they develop a sense of belonging and integrate to the host country.

Like relevant studies (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Silverman, 2011; Elliott, 2018) in the field of methodology mention, as far as qualitative research is concerned, it is more likely to be seeking for areas of interest, societal behaviors than validating generalised statements.

Several studies have examined the public opinion about Muslims within the majority society. However, I am more interested in the personal views and interpretations of these individual immigrants. In order to find patterns and analyse the data set from the view of previously specified aspects, I would like to combine semi-structured interview methodology with thematic analysis. The essence of thematic analysis is that the researcher looks for patterns and emerging themes in the collected material within the perimeters of the focus area and performs thorough examination by taking these into account. Braun and Clarke (2006) distinguished between inductive and deductive thematic analysis. The inductive approach can be included in its own interpretative framework and comprehension, but does not aim to fulfil the researcher's

expectations, while deductive or “theoretical” thematic analysis is “explicitly analyst-driven” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84).

Resembling more the latter, I concentrate to realize a comparative analysis on migration and integration from the academic as well as policy perspectives, and to measure the distinctness between those references and the Muslim individuals’ depictions on these matters.

2.5 Data Quality Control

To guarantee high quality qualitative research, one should bear in mind multiple essential criteria. Tracy (2010) suggested to the investigator to adhere to eight principles. Without inspecting all these terms, I select a few of them to point out. Tracy’s indicated *rich rigor* as one of the most significant respects. As she explained, the length, the breadth and the accuracy of the interviews act as a good predictor for the success of the research (2010, p. 841). Each of my conducted interviews turned out to be rather elaborated and well-rounded, which provided me with a substantial data set. An interview on average lasted more than one and a half hours, which allowed me to have an extended *data corpus* (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Another noteworthy value is sincerity. The author also claims the importance of self-reflexivity, empathy, transparency and credibility (2010, pp. 842-843). Along the process of the data collection, I tried my best to keep my self-awareness and scientific distance at all times in order to stay objective and observant, while consciously applying compassion with the informants and practicing understanding attention. The last two items that I decided to bring up are worthy topics and significant contributions (Tracy, 2010). I regard the chosen topic relevant and I trust that it could provide a valuable contribution to the academic field.

2.6 Ethical challenges faced during the study

Carling et al. argued that “building trust in ethnographic settings is not simply a matter of finding common grounds with informants” (2014, p. 49). Both Silverman (2011) and Tracy (2010) formulated the potential ethical concerns with regards to qualitative research practice. Practicing humanism is indispensable while engaging in any kind of social research. Silverman (2011) noted that in the last two decades researchers are expected to appear responsible and meet certain moral conditions. Tracy (2010, p. 847) differentiated four distinct categories of ethics (procedural, situational, relational, existing).

Instead of getting into the definitions, I would like to list certain ethical challenges I came across during data collection. Early on, when I applied to NSD to get ethical approval for my study, I indicated that during the interview, sensitive data (mainly ethnic and religious background) will be collected. However, while conceptualising the theoretical background I discovered some delicate concepts on refugees. I did not expect that I would be given the opportunity to listen to stories of stateless immigrants in Norway. As members of an already vulnerable group, I would like to grant them maximum protection, so I decided not to reveal their ethnic background. During the analysis, if not otherwise stated, I only include the informants' countries of origin.

In their study, Carling et al. (2014) brought up the topic of the researcher's positionality, explaining "how researchers' positions affect access to and interaction with informants." (p. 37) On that note, I would like to reflect on my own role as a researcher in Norway. Since I was born and raised in Hungary, I am neither an outsider, nor an insider when it comes to doing fieldwork with immigrants in Norway – which is, I believe, an advantageous trait. However, commonalities might still show up between my migratory story and the experiences of the researched group. My own "foreigner" background might induce shared features and the research participants view me as someone being new to the Norwegian, as well as the Muslim cultural setting (2014). Nevertheless, I ought to be mindful about and refrain from methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003; cited in Carling et al., 2014).

The unpredictable nature of informants' uneasiness with the unknown resulted in additional ethical obstacles. Several informants who already agreed to take part in the interview backed down during the antecedent appointments referring to various reasons. Even though this naturally caused some inconvenience along the sample collection, a researcher must always refrain from influencing the potential respondents in any way.

I try to be as cooperative and understanding as I can. When it comes to the personal nature of the study topic, I must strive for outstanding resilience and being an attentive, empathetic audience, which are important qualities from a professional perspective as well.

2.7 Challenges of the Study

I cannot stress enough some of the relevant criteria listed in the Data Quality Control section and the importance of these elements. First, one has to be mindful of one's own presuppositions and stereotypes. Then, one must approach the topic with distance, objectivity and professional

attitude. Lastly, one cannot disregard the informants' rights, free will and judgement, hence the voluntary nature of the participation.

Chapter 3.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the next section, I would like to place my research into a relevant theoretical framework. My topic comprises several fields of social science, such as sociology, anthropology, phenomenology, behavioral science, psychology and social policy. As such, I include certain well-known theories and concepts that would serve as a guideline along the interpretation process. It is important to note, however, that with listing particular theories, due to several aptitudes of research (low number of data items, variability), the study will not be able to assess the entire migrant Muslim community in Norway.

3.1 Migration

In this section, I will attempt to gather all those relevant aspects of migration that hopefully emerge in the analysis. The phenomenon of migration known today is closely related to globalization and the contemporary intensified "movement of people" (Coatsworth, 2004; cited by Banks et al., 2016, p. 1). As Eppsteiner and Hagan (2016) concluded, the majority of the migrants mention a couple of factors, such as war, internal armed conflict, migration caused by climate change, unsatisfactory work opportunities, ethnic cleansing or religious persecution. Banks et al. argue there is an increasing plurality that can be observed among migrating actors "–involuntary, internal or international, authorized or unauthorized, environmental refugees, and victims of human trafficking." (Banks et al., 2016, p. 2).

3.1.2 Migration Theories

In the following, I would like to introduce some of the migration theories including but not limited to all the available concepts.

One of the widely known theories about migration is the neo-classical migration theory by Todaro (1969; cited in de Haas, 2010). Hein de Haas (2010) explains the theory as a national or international migration due to regional differences in labour demand and supply, "the re-allocation of labor from rural, agricultural areas to urban, industrial sectors" (p. 230). Todaro

argued (1969) that his theory focuses on individuals on the move, migrants seeking to maximize profits, but overlook their personal motives such as family ties and social belonging. Indeed, this theory might have been reflected in and influenced the decision-making of the labour migrants who arrived in Europe predominantly from Asia and the Middle-East since the sixties.

De Haas included also the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) theory which interpreted the behavior of migrants more broadly, as it considers the family and the household as the decision-making unit, not the individual (de Haas, 2010). Nevertheless, he draws attention to the question as these theories are predominantly focused on legal categories and therefore it tends to ignore the diversified and multifaceted migrants' motivations. He suggests that "L" as Labor should rather be dismissed so that it could truly represent the wider area of migration as an "*opportunity*[18] rather than income differentials" (de Haas, 2010, p. 253). Indeed, a student's accidental extended stay after graduation and a refugee's resettlement whose life is in danger presume different premiss. The EUMAGINE project presented by the European Union's Policy Review (2016) argues that the longer one is engaged in education, the higher one's migration aspiration appears to be. Furthermore, it posits that the preference for skilled-workers eloquent throughout Europe, particularly in the Western states – in other words the main destination countries for migrants – happens for a reason:

> [..] skilled migrants will adapt more easily to destination societies. Their higher education levels make it less likely that they will be the bearers of fundamentally 'different' cultural values which will be barriers to integration. (European Union, 2016, p. 36)

Another theory to reflect on approaches from the perspective of social relations: social capital theory by Sík (2012), which is based on Tilly's network theory.[19] These migrant networks are interpersonal networks that are intertwined between migrants, non-migrants, and former migrants. The established network could reduce the cost and risk of moving, also it has a stimulating effect to migrate on those who remain in the country of origin in the long run. I believe these are the main categories that might be revealed throughout my study. During the analysis, my attempt is to sort out the informants' or their close kin's goals of migration.

[18] Highlight in the original (de Haas, 2010, p. 253) – the author.
[19] Transplanted Networks. In. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.): Immigration Reconsidered. Oxford University Press, New York–Oxford, 1990, pp. 79–95.

3.1.3 International Migration

Migration takes place for a variety of reasons. In my research, focus will be placed on international migration. The World Migration Report 2020 (2020, p. 19) noted that the number of international migrants approximated 272 million worldwide in 2019. Migration is a political matter in the frontline which is highly correspondent and influences national, regional and international relations from the human rights and development perspectives and as such, deserves special consideration (IOM, 2020).

> "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)

The informants took part in the relocation process, but some experienced it as children, others when they sought to advance their studies, careers after they became adults. It is necessary to distinguish between "short-term migrants" and "long-term migrants" (IOM, 2020, p. 21). I would like to focus my research on long-term immigrants who changed their country of origin and reside in a different country for more than a year, therefore using the given terminology provided by The United Nations Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration (Ibid, p. 21). Most countries, nation states possess a variety of different cultures, therefore I claim that international, long-term migrants are not only shifting through national borders, but they often find themselves in cross-cultural situations.

3.1.4 Migration and Inequality

It was argued and counter-argued by Hagen-Zanker et al. that migration has a potential poverty-reducing effect on the migrants themselves as well as on their relatives from their countries of origin (Overseas Development Institute, 2018). An unexpected global health emergency, the COVID-19 pandemic, drew everyone's attention to how migrants play an indispensable role in keeping nowadays' societies functioning, as in certain essential sectors the migrant population is overrepresented (OECD, 2020). It is one of the UN SDG Targets to encourage and facilitate well-managed migration policies, because people with migratory background are among those menaced the most by global inequalities.[20] Similarly, Zolberg (1989, p. 406) argued that "international borders serve to maintain global inequality", another author criticized that while fleeing from one's country is a fundamental human right, resettlement in another is not

[20] The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Sustainable Development. Goal 10. https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal10 (Retrieved: 2021-03-26)

(European Commission, 2016, p. 22). There is a constant disagreement and argument between scholars, policymakers and politicians on how strictly migration should be regulated. However, there is an overall conviction that migration policies are necessary to maintain social cohesion within a nation state and harmony throughout international borders (European Commission, 2016, p. 22).

During migration, humans not only bring along their bundles, relatives, human capital but also their respective cultural-religious heritage, so the journey itself, so to speak, is a cultural transfer. In other words, migration can actually be understood as a colorful, complex weave, the threads of which are formed in the loom of culture, thinning, thickening, merging, tangling. Eckstein and Najam (2013) make similar statement:

> Immigrants may also bring their own home-country beliefs, values, and cultural practices with them when they move abroad, which they transmit to people where they resettle—what might be referred to as "social and cultural remittances in reverse." (p. 23)

Groody (2016, p. 225) posits that "Migration is fundamentally about people". Even though it is considered a natural part of the human condition, migrants often get the blame. As Wilson and Mavelli (2016) pointed out, it "provides an easy scapegoat for society's ill" (p. 262). As such, it could be over-simplified as the root-cause of social threat, a robust barrier to democratic cooperation and provoke political turmoil. Carling et al. (2014) also marks the us-them boundary between the immigrants and the host society problematic. I would like to attempt to move away from the main narrative and the problem-focused approach to observe what lies on the opposite side of the scale.

3.1.5 Migration to Norway

Eriksen (2013, p. 6) remarked that in the course of the last hundred years, Norway slowly transitioned from net exporter of people to net importer of people. He pointed out that certain attributes (such as stability, safety in Norway's welfare system) make the country an appealing destination for people of various backgrounds. According to Statistics Norway, since 2011, when in total almost eighty thousand immigrants arrived in Norway, an apparent shrinking is monitored year by year due to stricter entry requirements. However, only in 2019, 52 153 people registered upon entry to the Kingdom of Norway.[21] Based on the OECD International Migration Statistics,

[21] Source: https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/flytting (2021-03-29)

Norway is the 17th destination country globally which is a relatively eminent place compared to countries like the United States, considering its population.[22]

3.1.6 Migrant Generations

It is also important to note that as migration could be approached from different angles, the term "migrant" could also signify distinct substances. For instance, my research focuses on both first and second generation migrants, using broader terminology. Some are referred to as migrants, while they did not necessarily undertake expatriation journeys as such (IOM, 2020, p. 29). My study is dedicated to first-, and second-generation Muslim migrants. The latter category might entail informants who have not decided to come to Norway of their own will, but their parents, relatives, caretakers entered. They could therefore be dual citizens – Norwegian born with one foreign-born and one Norwegian-born parent, Norwegian born to immigrant parents, or Norwegians who were born outside of Norway to immigrant parents but raised in Norway. These individuals are not considered migrants legally, as they were either born and/or raised in Norway, they hold full citizenship, yet they might have some inherited cultural characteristics to share with their migrant ascendants. Similarly to how Døving et al. (2012, p. 1) utilized this term in their pilot study, I also plan to refer to those descendants as per second-generation migrants. I assume that these informants have nevertheless a lot to contribute to my research, all the more so taking into account the rich cultural family position and mixed traditions. I am interested in how "second generation migrants" (Døving et al., 2012) approach the Muslim tradition differently from first generation counterparties and what embodies both informant groups' own cultural-religious tradition.

3.1.7 Immigration and Integration

"Immigration opens new windows into the world."

(Banks et al., 2016, p. 1)

Similarly to defining migration and to distinguishing between those who take part in the process, it is rather challenging to concisely circumscribe the term integration. Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2015) simply put it as "the process of becoming accepted part of society" (European Commission, 2016, p. 54).

[22] Source: https://data.oecd.org/migration/permanent-immigrant-inflows.htm (2021-03-29)

> Integration is an umbrella term with many inflections: it is both a process and an endpoint. The form and outcome of integration depend on the self-conception of the host society and of the normative or desired role of immigrants and their descendants in that society. (European Commission, 2016, p. 54)

The UN SDG Goal 16 work towards peaceful and inclusive societies, the participation in the labour market and access to secure work opportunities are claimed to have an intense effect on integration (Overseas Development Institute, 2018, p. 37). In Norway, the integration policy puts an emphasis on diversity and community. The former integration directive assented that

> "All people who live in Norway are able to utilise their resources and participate in the community. All inhabitants in Norway have rights and obligations and should have the opportunity to participate in and contribute to working and social life." (Meld. St. 6. [2012-2013], p. 3)

The current integration strategy for 2019–2022 ('Integration through knowledge'[23]) also emphasizes labour market participation and formal education to obtain certifications, skills and competences in order to successfully contribute to society (Thorud, 2019, p. 46). The program has four principal elements (education, work, everyday integration and individual freedom). Education implies that people from immigrant backgrounds are provided with necessary qualifications and access to appropriate schooling, and work applies to increase their participation in the labor market. The third element of everyday integration aims at enhancing inclusion and sense of belonging, lastly to successfully foster freedom from negative social control of each individual (NA, 2019, p. 9).

Long et al. (2017, p. 3) also argues that "labour-market integration enables greater economic and social inclusion" but warn that participation in the work sphere is only one aspect out of many. They call attention to that in fact, integration means not only promoting tolerance and preventing and/or managing conflicts, but also enabling people with different identities to develop a sense of social belonging and solidarity along mutual collective values (Long et al., 2017, p. 2).

Granting citizenship once was a symbol of an individual belonging to a culturally homogeneous society. Uberoi and Modood (2012) contended that due to social diversification as a result of mass immigration over the last three decades there was a demand for development of a multicultural citizenship which recognizes the collective rights of national minorities and certain ethnic groups

[23] Source: Integration through knowledge. The Government's integration strategy for 2020-2022. Ministry of Education and Research. https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/519f5492da984d1083e8047011a311bd/norway-integration-strategy.pdf (Retrieved: 2021-03-30)

and at the same time guaranteeing them fundamental and inevitable individual rights to participate freely and equally in the national community.

The European Commission recognizes integration as an enduring two-way longitudinal process during which both the host country and the receiving, immigrant society interact on various terrains, such as political, legal, cultural, social, etc.

> For the migrants, integration refers to a process of learning a new culture, an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a building of personal relations to members of the receiving society and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification towards [that] society. Integration is an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society, in which, however, the receiving society has much more power and prestige. (European Commission, 2016, p. 55)

Since the aforementioned studies use integration and inclusion interchangeably, I would like to differentiate between integration and inclusion. Integration tends to be viewed as 'one-way assimilation' (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003; cited in Long et al., 2017, p. 2), whereas inclusion reflects and fosters a peaceful, social cohesion. From the educational perspective, the topic of inclusion (Banks, 2012, p. 1144) is greatly intertwined with multicultural education, which I will go into more detail in the multiculturalism, diversity sub-section.

According to Putnam (2007, p. 139), there is an elevated demand for inclusive identities as the diversification of present-day societies takes place. Eriksen (2013, p. 13) underlines that fair and just treatment in society is key in order to improve all members' sense of belonging. He urges to leave behind cultural assimilation on behalf of social integration, and he proposes a notion of cohesive society based on fundamental values, instead of ethnic homogeneity. The UN SDG 16 identify the pressing need to alleviate discrimination and human rights violation, as well as to foster and elevate inclusive and fair societies.[24] Home is a related term to the sense of belonging and social inclusion. In my analysis, I wanted to look at what immigrant informants associate the term home with. Thus, in the coming sub-section, I would like to briefly examine intersections of migration and the notion of home.

[24] The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Sustainable Development. Goal 16. https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal16 (Retrieved: 2021-03-26)

3.1.8 Migration and the notion of home

The next section will address culture under scrutiny, however, I anticipate that each individual interprets home differently. I predict that it is rather exciting to study views on home, even more so that the sense of belonging could bolster integration into the host society. I often find myself discussing the topic of home, a significant factor in the life of many. The notion of home could be identified differently from individual to individual. But then, what is home really about when it comes to the topic of migration? We often hear wordings such as “feel like home”, “no place like home” or “home away from home” (Warner; cited in Frederiks & Nagy, 2015, p. 15). Banks et al. (2016, p. 5) noted that home, as the archetype of culture and familial customs now is crossing national borders and international conventions. Viewed from the fundamental human rights perspective, the question may arise how we can determine who is “at home” in a society and whether they are entitled to use the amenities and services provided by the nation state (Schrooten & Claeys, 2018, p. 2). Boccagni (2017, p. 4) claims home as “a special kind of relationship with place”. He brought up several definitions of the term from the social scientific sphere, some emphasizing attachment to a physical place, while for others it serves to pass on memories, customs, and symbols between generations (Boccagni, 2017, p. 5). In his book, the author distinguished between the meaning of home and the uses of home, both of which he used throughout his work. The former placed the emphasis on an exceptional social connection based on the location of living conditions, framed and attributed by security, familiarity and control. The latter used three definitions: the “lens on migrant’s everyday lives” (Boccagni, 2017, p. 9), any social environment perceived homely by the individual, and the attachment to the creation of a physical residence. Boccagni (2017) claims that home is a rather versatile yet conventional notion, likely to be seen as naturally positive and attainable. Due to migration, migrants often get detached from their homeland (Groody, 2016).

In order to conceptualise this notion in the course of the interview, I directly ask for the informants’ idea of home and the associated sentiments within. By examining how these selected individuals perceive the concept of home, hopefully I will be able to understand better what has helped them to construct such an idea and what emotions they carry along with it. By collecting some definitions on the notion of home, I showed the reader its multifaceted nature and disclosed its complexity with regard to migration. In order to develop a positive sense of belonging, otherness shall be treated with understanding and a low level of critical judgement. In the coming section, a broad theoretical summary will be introduced.

3.2. Prejudice, Discrimination

Kite and Whitley (2016) gathered the most important terminology on this section's topic. Beliefs and opinions identified about individuals' qualities, features and actions, belonging to certain groups are called stereotypes. Stereotypes are collective notions, which are integral parts of any given culture (Kite & Whitley, 2016). Stereotypes are important tools for the human brain to make sense of massive amounts of incoming data, ready to compartmentalize information in order to obtain knowledge that can be systematized. In the sense of Allport, prejudgements are initial beliefs ascertained in a certain field, in other words, related to stereotypes. Allport's (1979) study on prejudices was a landmark in social psychology. The author was the first to describe: "prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge" (1979, p. 9). While stereotypes are the imaginations that exist in people's minds, symbolizing more of a cognitive content, Brewer and Brown (1998; cited in Kite & Whitley, 2016, p. 13) define prejudice more as a cognitive orientation, as "an attitude directed toward people because they are members of a specific social group". Discrimination on the other hand surmises changed behaviour, differentiating based on one's fixed conviction about an individual or a complete social group of certain characteristics.

Peggy McIntosh (1997) stresses in her paper that most people are not aware of their privileged status within society. She claims that privilege acts as "an invisible package of unearned assets" in people's life (McIntosh, 1997, p. 291). While people of visible differences within a homogeneous society are oftentimes exposed to certain group hindrances. Drouhot and Nee (2019; cited in Friberg & Sterri, 2021, p. 22) in their assessment on second-generation immigrants' assimilation put forward that "primary segregating dynamics in today's Western Europe are related to religious differences."

3.2.1 Fear of the "other"

As I mentioned in the Introduction, there is a growing level of discrimination and hostility toward Muslims. Carling et al. (2014, p. 41) formulated "What constitutes 'us' separated from 'them' changes from one context to another." Hoffman and Moe (2017) stressed that members of the visible Muslim minority in Norway tend to hide their religious affiliation because if it were to be revealed, it would potentially increase the degree of discrimination against them. The respondents' of the 2017 survey stressed that even though Islam is growing, it is not to be feared. As concluded in the previous section, prejudices and discrimination are to be directed to any ethnic group, minority group, religious denomination, etc. Islamophobia is a "fear of a Muslim

takeover" (Døving, 2020, p. 254), therefore the prevalence of such concepts among the host society members poses notable obstacles to the integration of these immigrants within the Muslim cultural-religious community.

3.2.2 Islamophobia

The term, Islamophobia was introduced in 1985 to outline anti-Muslim prejudice and hostility to Islam. Historically, anti-Muslim sentiments have been present throughout Europe, yet the phenomenon became broadly recognised in the academic field after 1997 (Hoffmann & Moe, 2017, p. 19).

> "Negative perceptions of Islam and Muslims are rooted in different historical periods, such as the religiously inspired enemy images of the Middle Ages and the colonial portrayals of Muslims as an inferior race." (Hoffmann & Moe, 2017, p. 20)

In the last twenty years since the terror attacks overseas, modern-day Islamophobia, based on certain notorious negative stereotypes and prejudices, has become increasingly present in Western European public discourse. In an article written about everyday religiosity, Jeldtoft (2011) declared that exactly the public discourses and heated political arguments resulted in Muslims transferring their faith practices more into the private realms.

3.2.3 Islamophobia in Norway

However, Islamophobia is still not widely researched in Norway, in the last two decades surrounded by growing interest (Hoffmann & Moe, 2017). Døving (2020) argued that even though Islamophobia has been present within the Norwegian context, the term is not often used. As Eriksen (2011) puts it: "When it comes to debates on diversity and multiculturalism, it is really one group that is the center of discussion - Muslims." (p. 8) Based on the finding of the HL-Senteret's report, negative attitudes toward Muslims are pervasive, however the statistics are somewhat differentiated by whether it included the opinions of the majority society or the Muslim minority. In the report, the Muslim respondents mentioned a deteriorating trend in the Norwegian society, according to the researchers, the anti-Muslim implications are primarily caused by growing xenophobia and immigration concerns (Hoffmann & Moe, 2017). As a result of the terror attack in the United States, the "fear of Muslims" *(muslimfrykt)* appeared in the written and visual mediums (Døving, 2020, p. 85). Although anti-Muslim sentiments used to fall under the umbrella of racism, in contrast, they concern only Muslims. The more Muslims are demarcated from the rest of the population in wording, the higher the chances it will result in racist and discriminatory

instances that eventually mean less equality and dignity. Islamophobic fears are more prevalent among people with far-right beliefs and these attitudes generally weaken the strength of democracy (Døving, 2020). Therefore it is not only detrimental to those who are targeted, but affects the host society's fabric as well. After the fastidious outline of immigration, integration and Islamophobia, the following section will address the cultural-religious aspects of both the ingroup and the respective outgroup (Norwegians and Muslims), policy principles, inclusion and diversity guidelines of the Kingdom and the concept of culturally responsive education.

3.3 The Nature of Culture

> *"As people grow up in a culture, they tend to be unaware of its influence on them until something happens, such as a stay in another country that draws some aspect of their own culture to their attention."*
>
> (Kite and Whitley, 2016, p. 8)

Streams of cultural variability came into the spotlight more and more due to globalization. Salo-Lee (2006) argues that due to processes of globalisation, "awareness of culture and cultural differences is growing" (p. 129). As the cultural realities multiply, so do the various concepts on defining culture. There are a wide variety of available definitions of culture. Several authors argued that culture is not a static formation, rather an ever changing one. Abhik and Starosta (2001, p. 13) see it as "not a stable and orderly system; on the contrary, [..] a contested terrain where various groups compete to participate in the meaning-making process." Baumann (1999, p. 26) also pointed out that the system of culture is constantly changing, "it only exists in the act of being performed, and it can never stand still or repeat itself without changing its meaning". Hall, for example, considers culture "a system for creating, sending, storing, and processing information" (Hall, 1998, p. 53). He distinguishes two kinds of parallel cultures, the manifest and the tacit culture. In the manifest culture, we get our information from words and numbers (literacy), whereas tacit (acquired) culture is based on contingency and takes shape in given random situations, where the communicator's response is highly defined by their environment and acquired customs and rules. It was Bennett who coined the definition of culture I will follow throughout my study: "Learned and shared patterns of beliefs, behaviours, and values of groups of interacting people." (1998, p. 2) Be it Muslim culture or Norwegian culture, in the following all the emerging practices, behaviors, and values will be approached from Bennett's interpretation.

3.3.1 Muslim culture and Islam religion

"Being Muslim is not just about Islam, but about making sense of the world."

(Jeldtoft, 2011, p. 1147)

Be it religious or the cultural aspects of Islam, when it comes to Muslim identity, I am fully trying to construe it through the semi-structured interview. By inquiring about the informants' relationship to Islam and Muslim cultural characteristics, the researcher and also the reader gets a more complete view on each of the informants' own orientation.

Before trying to roll out the stereotypical, it is very important to note that even though it is believed that Muslims tend to belong to the same Islamic community (Al-Azmeh & Fokas, 2008; Jacobsen, 2011; Weatherhead & Daiches, 2015) there are many interpretations of Islam across the Globe. Indeed, Aziz Al-Azmeh (1996, p. 1) argues that "there are as many Islams as there are situations that sustain it." Al-Azmeh claims that a tacit link can be found between radical Islamophobes and the ostenible promoters of Islam where the former's "culturalist view of religion"[25] and the latter's "tribalist view of culture" meet. (Al-Azmeh, 1993; as cited in Baumann, 1999, p. 73). It is essential to remark the multivariety of attitudes, practices and beliefs within the Muslim community (Al-Azmeh, 1993; Al-Azmeh, 1996; Baumann, 1999; Døving et al., 2012; Weatherhead & Daiches, 2015; Dwairy 2015). Based on Al-Azmeh, in The Multicultural Riddle, Baumann (1999) suggested to discard the stereotypical depiction of the Muslim community and get away from the "imaginary Islam" (Al-Azmeh, 1996, p. 1), as this vision might exclude the "unrepresentative" Muslims who do not fit into the advocated picture (Baumann, 1999, pp. 70-71). Jeldtoft (2011) surmised that "being Muslim intersects with and relates to other identities" (p. 1136). The author gives the example of the intersection of religious and national identities, and claims the national affiliation(s) cannot be detached from the Muslim identity. Cesari (2008) formulated similarly:

> Individuals' identification with Islam appears in most cases to be an element of emerging ethnic communities. From Turkish immigrants in Germany to British Indians and Pakistanis, or even (to a certain extent) Moroccans living in France, Islam is a vital element in the orchestration of ethnic identity within European societies – especially for the first generations of immigrants. (Cesari; in Al-Azmeh & Fokas, 2008, p. 55)

[25] Hyphenated in the original text (Baumann, 1999, p. 70-71) – the author

Muslims in Norway comprise more than 4 percent of the total population. It seems that there are growing studies of Muslims in Norway and about Norwegian Islam (Leirvik 2005; Eriksen, 2013; Leirvik 2014; Hoffmann & Moe, 2017; Hoffman & Moe, 2020). Jacobsen (2002) described that new, dynamic Muslim identities are emerging within the young generation in Norway, she proposed that "Islam is in the process of being reinvented" and young Muslims often compile pieces of their identity, therefore a new-found diversity in Muslim identities can be observed (2002; as cited in Døving et al., 2012, p. 13).

Although research on Muslims earlier was attributed to the formation of social groups predominantly based on their respective ethnic or national background, Leirvik noted (2014, p. 140) an apparent gradual tendency change. Friberg & Sterri (2021, p. 6) asserted that young Muslims disaffiliate from their ancestors' traditional culture, then develop their "cultureless" Islamic identity.

Jeldtoft (2011) indicated that people belonging to Islam, not only discover their relationship to their faith community, but also reflect on other religious trends. Reinvented Muslim identities and transformation in their practices and religiosity portray well the immigrant Muslim minority's social position, according to several contemporary scholars (Al-Azmeh & Fokas, 2008; Jeldtoft, 2011; Døving et al., 2012). Ammerman (2014) pointed out that the religious traditions and symbols proliferated through mass media and global migratory processes and are not only to be discovered in their original source. That is, spiritual practices are no longer set out in the sacred spaces, rather they have been expanded to ordinary non-religious arenas.

Therefore, when analyzing the data from the qualitative perspective, I will aspire to present the multifaceted nature of this matter. I would like to investigate whether the informants' personal statements would corroborate this academic finding.

3.3.2 Culture in Norway

"The Nordic countries have consistently been at the cutting edge of cultural change and can provide an idea of what lies ahead."

(Inglehart, 2021, preface)

It is only one side of the coin how a host country is perceived by its admitted immigrants, it is also inevitable to present how its culture is displayed in cultural policies, state reports and scientific discourses written by scholars. Several authors (Jacobsen, 2011; Friberg & Sterri, 2021; Inglehart, 2021) stated that Norway has been characterized by rapidly declining religiosity. However, the

country operates with relatively high (69 percent of the population belongs to the Church of Norway) Church membership up until today (SSB, 2020). As such, Norway is illustrated as a country with its people “belonging without believing” (Berger et al.; cited in Jacobsen, 2011, p. 18). Friberg & Sterri (2021) as well as Inglehart (2021) articulated that Norway – as most of the Nordic countries – is characterized by a social democratic welfare system which is committed to social solidarity, safety and security, human rights, gender equality, interpersonal trust and respect. As earlier mentioned, the Norwegian Government encourages “a robust and inclusive democracy that promotes dialogue, freedom of speech and diversity” (2020, p. 4). Leirvik (2020) stated that humanism is usually identified with values such as liberal democracy, human rights, free speech, universalism, empathy and non-violence. The Government’s Action Plan (2020) also stresses that a society limiting religious expression and the plurality of beliefs, will be less inclusive and diverse. Therefore, it is extremely important to recognize the distinct beliefs and religions of individuals in a society that seeks diversity in worldviews and religious beliefs.

Baumann (1999, p. 38) proclaimed that "National consciousness is thus saturated with values and ultimate identifications—just like a religion". The author explains that a nation-state ideally creates a community of individuals and shapes those individuals by proposing them a moral self within the established community. The more common values can be distinguished in the community that people can treat as their own, the more integrated the nation becomes in terms of values and moral selves (Baumann, 1999). The Government’s Integration Strategy (2020) reassured the same notion by proposing a creation of a diverse community which respects certain core values and norms.

As I mentioned Hofstede’s (2010) cultural dimensions earlier on, I would like to mention here the two variations of the individualism spectrum, a distinction that is essential to understand what characterizes the Nordic society. While vertical individualism tends to stimulate competition, horizontal individualism strives for equality, in other words, while horizontal individualism qualifies as egalitarian, vertical collectivism expects authoritarian stance from its people (Triandis, 2004). These are going to be revised in the course of the analysis.

3.3.2.1 Policy on Culture in Norway

The white paper on The Power of Culture (Meld. St. 8.) promoted the importance of people living in Norway to lead free and autonomous lives, where people thrive irrespective of their background. The Report highlighted shared values such as fair treatment, human rights, freedom of speech, trust, and many more (Meld. St. 8. [2018–2019], p. 7). The white paper included that

diversity fosters creativity and innovation and that “Immigration is a source of new impulses and cultural exchange.” (Meld. St. 8. [2018–2019], p. 8). Therefore, as it is stated, an effective cultural policy should accentuate values such as “education, innovation, quality, criticism and diversity” (Meld. St. 8. [2018–2019], p. 13). Similarly to Baumann (1999), the editors of the white paper also argued that with the help of shared values and narratives, citizens are able to develop a “sense of being part of the larger «we»” (Meld. St. 8. [2018–2019], p. 14). As introduced earlier, trust is a fundamental value in the Norwegian society. Since the wealth is evenly distributed, equal opportunities stimulate greater certainty and a sense of safety.

3.3.3 To Promote Diversity: Multiculturalism or Interculturalism?

“Is multiculturalism the freedom of cultures or the freedom to culture?”

(Baumann, 1999, p. 63)

Migration processes in the modern age are more diverse due to transnational interrelatedness (IOM, 2020). In the social context of prejudice, Kite and Whitley (2016, p. 311) argued that a “country’s cultural commitment to diversity” reduces the prevalence of prejudice. As I demonstrated above, the Norwegian Government is constantly taking steps to tackle discrimination in the society and foster diversity.

3.3.3.1 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is an idealized expression characterized with mainly positive impressions, but Verkuyten et al. (2018) drew attention to the symbolic duel between multiculturalism and interculturalism. While “perceived groupness”, separate and singular identities accentuated in the former, interculturalism focuses on three principal elements: “dialogue, identity flexibility, and a sense of unity.” (p. 506)

> While multicultural frameworks have sought to add stories of marginalized voices and eliminate a one-culture perspective, an intercultural approach seeks to bring all cultural voices together on a level of a playing field where learning and sharing can occur across differences. (Tanaka, 2012, p. 1222)

The Norwegian society is de facto moderately multicultural. But is the striving for unification and achieving peaceful coexistence between majority and minority groups the one to be identified (NB: power differentials) or rather the aforementioned components of interculturalism to be recognized and promoted in the respective policies?

3.3.3.2 Inclusion: Dialogue, human dignity and unity

When introducing the theories (and as he termed them more expressively, discourses) of culture, Baumann (1999) argued it is problematic that the essentialized view of culture exercises authority over the processual view of culture. According to the author, there is a pressing need to overcome viewing these two theories as contrasting ones. Baumann (1999, p. 93) asserted this "double discursive competence" is not quite forward-looking, as it gets reinforced by multicultural stances. The author announced people could internalize multicultural understanding only if they recognize the "dual discursive construction" (p. 94). He highlights "the people we try to understand are never wrong just because we disagree" (Baumann, 1999, p. 95). This idea is equivalent to what the Norwegian Government has put forward for about a decade ago on the community of disagreement (*'uenighetsfellesskap')*. The Comprehensive Integration Policy asserted that "In a vibrant society disagreement and conflict are natural and necessary." (Meld. St. 6. [2012–2013], p. 14). Diversity is treated as a priority norm, the policy articulated that each individual is multidimensional, characterized by a variety of characteristics, and often has multiple identities. The report also concluded "there must be acceptance of the fact that there are many ways of being Norwegian." (Meld. St. 6. [2012–2013], p. 5)

Indeed, Lindner (2015) argued that unity lies in diversity, in spite of the common misconception. The researcher of human dignity and founder of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies (Human DHS) network highlighted how her own family's displacements led her to heal "the pain of displacement by living as a global citizen" (Lindner, 2012; in Lindner, 2015, p. 23). Lindner referred to Norbert Elias who set out that the most fundamental belonging is the one to humanity, hence that is the highest form of integration (Elias, 1991; cited in Lindner, 2015). She claimed that the paradigm of equality in dignity (*'likeverd'*) is part of the inherent cultural heritage of Norway which shall be cherished, preserved and kept in high regard (Lindner, 2015).

In the nineteenth century, Friedrich Nietzsche (1878, as cited in Baumann, 1999, p. 81) envisioned a shift from the "age of comparison" and he was hopeful that the future generations would move beyond measuring the differences of distinct folk cultures and customs. The fact that this research still concerns different aspects of the culture testifies that this has happened to a limited extent until today.

3.3.3.3 Culturally responsive education

As societies are getting globalized and super diversified, not only the immigration policies should be aligned with the changes. As one of the most important platforms of socialization, transformation is much needed in the school system (Banks, 2008; Osler, 2012; Howard, 2012; Eriksen, 2013; Osler & Lybaek, 2014; Banks et al., 2016; Osler, 2017).

The Global Education Monitoring Report (2019) asserted that in any country immigrants and natives both benefit from diverse classroom composition. An inclusive education platform can help develop the individuals' critical thinking and contribute to cohesive societies, while a conservative educational system can further ostracize foreigners and increase rejection and negative perceptions about immigrants and refugees.

Howard (2012, p. 549) denoted culturally responsive pedagogy as "an approach to teaching that incorporates attributes and characteristics of, as well as knowledge from, students' cultural background into instructional strategies and course content to improve their academic achievement." In other words, not only the majority culture is presented to the students, but also those cultures represented by immigrants. Culturally responsive education can be seen as a prerequisite for citizenship education, as both seek to recognize ethnic differences, cultural features, social variation and linguistic heterogeneity in a given nation state (Osler, 2012, p. 353).

As Osler and Lybaek (2014) argue that even though they emphasize democratic values, the Norwegian policy-makers fall short of developing cosmopolitan citizenship education which accentuates humanity and solidarity.

> "[..] there is limited value in fostering solidarity with strangers in distant places if solidarity with strangers in one's neighbourhood is neglected or neighbours are not fully recognised as citizens." (Osler & Lybaek, 2014, p. 559)

The statement is complementary with the aforementioned concepts of diversity (Verkuyten, 2018), community of disagreement (Baumann, 1999), equality in dignity and humility (Lindner, 2012; cited in Lindner, 2015). After the thorough literature review, the next chapter will indicate the results of the field research with regards to the aforementioned reference literature and address the study questions.

Chapter 4.

ANALYSIS

4. Thematic findings

In the coming section, the findings of the field research are presented. The analysis will conclude simultaneously the experiences of those who came about as religious and deliberately emphasized their spiritual belonging, and to those who are not observant but recognize themselves of Muslim origin. Since my work predominantly converges upon values and attitudes, there were distinct features as well as commonalities present within the informants' narratives. Both group of informants were exposed to Islamic influences and traditional Muslim cultural features to some extent, religion played a significant role in the personality formation of some, while others affiliated and realized themselves outside and beyond the devotional sphere. The sample contains both first and second-generation immigrants, in the scope of the analysis a great deal of overlap between their attitudes and judgements is to be expected due to the diversity of the informants.

It is important to note that all the participants have been anonymised, therefore the characters' names used throughout the analysis are fictional. Any typos in the informants' excerpts are not the author's errata but the original transcript of the audio recording. The symbols used in order to signify the context of informants' messages as follows:

here=because: immediate connection
(.): short pause
[pause]: temporary stop
(laughs): non-verbal utterance
[interview comment]: added by interviewer
EMPHASIS: emphasized by interviewee

4.1. Migration

> "Migration is 'an expression of the human aspiration for safety, dignity and a better future' but also 'a source of divisions within and between the States and societies'." (UNESCO, 2018, p. 2)

Nevertheless, in the section below, the reader will attentively note that three different migration strategies[26] are to be identified, and therefore the migration strategies of first and second generation immigrants could be sharply separated. As it has been put forward earlier on,

[26] What is their main reason for migration?

migration as well as its actors are immensely heterogeneous (Banks, 2016), thus the researcher can hardly formulate an universalized truth when assessing the migration intentions of an examined group. As Eriksen (2013) argued, when migration is concerned, Norway transitioned from a sending country to a receiving country over the last half century. When the informants shared their stories of migration, three divisions were sharply marked off. Based on the established migration theories outlined, they were either classified under the labor market – job seeking, sojourner – expatriation movements, and humanitarian migration.

Rezma (I4) and Saada (I5) – both second generation immigrants – entered the county's perimeters on the basis of labor migration, precisely, in the process of family reunification as a result of the breadwinner's labor migration. Døving et al. (2012) claimed that these cultural family anecdotes are of almost mythical significance. It seemed that the informants themselves like to re-tell these stories:

> *[..] in the seventies then a lot of people were going as work-immigrants to Europe, that's why I have, I haven't any so much family in Turkey, almost all of them is all over the Europe.* (I5, Turkey)

> *My father came in the '70s and my mom were back and forth as tourist a couple of years, and in '86 uh my mom and my three brothers=it was a big brother and two sisters so one brother and two sisters, we came in 86. And my mom has always been home=she went to a few Norwegian courses, but, language courses, but she was more focused about taking care of the kids, home and yeah, so she never got out and worked or focusing on learning the language, yeah, so, she doesn't speak fluently at all=and my father he's bit proud of, he used to work and, so he mentioned couple of times I learned to read Norwegian by myself, yeah, but he's not speaking fluently or perfect but he can manage himself.* (I4, Pakistan)

Indeed, the initial challenges are acknowledged and well processed by the descendants, who themselves came across quite different challenges, from the moment of arrival, through the readjustment period, to the notion of resettlement. In fact, recognizing the story of migration not only helped the affected, but also served as a guide for the researcher (Etherington, 2009). Both Rezma (I4) and Saada (I5) arrived in Norway as children, due to their fathers' longstanding foreign job placement. As Saada explained, virtually all her family scattered through Europe, a common journey that many labor migrants commenced during the postwar economic boom. Perhaps their families also started off as agents of the neoliberal globalization stream which emerged first into the NELM (de Haas, 2010) and eventually Tilly's network theory (Sík, 2012). As I introduced earlier by specifying the migration theories, the situation of labor migrants and their families from distinct national backgrounds can be rather similar to one another and quite different from the relocation for educational purposes or humanitarian causes.

Education, studying abroad or taking part in exchange in a foreign country for a shorter or longer period of time may also underlie the background of migration. António Guterres emphasized that education is a primary human right and it shall be guaranteed to the same extent for those partaking in migration (UNESCO, 2018). Although a couple of respondents evoked their stands on learning, Rashid (I2) relocated to Norway due to his studies:

> *Yeah. So, I was trying to find a school and it happened to be in Norway, it worked and I just got the chance to get the school here. [..] it wasn't a goal country [..] our school like it had kind of a relationship with some of the colleges, university in Norway but that was still not the big uh chance like it was not the big ambition [..].* (I2, Tanzania)

Rashid wanted to broaden his professional repertoire, but according to him, he was not aiming to settle in Europe permanently. As the EUMAGINE project found, the longer students engaged in further studies, the higher their chances mount in favor of future migration (European Union's Policy Review, 2016). The MAFE (Migrations between Africa and Europe) project found that "African migration to Europe is a migration of skills" (MAFE, 2013a, p. 6). The data also suggested that African migrants having spent years in European higher education institutions are more likely to integrate well into the European states' labor market afterwards (MAFE, 2013b, p. 3). The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, 2019) graded Norway's policies on education and labor market mobility as favorable.[27] Since 2005, Norway requires from "newly arrived adult migrants[28], refugees and persons granted humanitarian protection to complete 600 hours of instruction in Norwegian and social studies." (UNESCO, 2018, p. 185) Indeed, language proficiency and language support programs are of key importance, as they enable socialization and networking, increase social capital and reduce discrimination and marginalization (UNESCO, 2018, p. 47).

The third migration strategy that emerged from the informants' narratives was to seek refuge. Both Muhammad (I1) and Farid (I3) went through burdensome times in their countries of origin. The former most likely experienced removal (deportation, forced displacement), while the latter felt compelled to leave due to undesirable political activity.

> *I actually moved because they forced me to go [..] there was a problem with the [country of origin]'s government so they want to they want to (.) take out took out all of people who has no um residence card or like that so (.) and I was captured by politi [police in Norwegian – the interviewer] because I don't have a card [..] I'm now stateless, because I lost the passport so I don't have a citizenship right here.* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

Muhammad has been afflicted by international forced displacement, during which he had to leave his country of origin as a result of systemic discrimination and persecution (UNESCO, 2019).

[27] Source: Migrant Integration Policy Index – Norway (2019). Available: https://mipex.eu/norway (2021-04-17)
[28] only non-EU/EEA immigrants – the author.

Whether he lost his passport along the way or that is something that he never had remains unknown, but he was certainly torn from his family and some of his siblings. He successfully coped with the adaptation to a society with a different cultural milieu and political system. Followed by several years spent in South Asia, Muhammad arrived in Norway with high hopes as a "triple migrant"[29]:

> *I heard that Norway is the best country to live here and that's the real answer. That's why I came here.* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

As it will be addressed further in the integration section, perhaps Muhammad's positive presumption and lack of cultural familiarity contributed to his discontent upon his entry to Norway. Farid was exposed to a draining international experience too, but he insisted on not disclosing much detail about what happened:

> *I don't usually talk about that. Uh, my family's safety is really important to me. I don't want them to end up in trouble because of me. But I had some problems with the government and uh political activities and not feeling enough safe made me to move out, yeah. [..]* (I3, Iran)

Diagnosed post facto with post-traumatic stress disorder, he recounted that upon his arrival to Southeast-Asia he got transferred from one reception facility to another, he was exiled from the mainland and imprisoned at a neighboring island, since his journey was deemed unauthorised maritime arrival.

Even though the renowned migration theories seem to picture one's relocation in terms of economic calculations that shape their future, this has not been verified by the informants in this research sample. Rashid, Farid, Rezma and Saada similarly articulated that their loved ones, blood relations or prospects keep them in Norway, unbreakable family ties that are not meant to be abandoned. Saada encapsulated:

> *[..] family is important that you just don't walk away when things get difficult, you always stay. I think I had it from my parents and I give it, try to give it to my children also [..]* (I5, Turkey)

4.2. Religion

During my research, I made an attempt to find out what it means to be a Muslim for the informants, hence that was one of the main research questions.[30] I asked a variety of questions concerning Islamic tradition, observance and inherited rituals of their family, community and lastly their individual beliefs.

[29] The rather unscientific term wishes to illustrate that he was an outsider on the basis of his ethnic minority in the country of origin as well as in both of his destination countries – hence the quotation marks.
[30] What characteristics are outlined and attributed to Muslim culture by the informants (religion, values, traditions, norms)?

4.2.1. Scripture and Islamic tradition

Religious education played a very significant role for those coming from a pious familial, collective, or national background. First and second-generation immigrants alike remarked that they have received religious education (at a recognized religious educational institution, amid an informal setting from the imam or at their own home) during their childhood.

> *[..] kind of a compulsory in the Muslim society [..] to learn some Qur'an basic [..] I would say that's mandatory to learn Holy Script to believe in soul, to believe in the you know after death [..] and um went to Arabic uh we call Madrasa to learn Qur'an. [..] I memorized like maybe ten to twenty pages and I left [pause] because it was so difficult for me (laughs) [..] I think it's not for everyone [..] I memorized twenty to maybe twenty-five pages and maybe one year after I left. And my mum, she forced me when I was a child.* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

As Muhammad recollected, pursuing religious studies besides his formal education was rather demanding. Rezma also accentuated how her parents pushed her as a young girl to study the Qur'an in Arabic in Norway, even though she did not understand the content of the scriptures, not being Arabic-speaker was definitely holding her progress back:

> *when I grew up my mom and dad wanted me to go and learn Qur'an so I read Qur'an in Arabic, I used many years of reading the whole Qur'an and I didn't understand why I should do that and it was in Arabic=there was no translation so I did not know what I was reading but I learned to read it, and they wanted me to read two times but I struggled the first time used many years compared to my sisters and brothers which learned it very fast=so they read two times and I did that just once um, and I was also a bit embarrassed to read it AGAIN [..] but I didn't know what I was reading because I didn't get the translation [..] I don't know, I think my mom just wanted us to read it two times, I don't know if it's a rule or what is it, just to know it well.* (I4, Pakistan)

On the contrary, Rashid did not recall childhood frustration, he explained that he tends to read the Bible as well as the Qur'an:

> *So the Bible I read, I read the book of Bible to see what they have been written there and from the Old Testament or in the New Testament and the Saint Qur'an, go to the Qur'an the chapters, the Surahs [Surah means chapter in Arabic – the interviewer] first which is the original Qur'an and I read also what it says about the religion and what a human being should do and what is the relationship between people and God and uh I can say the procedure of the rules or the procedures of both of the religion, the Islam and the Christianity.* (I2, Tanzania)

Even though Saada claimed that she did not become a religious, practicing Muslim, recalled how she was exposed to Islamic teachings during her childhood:

> *And when I was living in the village, okay we have like primary Qur'an uh, school, and learn basics Qur'an (.) I can't called it a school, [..] it was just the imam who invited the children in*

the village to come and he'd tell them about Islam. And the basic stuff in Islam and we learned some Arabic uh, prayings. [..] we didn't understand, I don't think we DID understand what it was, but we prayed and we believed and we praised it (laughs). (I5, Turkey)

It stands out from the informant's reports that regardless of their place of residence and the current level of their religiosity, their parents (in particular the mother) ordained them to familiarize themselves with certain aspects of the Islamic tradition. As Hofstede (2010) introduced in cultural dimensions, in countries with high levels of uncertainty avoidance it is expected to follow rules and keep traditions alive to ease individuals' social compliance. Pakistan (70), the Arabian Peninsula (78.3) and Turkey (85) score high in this dimension, which may be a fragment of the inheritance of collective religious tradition. Rezma and Muhammad both admitted they tend to experience discordances with their parents due to their open and alternative practices which may be considered disrespectful by the elders.

4.2.2. Family traditions and cultural-religious practices

"Their minds are like so free, because they gave so much responsibility that they should have by themselves, they gave it to God, and God is going to fix everything." (I5, Turkey)

In the coming section, I will present how the informants viewed their closest family members' customs and practices, moving from devout individuals to non-religious persons. As Bennett (1998) concluded, people in interaction develop and preserve culture through practicing collective habits and values. The reason Rashid (I2) reads and immerses himself in both Abrahamic religions, it is because he has quasi "dual affiliation" since he was raised in an interfaith family, where Islam and Christianity were both present:

when we grew up, we didn't grew up with the one choice, we grew up with both of the choice, if father would be telling you things, you would be told things about Islam on the father's side, mother's side will be the Christianity. [..] mostly we're told to believe in God, uh there is a God, there is one God and that's the important thing to believe [..] like I said, my father has his practices we have been growing up see him, I have been growing up see him and that was really, he just said to me, and also I practice and it's usual we give space if it's the time for father and it's the time for mother, when it's time for mother and the other practice that she has. (I2, Tanzania)

It seems that even though he grew up in a religious plurality due to his parents, Rashid did not mention any sort of tension because of his parents' different denominations and practices. It is unclear whether his parents impel him and his siblings to commit to a certain religion, the fundamental thing was to believe in one God. The parents of Muhammad (I1) also practice Islam

slightly differently (the father belongs to Sufism, which is a sub-stream of Sunni and his mother follows the latter), yet that did not affect the family morale:

> *I grew up with the Muslim culture so [..] my dad he is not too much religious but my mom is quite religious so all the time she told me that hey you should pray, you should pray and I learned to pray you know I learned the maximum of religious things from her [..]* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

Rezma recalls that although her mother could not read the Qur'an when she was a child, later on her mother joined her father in religious practice:

> *my father used to pray or is praying or read Qur'an but when we got old and maybe she [mother] got more time to herself, so in later age, when which she was around end of forty, fifty (.) then she started to learn to read. So now she can read. So, I think it one is like the culture=our religion you should teach your kids to read, and (.) the other reason can also be since she didn't read so she wanted us to read but then she manage or learn.. or not miss it since she missed it so she didn't want us to do the same mistake.* (I4, Pakistan)

Bearing in mind Friberg and Sterri's (2021) postulation how second-generation migrants tend to distance themselves from their family's tradition and develop a multi variety of rituals, Rezma (I4) affirms that despite living according to her own rules and customs for almost twenty years, the practices internalized in her childhood are easily triggered in her mind to this day:

> *[..] they have prayers for many different situations, if you are going to eat, travel, starting doing some thing, I don't know all of them, but I know just one [..] when you start doing something, I learned you should say, bismillah [is a phrase in Arabic meaning "in the name of God" – the interviewer] so it was like if we were traveling or in a plane I remember my mom [..] in the car or traveling she reads prayers and so when you hear this all the time it gets .. sticks to you. [..] twenty years, I'm trying to do things .. my own rules. But there is still some lessons that stuck with me.* (I4, Pakistan)

Farid put forward that even though he is from Iran, his family does not engage in Islam religious faith and its practices:

> *they are open-minded family, nonreligious, um, they don't even read the news much so they're relaxed and open to get to know new cultures and new people, yeah. [..] so I think it's a good thing, because then you feel okay to, for example, to bring a Norwegian girlfriend and introduce it to your family, since my family is open-minded.* (I3, Iran)

It is important to note that there are many unrepresentative Muslims (Baumann, 1999) who identify with their roots and respect their culture to some extent, yet define their belonging differently from their elders. It is essential to the researcher (and to the reader) to recognize, even

those distantly affiliated could be discriminated against based on observable characteristics (such as phenotypic traits, accent, naming, origin, attire, etc.).

4.2.3. Individual faith, beliefs

> "It's one God which we are talking about, we all aim to reach that God, but it's just different way of people using to get to that God. I believe at the end, it has to be the same." (I2, Tanzania)

Naturally, most of the informants tend to maintain their parents' heritage, cultural-religious background, but adapt those to their surroundings, lifestyle and needs. As I referred to Jacobsen (2002; 2011) earlier on being Muslim is highly contextual, a dynamic process of identity construction which could be characterized with multivariety of practices, modes and beliefs. Since I did not set religiousness as a preliminary criterion, my sample contained people of different religiosity. Rashid (I2) and Muhammad (I1) had very distinct and unique stories, yet parallel stances on Islam. They are both first generation immigrants who focus their attention on their personal relation to God, commit themselves to moderate devoted practice and share an interest in studying religious doctrines.

> *First, I should say that I believe in God, one God, and then uh, I follow religion in a way that to be in a good relationship with the God [..] I like to be reminding myself for, that there is a God, one God, which you need to be (.), he is above us and watching and he has the way where he wants us to live so that we can be good human being and also I believe in the Day of Judgement, there will be judgement, for what we have been done for the life which we have been living. So those are the things which one of the things there is a judgment for most of the things we do in life.* (I2, Tanzania)

Rashid formulated the humanistic aspect of the devotional practice that he follows, living as a righteous human is in highest order. Muhammad also remarked how important spirituality came to be in his life. He pronounced that one should concentrate on getting closer to the Almighty and through that connection, comes a higher level of self-awareness:

> *as a Muslim [..] of course I believe in God, I believe in, you know, Messenger of God [..] I believe in spiritual Islam, I believe in Sufism, that is a part of Islam branch [..] I believe in Almighty, and I'm just seeking for help sometimes. So that's my actually my belief, and I cannot change the belief that to another one that I don't know, right? So that's the point. Any religious people can be agnostic, but, it's difficult to change his religion to another God as far as I studied.* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

One moves within to get closer to the one God, or establishing a devotional relationship with the same God to be more conscious of oneself:

So for me, yeah, I'm a strongly believer when I feel something I try to pray, spiritually believe=I strongly believe in spiritually so (.) [..] Spiritual Islam, yeah. To know yourself and to know your God. You don't have to worry about other people, what they are doing." (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

Unfortunately, Rashid did not disclose which stream in Islam he follows, it would be very interesting to see the resemblance. Similar to these two men earlier, Rezma was surrounded by pious people from her community, yet she finds it hard to break away from her adamant parents' judgement. She admitted that finding ways to integrate her Muslim part in her Norwegian identity can be challenging. She was told to avoid alcohol, pork and contact with the opposite sex, but she could not manage to shut out those things since her identity development and socialization took place in Norway, not in Pakistan. When I inquired about her feelings of belief, she described her relationship to religious faith as incongruous:

I want to believe in something, I want to have something which I can talk to or something if I'm afraid or scared, in some situations, but (.) I don't feel that I need in everyday situations. [..] Because in everyday life, I don't think much, but I try to avoid pork, since I was learned to do that because of the religion I was raised in and so now there is some things which is still stucked yeah, so I don't know it's hard. (I4, Pakistan)

Rezma naturally feels bonded to the Pakistani Islamic group, but she prefers to develop her own cultural-religious frame of mind:

[..] now when I'm in the age I am, I can tell people that I am Muslim but I don't practice, uh, I want to show people you can be Muslim but there is many ways of being Muslim, uh, so yeah. So I don't have any problem to i-dentify so yeah (.) but I'm not practising it a lot either or at all. (I4, Pakistan)

As several scholars (Jacobsen, 2002; Døving et al., 2012; Jeldtoft, 2011) noted, due to elevated migration tendencies and multiplied cultural-religious identities, Muslims and with them their Islamic practices are going through a transformation. Saada (I5) and Farid (I3) both explained that despite learning to respect Islamic religious views and standpoints due to their cultural heritage, they are not believers:

[..] sometimes I'm just thinking I wish that I could think like them, I wish that I could give everything to God and just think it'll be okay, God will find a way, that I shouldn't take the uh action decided by myself just give it to God [..] I CAN'T do that, I have the control of my own life. [..] Because I don't believe in God, that's the problem. In my mind, when I was young, religion give me more meaning because I thought, yeah, it should be like that, like people who are not good they should go to some place called hell and the people is nice they should go to heaven, it should be like that, so it gave me meaning when I was younger. But now it's like, we don't know if there IS a hell or heaven, we don't know anything, and I don't think it's a man or a woman or a God [..]. (I5, Turkey)

The difference is tangible since while Saada seemed dispirited by the secularity and the disenchantment of the world[31], Farid gave a point-blank statement to my inquiry:

> *I'm believing in myself, that's all. See, I go to the mirror, whatever I see in the mirror, that's the faith.* (I3, Iran)

4.2.4. Practices

The next section will contain the informants' everyday practices, in particular, religious practices. Engaging in habitual spiritual practice may help one achieve a higher level of life satisfaction and physical well-being. Rashid (I2) remarked that some Islamic religious practices are very important to him, especially when he thinks of their metaphorical meaning:

> *I follow the religion Islam, in number of things, but not all of them. [..] sixty percent, I follow most of the things, like I really like the thought about the prayer, pray five times a day, that's really good reminder I follow, you need to help the people in need, you have the fast in Ramadan, which is a way of reminding we, as human beings to sacrifice some of the things which we love for the sake of our own wrongdoing and other people. [..]* (I2, Tanzania)

As Muhammad (I1) commented, he is placing his focus on how to get closer to God. The way he sees it, spiritual awakening, mindfulness and turning inwards within oneself are present in several religions at the same time:

> *I practice meditation. I'm fan of Vishen Lakhiani, who is an instructor of meditation [..] from Malaysia, Indian-Malaysian descent. Meditation is in every culture, even though Muslim prayer is a kind of meditation, right? So, the prayer and the focus on one thing, One God, so meditation is not only from Buddhism or Christianity or like that, meditation is to know what is going on your brain, who drive car in your brain (laughs), just look at the problem, just look at that and find a solution, so meditation makes me to still alive so I can control my mind with the meditation, that's the best thing for me and I learned how to survive with the meditation. Yes, that's (.) the Sufism, they really meditate, they meditate all the time.* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

While Rashid commemorated the ritual obligations from the Hadith, Muhammad interpreted his own Islamic praxis and emphasized spiritual wellbeing. Though Rezma (I4) claimed with less confidence, reading the prayers also provides her peace and security:

> *And when I get afraid then and I'm like, okay I don't know what to read [..] what I should read but let's try this and then it's my mind=it's like meditation, so you (.) stop thinking about what's this noise or what happen now so (.) you forget that, so.. Technique, maybe? I don't know, uh-mhm. So, in one way it's beautiful to use it [..] and in another way, [..] if you are a good Muslim you should do this [..] and I'm not doing anything, but it's my own way of being Muslim, practice as much or less as I want to.* (I4, Pakistan)

[31] Weber, Max: Entzauberung (cited in Szelényi, I. (2014, p. 1395).

It was wonderful to discover the synchronicity between the informants' statements and how they entrusted their religious practice with supplementary meanings. As Ammerman (2014) ascertained, the modern citizens' spiritual practices expanded into the public sphere and it comes in various shapes and forms. In this particular manifestation, in addition to its traditional values, these "guardians" of Muslim culture also represent its contemporary shades and dynamic context. In the next section, inter- and intra-religious relations of the informants will be presented.

4.2.5. Internal paradox: Worldview clashes of Muslims

Because I wanted to look for Muslim cultural values and characteristics, commonalities in the informants' worldviews, I dedicate the next section to these Muslim immigrants' cultural creeds. Dwairy (2015) posited "It is difficult to find two people from the same religion who adopt fully the same directives of their religion. In other words, it may be said that each person has his or her own Judaism, Christianity, or Islam." (p. 38) One should beware of the generalization that people belonging to the group of Muslims be considered identical. Muhammad (I1) remarked that despite being a devoted Muslim, he seemed to be critical regarding the methods of learning Islamic scripture:

> *Learn them what is the real education of human being, like it's not only just memorizing in my mind, Holy Script, of course, I believe in my God it doesn't mean that I have to memorize all that.* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

Rashid (I2) also tries to use critical thinking to interpret religion and analytical thinking to make an analogy between different beliefs:

> *I like to be critical with what the books or the religion rituals how they are been putting place and how they are practicing them and to see if they make sense according to what I know, according to the relationship between human being and God. [..] And I usually try to look at the relationship something of which similarity between what do they believe and what I believe.* (I2, Tanzania)

A remarkable aspect that I came across through my research was intra-religious group discord. Not only, but particularly the second-generation immigrants were engaged in an alternative, permissive, unique religious practice. Those participants who do not practice their religion, depicted Islam tradition and Muslim culture as a significant shaping factor of their upbringing, something that they recognize and respect. They claimed that not only do they need to explain their background (Where are you coming from?) from time to time to the members of the host society, but they can also find themselves in certain situations where they need to explain why

they are not aligned with particular cultural values and regulations which are to be maintained within the particular immigrant Muslim community.

Saada (I5) recounted how she decided not to allow her son to go to the Mosque, because she does not approve of how the teachings are not taking sufficient and equal account of different minority groups, such as the ethnic group to which they belong – an issue that she deeply cares about:

> *that is something that I don't believe in the political system because [..] every time they drop a bomb to kill the [ethnic group] people, then [..] [at the] mosque they keep referring about children in Africa and children in Palestine who is in need and then I'm thinking okay your government just bombed these children [..] and they are not children in your eyes?* (I5, Turkey)

Several informants claimed, misinterpretation, lack of mutual respect and "othering" are significant eroding factors when it comes to intra-religious discord:

> *People die because of religion, that's crazy for me, even though I cannot think about this issue. I want to go to Heaven to kill another person? [..] I don't know who discovered it, that's a stupid idea.* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

Muhammad (I1) added that radical Muslim believers inflicted a malicious impact on the impressions of Westerners. Saada (I5) also remarked on Ummah Wahida and its illusory unity that could bring inconsonance within Muslims:

> *it is really difficult because when you came from different Muslim countries you not always have the same idea of what Islam is [..] it shouldn't be like that, Islam should be Islam, wherever you go, it should be same religion [..] So I was just telling him to try to keep calm and respect that they have another belief [..].* (I5, Turkey)

On the contrary, Rashid (I2) articulated a more reserved standpoint. His strategy using attention and curiosity may resemble the reader of Lindner's (2015) creed[32]:

> *They [people] have all the reason to believe what they believe and it's their right to be who they are, where they are. So what I (.) usually ask, HOW do you do what you do? Is it possible to tell me, how do you do, what you do? [..] And sometimes you get an explanation for that and sometimes people don't give an explanation about it and it's totally okay.* (I2, Tanzania)

The informants disclosed information on the culture of their country of origin as well. Rashid (I2) predominantly stressed human virtues and moral commands that one should abide:

[32] "You need to be able to stand in awe and wonderment before our world. You need to leave the Western shopping-mall Kindergarten bubble and discover the immense creativity and diversity in the favelas of our world, or among our indigenous peoples. You need to be exceptionally patient, while maintaining the integrity and authenticity of dignified humility. You need to radically walk your talk, while seeking safety in 'swimming' in the flow of life rather than 'clinging' to imaginary certainties. You need to strive for extreme humiliation awareness. You need neither hope nor optimism. You need love. Not just as a feeling, but as a decision. As in Gandhi's notion of satyāgraha (Lindner 2010)." (Lindner, 2015, p. 24)

the community belief and religion which people they practice which one is the important or how they believe what they believe and how they give uh let each other, even when they have a different belief. [..] believe in God [..] be independent in your daily life for activities, build your family also that your own [..] stick with your family, provide all good think you can for your family [..] care about other people [..] support other person whether you know the person whether you related to the him or her or you don't related to him or her at all just do the support and continue it throughout life. (I2, Tanzania)

Muhammad (I1) also specified moral convictions which are indispensable for a peaceful cohabitation:

I don't recognize people with their religion [..] I believe in how he act or she act [..] it's about the humanism, not about religion. [..] you know, the family education is the biggest education for children [..] it depends how he grew up or she grew up [..] If you are extremist, your children must be extremist like their parents, so if they are open-minded, the children will be open-minded, children like, they are like a water, so you can put there so, yeah, so, it depends on, but I will learn them humanism first, afterwards religion, that's the fact. (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

I referred earlier to Baumann (1999) and the concept of dual discursive competence. The author stressed that one is not mistaken just because the other has an opposing view. Baumann's (1999) narrative also appeared in the summaries of the interviewees, as they explained, they all actively strive to live in peace with their peers (cf. community of disagreement) even though they think differently from them.

4.3. Norway

"We all live in Norway and we respect the same law, we have the same home, so I think I belong to all those communities and they also belong to me." (I3, Iran)

As I put forward, a central objective of the research was to contrast the written sources and guidelines with my informants' knowledge. The Norwegian Government's (2020) stance that dialogue, the right for freely expressing opinions and diversity are fundamental to an inclusive, well-made democracy. Baumann (1999) argued that the more common values are manifested in the community, the better the members could relate to that respective community. In the following, the reader will explore in depth how the respondents perceive their host country, Norway.[33]

[33] What perception do the informants have of Norway?

4.3.1 Values

"Norwegians are cold, BUT they are not hard, you know like, not difficult to integrate with." (I3, Iran)

As I presented earlier on, certain values seem to be a trademark of Norwegian society. Hence, I was curious how the informants see the host country, Norway and what was their overall impression of its residents?[34]

Individualism

Hofstede (2010, p. 92) referred to the cultural dimension of individualism, when outlining the pivotal cultural features of the countries in the world. While Norway scores (69) quite high in this dimension, the informants' countries of origin all have more modest value, alluding to the collectivistic structure of those countries. In fact, Rashid (I2) noted the salient independence:

> *I think it comes with the value or the structure of the daily life routine, which people have here. [..] they have to focus on work, then after work you will be remained with a certain amount of time that you can prioritize other things which is not like people back home they don't work, they work also, but this kind of work also it involves collective working together, talking at the same time [..] I can say in that sense, like people here are uh more focused in INDIVIDUAL, more individual than collective way of life.* (I2, Tanzania)

Muhammad remarked how reserved Norwegians are compared to his previous foreign experiences. It is worthy of attention how proxemics in different countries, or personal space govern people's conduct. Hall (1998) alluded that northern Europeans and people from Mediterranean territories have different social bubbles and that could result in cultural mistakes between the parties. However, the statement of Muhammad and Farid's findings are somewhat divergent, albeit both mentioned the significance of networking and building social capital:

> *I heard that Norwegian people are so cold and difficult to make friends with but I didn't find that [..] I think in the first day I arrived I made five friends, so uh if you take it hard on yourself, making friends is difficult, but if you take it easy and be open to people, listen and I think it's not that difficult.* (I3, Iran)

Equality

In terms of fundamental traits and main Norwegian values, Rashid pinpointed security, innovation and equality:

[34] How would you describe Norway?

huge space, [..] also huge level of peaceful life of security [..] the land of ideas, ideas that are made into innovational product or services which is really good and land which change often and adapt to the new changes and they work really hard to improve different number of things. And [..] I feel like almost the land of everyone, everyone can survive in some way [..] I don't see that so much competition in life here so it's kind of people go with a certain level of speed in things but at the same time when it comes to innovation, there is a much of innovation, but at [..] not so much competition. (I2, Tanzania)

With regard to competitiveness, it is worth mentioning the two theoretical approaches (Triandis, 2004; Hofstede, 2010) that I introduced earlier. Norway indeed scores quite low in the cultural dimension of masculinity (8), which results in an equal distribution and access to goods. As Triandis (2004) explained, the Scandinavian countries are characterized by horizontal individualism, in which an authoritarian manner is rare.

Safety

Farid, arrived as a refugee and have been granted humanitarian protection portrayed Norway as a place where human rights and respect are fundamentally granted:

Norway is peaceful, it's safe, um, as a resident you have respect from the government, from all the different communities, as a person, as a resident of Norway [..] (I3, Iran)

Safety and security is something that also the female informants emphasized, both of them referred to it in relation to the equal rights of women. While Rezma did not feel safe on the streets of Pakistan when she visited family members, she confirmed that Norway is a suitable place to live:

I look at as a safe place, yeah, people can to wear whatever they want to, and most of the time people behave [..] For me it's safe and beautiful [..] Couple of years [..] my sister went through a uh, um, divorce I was very grateful to be like a woman in Norway, because I know many other countries, being a woman, you don't have any voice. (I4, Pakistan)

Saada from Turkey reinforced the same observation:

I would say that [Norway] is [..] the safest place in the world, for me it is. [..] that's one of the things I could never change with another country. I have been working nightshifts, and I have going outside and be outside middle of the night, without no worries, I can't do that as a female in another country and feel the same freedom. (I5, Turkey)

The ladies' perception is consistent with the argument according to which Nordic countries – and Norway in general – place a significant emphasis on gender equality and work towards equal opportunities for women (Meld. St. 6. [2012–2013], p. 14). Both women expressed their akin opinions and critically contrasted the institutional Islamic rules with their positions and beliefs. As

the coming section about the notion of home will argue, security and integrity are key elements on the road to integration.

4.3.2 Home – upbringing, safety and belonging

> "this is all about your own behaviour and how you want to keep your home safe, it all depends on you, 'cause you are the one having a new home and wanting to belong to that new home so it depends to the person how to behave and how to keep that place safe, if it does make sense." (I3, Iran)

I posed the question to each informant, what does home mean to them?[35] Boccagni (2017) specified security, familiarity and control as the three principal elements positioning the notion of home. Security provides the individual with "a sense of personal protection", familiarity maintains the person's comfort and upholds a continuity, whereas control refers to one's autonomy to use the living space as he/she likes (Boccagni, 2017, p. 7). The informants came up with different explanations, with the Norwegian identity being reinforced by the second-generation immigrants, while diversified interpretations arrived from the first generation Muslim informants. Muhammad determined that home would be where he could meet his family members without constraints and most importantly where he is not to be discriminated against on the basis of his skin color and name:

> *"this question is really, really it's difficult to answer you to be honest. What is home? [..] where I stay people recognize me with my skin colour and my name. That's my home. [..] So, for me, where people are so humble to share with their freetime, help people, that's home, I don't need the fancy home, I don't like it. [..] So for me, to be honest, I don't feel any home here, no, that's question is hundred percent, and that's not Norway. But if you ask me where? I don't know. If you ask me [country of origin]? I would say, it is not my home country, but at least I would say that I can see my mom's face, at least I can see if she's okay."* (I1, Arabian Peninsula)

To grasp the profound code of closeness along the scarcity Muhammad endured for more than a decade is rather challenging. One is reminded by his mental picture of the Hadith, a section which summarizes immaculately the interrelation between the role of motherhood and belonging.

> "He said: "Do you have a mother?" He said: "Yes." He said: "Then stay with her, for Paradise is beneath her feet." (The Hadith, n.d.)[36]

[35] When you hear home, what comes to your mind first?
[36] Sunnah.com. Sunan an-Nasa'i 3104. https://sunnah.com/nasai:3104 (2021-05-10)

Similarly to Islam, other Abrahamic religions also emphasize the significant role of mothers, by the Old Testament remembering the mothers' chores and their accentuated nurturer capacity (Cheruvallil-Contractor & Rye, 2016).

Having granted a refugee-status does not necessarily entail the same impression, as Farid (I3) did not make the same observation as Muhammad (I1):

> *Global citizen, yeah, it's like where I live is where I belong to [..] Home is like where I feel safe and feel comfortable for me. So, at the moment, my home is Norway and I have plans to stay here [..] and make family, like grow my children here but [..] I am open to uh to live in other places. [..] WHERE I live is gonna be my home and that also depends on the time, how long I'm gonna live in that place.* (I3, Iran)

Farid's statement may remind the reader of Lindner's (2015) concept on global citizenship, which allows the individual to bond with multiple cultures and geographical locations. As Boccagni (2017) determined, one can associate home with memories, symbols and certain characteristics, national indicators perhaps. Rashid connected the notion of home with his memories in his home country instantly:

> *[..] remembering of my childhood, [..] the language people, stories that people talk about, the sports, politics, the music, the religion and then comes the weather! [..] transport, the land, yeah, those things.* (I2, Tanzania)

The two second-generation informants both reflected on Norway. Rezma argued it is her home and it disappoints her when after decades somebody is still questioning her belonging:

> *I feel home here. [..] I was three years old when I moved from Pakistan so I don't remember much and we were just there for vacations during the summer couple of times, and .. so this is home. [..] I know the language, I know the system, and it's not corruption and it's democracy [..].* (I4, Pakistan)

Saada perceived similarly:

> *I would say, we are Norwegians [..] it is like good to have vacation in other countries but it is really good to come home to Norway, Norway is the familiar place for me, it is a place where I can navigate myself and know everything [..] I think I will be old and maybe die in Norway.* (I5, Turkey)

Peggy Lewitt (2001) pointed out that migrants could engage in transnational activities while not being exposed to the transnational social fields or transnational communities. While Saada's (I5) parents also reside in Norway, her husband's family still lives in Turkey. The woman pointed out that her in-laws would like them to visit more often, especially so that their children can meet their grandparents regularly. Saada underlined the importance in their culture to familiarize one's

own roots and to learn the language which is otherwise a challenge given that the family adopted Norwegian at home. Levitt (2001) brought up immigrant religious groups as an applicable example for transnational communities. Muhammad disclosed, that since members from his ethnic group live in diaspora scattered through Europe, he keeps in touch with his community online and over the phone.

To conclude, home is undoubtedly a complex notion to unravel. For some, it is a factual place, while for others it is more of a feeling of belonging either to a family or to a resemblant community. People became separated from their home during migration and with it what is often lost are pieces of their culture, friendships, sense of well-being, claimed Groody (2016). The overall satisfaction and wellbeing are highly dependent on whether immigrants are seen as intruders or sources of wisdom from whom we can learn (Hofstede, 2010). The next chapter takes note of prejudices and discriminatory practices and how the informants experienced those.

4.3.3 Prejudices, Discrimination

> "The other children were really confused, he looks like us but he is acting like a Norwegian, it's not okay [..] he is still looking like us, but he is not like us." (I5, Turkey)

As the demonstrated policy papers and the Government's Action Plan (2020) communicated, human rights are of primary importance in the Norwegian society, yet there is still a pressing need to combat certain prevailing stereotypes and Muslim-oriented discrimination. The majority of the informants reported instances when they had to face discrimination on the ground of perceived or real reasons. Indeed, Islamophobia implies concealed or benevolent racism against Muslims and persons assumed to be Muslims (Hoffmann & Moe, 2017).

Muhammad recalled several occasions when he experienced benevolent prejudices and bias due to his visible minority "affiliation" (guise and naming) – so much so that he had already thought about changing his family name. Only when he comes across someone who he can really talk to, does he try to demystify concomitant beliefs about Muslims. Saada and Muhammad both asserted that unfortunately there are many people out there who are not receptive to information outside of their conviction:

> *I want all people to respect each other and to learn of each other, we have so much to give to each other and so much to get from each other that it's a sin that we don't use it. [..] I don't*

have the same passion um, because some people just can't tell, or you just can't change some of them. (I5, Turkey)

Sadly, not only superficial stereotypes came about. As the HL-Senteret report (2017) discovered, ignorance and general lack of knowledge about minority groups (in this case the group of Muslims) in the majority society are also typical indicators of negative prevalent prejudices. Muhammad found that fellow inhabitants tend to surprise him by having very vague ideas about Muslims, which are often not characteristic of all members of the Islam religion. The majority of Muslims are far from extremist conviction of Islam, yet all of them are affected by the prejudice against Muslims. A few informants recalled work-related discrimination, instances where their colleagues or clients discriminated them based on impromptu, fabricated suppositions. Even though Saada does not believe in God and she is not a practicing Muslim, she had to witness the same sort of prejudices and stereotypes against Muslims herself as if she openly demonstrated her religious affiliation. She articulated that she finds herself quite equipped for these arguments as she tends to come across all sorts of attitudes in her extended family, still burdensome to face at any given time. She recounted:

When I was working in [workplace] [..] when the elders come [..] they thought that I was waiting there to get help so they never want to speak with me or ask me about things. (I5, Turkey)

She tends to tell herself that these occasions are nothing about her being an immigrant, rather about the people not knowing and being afraid of the unknown. She also had to deal with one Norwegian co-worker who became engulfed by radical, anti-Muslim publicity:

She HATES Muslims. And it was one time, she was not nice to me and she wanted to apologize [..] and she said like okay, I am really sorry about that time, I was not nice to you and stuff like that=and right after she write I'm sorry, then she starts to write about how Muslims are and they should never be in Norway and stuff like that and I'm just like I'm not going to argue with you what you think I respect that you think that I don't think that, but I'm never going to speak about religion with you, I'm not going to do that. Because like I said, at some point, at some level, you just know that and with experience I have with people so I know at some point I don't use energy for it to change her. [..] the other colleagues that I have, who were Muslims, they didn't want to say hi to her, she didn't want to say hi to them, it was not a good working place. (I5, Turkey)

By setting tight boundaries, Saada's best interest is to maintain a peaceful working and living atmosphere – she believes that everyone in the society has a collective responsibility to tackle and fight against loneliness which otherwise dismantles social cohesion and solidarity. Rezma needed to put up with questionable comments herself:

some people can joke, from where I worked, before, you came here because you were one of (.) kvoteflyktning [quota refugee in English – the interviewer] [..] Maybe it's funny, first time, but then it's continued and it's like okay, yeah, and you're arrived with the banana boat, like some refugees arrived with the boat [..] some people can think it but some people just say it [..] and then when you look at it today it's like was it really funny or what was it? (I4, Pakistan)

Her coping strategy became not to raise too much attention and let go of these harmful comments. Rezma remarked that even on her vacations, outside of Norway, local people tend to question her nationality even though she has been living in Norway for three decades. In both of their studies, Hoffmann and Moe (2017, 2020) stressed how prevalent effects discrimination has on immigrants' wellbeing in the host coutry. Not only does discrimination put a toll on immigrants' general satisfaction levels, but it also hinders the soundness of democracy that concerns the whole society.

4.3.4 Integration

"I feel that I have to prove them, to tell, hey I speak Norwegian or I'm well integrated by telling my colleagues [..] I went to this cabin or skiing or doing typical Norwegian things." (I4, Pakistan)

Eriksen (2013) suggested that Islamophobia as a social phenomenon should be apprehended outside of the scope of integration, since the Government tends to place a big emphasis on its efficacy within the Norwegian society (Hoffmann & Moe, 2020). Statements like 'Muslims cannot be integrated because they don't really *want* to', 'Muslims despise democracy and represent a threat to Western culture' (Hoffmann & Moe, 2017, p. 19) express Islamophobic belief and anti-Muslim convictions. According to the survey (2017) findings, statistics show that a quarter of the Norwegian majority society somewhat agreed with such statements. As Eriksen (2013) hinted earlier, better integration may be realized if a society establishes its cohesion on common values rather than national identity markers. How did these informants perceive their integration in Norway?[37]

I stumbled across several approaches on how the informants grasped the term integration. Having her family living in a diaspora in Europe, Saada (I5) believes that integration is highly dependent on the host society. She took note of her relatives' different levels of religiosity, ethnic identity development and assimilative tendencies depending on whether they reside in Norway, Denmark or Germany. She claimed she became Norwegian, by thinking and speaking in Norwegian, by having a lot of emotional bonds with the country, not to mention the local traditions she picked

[37] On a scale to 1-10 (where 1 is the lowest and 10 is the highest), how integrated do you feel in Norway? How strongly do you identify with being Norwegian? (for second-generation immigrants)

up and carried forward in her own family. Once she used the word assimilation describing her transformation following migration to Norway. Although she did not pronounce it, Rezma (I4) articulated similar thoughts as a second-generation migrant of foreign parents. She concerns herself with her appearance though – one salient mark of her "otherness":

> *I am very integrated. [..] Basically I feel, I know the language, I know the culture, uh, and I watch Norwegian, um, NRK [Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation – the interviewer], it's like the television, it's the most I watch, it's typical Norwegian uh, so (.) Um, yeah, so it's just the looks I think, but it's then again, how should a Norwegian look like? Does the person have blue eyes or blond hair? [..] But if I would just rate myself, I would say 8-9, I feel more Norwegian than Pakistani, yeah.* (I4, Pakistan)

Muhammad (I1) was the least optimistic of all informants about his integration process. Even though he acquired linguistic competence early on, inequality and discriminatory practices have not vanished. His main concern has been not being able to break through the wall of the distant and guarded Norwegians and therefore not quite feeling welcomed within the society. When I inquired about how he defines integration, Farid (I3) emphasized the importance of being receptive and open to the host culture. As it has been highlighted earlier, integration is a two-way process in which not only the immigrants should make adjustments to fit in, the host society must open up as well (European Commission, 2016).

Rashid (I2) gave an in-depth explanation on the multifaceted nature of integration, while pinpointing that values play an important role in working to build a sense of belonging:

> *I can say (.) six, six out of ten, yeah. By integrated I can say how good am I with, the (.) integrated with the people, or the system, the healthcare system, the school system, the welfare system, the economy system, uh, culture part of it, culture, and then comes to finding jobs or not finding job or those things I can say integrated and how do I see the uh, integrated with the things that they value, that what I mean by integration.* (I2, Tanzania)

4.3.5.1 Respect and open-mindedness

In correlation to their core values, the informants allude to certain attitudes that were helpful to encounter the Norwegian society and its actual community. As a substantial obstacle along the integration journey, Farid (I3) indicated how pivotal vulnerability and opening up are in order to engage in the community:

> *[..] maybe that's the more important word: to integrate with the new community, with the new people. [..] a lot of immigrants are scared to talk to other people, you know, getting close to Norwegians, I think you should deal with that fear first, the fear of exposing yourself to Norwegians. Of course, Norwegians are the same, they have a fear of exposing themselves to*

immigrants, but this shouldn't continue like that. Either you or Norwegians should break that wall, so why not you to be the one who breaks that wall? (I3, Iran)

He added, up until one shows respect to their compatriots, in return, the Norwegian community will accept the individual, regardless of their socio-economic status:

I feel like I am accepted in the society, and it doesn't matter if I'm educated, if I'm not an artist, if I'm a cleaner, ANYONE, accepted at the society. And … if you respect the culture, the society, the Norwegian community, then you get respect back. (I3, Iran)

Triandis' (2004) concept on horizontal individualism corroborates Farid's (I3) discovery. Saada (I5) recounted some bad experiences because she raises her children bicultural, non-religious Norwegians – something that fellow Muslims disapprove of. She emphasized that people should look over their differences and, driven by respect, commit to an inclusive society where diversity is a merit, not a barrier:

I am thinking that their parents have a job there even if it is the Norwegian parents or the immigrant parents=every parent should learn their children that everybody is not the same, and shouldn't be the same. Everybody is different in their own way and to respect each other, because we need to respect each other, or else we will not have a good society. (I5, Turkey)

Being respectful and the willingness to learn are apparently two characteristics that the informants dwell on. The following conduct appeared also in Lindner's (2015) elucidation on equality in dignity, acclaimed and accentuated by the author. The horizontal individualism (Triandis, 2004) and a lower level of uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 2010) may both provide the informants with heightened dedication to multiculturalism.

4.3.5.2 An "imagined community"

Might be an important finding of my study might be that all the informants I interviewed did not actively participate in the life of a local Muslim community. Additionally, a few of them observed that the local immigrant Muslim population has a tendency to form groups based on their national affiliation. Even though the individuals all recognized their countries of origin, some of them condemned those who rather distance themselves from the host society at the risk of integration:

but there are some communities that don't want to integrate with the Norwegian people as much and I don't think that's the right thing because it's like, you are living in a family and I try not to talk to my brother and my sister, you know, THAT HOME IS NOT GONNA BE NICE for living so the more you try to integrate and get to know each other then you will get a peaceful life. (I3, Iran)

On the other side of the spectrum, while immigrant minority group members are striving for recognition and want their cultural identities to be acknowledged, they might refrain from associating with the host country's society and its cultural characteristics as a coping mechanism. The phenomenon labelled as reactive ethnicity (Rumbaut, 2008), could widen the gap within one diverse cultural-religious immigrant minority group, such as Muslims (Schwartz et al., 2014).

Those Muslims who try to reshape their identities and move away from the Islamic tradition and slacken its regulation could be seen as a potential threat to those who are strongly attached to preserving the traditions by all means. Baumann (1999) hinted a similar notion when he spoke about the contrast of Islamophobes and the devotees of Islam. I was under the impression that the participants assessed disagreements over cultural topics with fellow Muslims to be of similar magnitude than with members of Norwegian majority society. This finding is perhaps to be considered another important feature when investigating migration-related social phenomena and possible hindering effects of social integration.

According to the informants, the members of smaller immigrant communities living in Norway typically are able to preserve the main attributes of their minority group (language, religion, culture and traditions), since they are given good opportunities by the Norwegian State. Although the majority of the informants considered that Norwegian society provide favorable conditions for the integration and coexistence of immigrants, several of them indicated some form of discrimination, however, usually attributed those to radical Islamic practices or the lack of information in the host society. Due to space constraints, I would rather not go into details about intergroup discrimination, a topic that perhaps could be worthy of further research.

4.3.5.3 Multicultural personality development

Another main attribute of integration is how the immigrant individuals harmonize their bicultural or multicultural backgrounds. Rezma (I4) remarked how challenging it is for her to find a balance between her traditional Pakistani roots and her progressive Norwegian upbringing:

> *It's sad that we always want to make our parents proud and in this culture you have to be like this and when you have two cultures like Pakistani and Norwegian, you don't feel to fit in anywhere.* (I4, Pakistan)

Several informants highlighted the global mindset, something they acquired during their life which helps them to try and reduce tension caused by cultural disaccordances. Farid (I3) stressed how important is to seek a balance between his Iranian cultural identity and the social behaviour he comprehended during adulthood:

My identity is Iranian, and even if I become a citizen in Norway, I will be an Iranian-Norwegian, so my identity stays with me even if I want it to not. [..] I'm not really restricted, so I'm free, I know that I'm Iranian, I know my identity, but [..] I am open to get integrated with the different uh cultures so [..] I have both of them, Iranian and Norwegian. I have to speak to my family so then I have to be Iranian, so … But there is integration between the two identities and that's what's important. (I3, Iran)

Saada (I5) remarked that dealing with intercultural relations unsuccessfully takes a toll on the immigrants' access to employment, mental health and overall life satisfaction. The former chapter incorporated the research observations on first and second-generation migrants focusing on their perspectives, values and stances in terms of migratory journey, belonging, faith and Muslim affiliation and integration. The last chapter will briefly conclude the research findings, point out the shortcomings of the study and direct the reader to a way forward for future investigations.

Chapter 5.

DISCUSSION

5.1 Discussion

"I have to be good, I have to have my doors open to everybody, and accept them, and maybe, maybe, one day maybe I can tell them they're wrong that maybe one day I will be able to get her to be friends with a Muslim man, you never know (laughs)!" (I5, Turkey)

I dedicated this research to the cultural adaptation and integration of first and second-generation migrants. The investigation shed light on the apprehension of the migratory journey of the remarkably diverse Norwegian Muslim community (with regard to the Islamic cultural-religious tradition), also spotlighted the current modes of integration and the multicultural stances from the official perspectives to the informants' personal statements.

My research seeked to unravel how if so these Muslim migrants could be regarded as mediums for promoting cross-cultural sensitivity and human dignity within the Norwegian multicultural society? After learning about some of the reasons and theories behind expatriation and relocation, we can say with confidence that international migration is a human journey between distinct cultures – as such, it is also to be considered as a transformative process where values are compressed into bundles along the crossing. Which values emerged from the statements of these Muslim individuals? I have published the views of several researchers (Jacobsen, 2011; Lindner,

2015; Friberg & Sterri, 2021; Inglehart, 2021) on general morality in the Nordic countries, specifically in Norway. Values – such as integrity, democracy, solidarity – framing humanism as Leirvik (2020) proposed are treasured by the Norwegian public opinion. Norway also has high rankings on the renowned MIPEX (2019) scale which monitors and evaluates countries' policies with regards to migrants' well-adjusted participation in society. The Norwegian Government also continuously amends its legislations to grant equality in dignity to all residents of the Kingdom. What perceptions do the informants have on the topic of integration, and how welcoming is the Norwegian society for these Muslims? Eriksen (2013) indicated that it is rather deceptive to refer to the existence of Islamophobia as the root cause of the Muslim immigrants advertent inability to integrate, as a high level of integration coexist with the anti-Muslim sentiments. The results of the data collection confirmed the scholar's line of reasoning, as almost all Muslim immigrants who participated claimed that they were sufficiently integrated into the fabric of society according to Norwegian "standards" and internalized certain codes of behaviour during their extended stay. Nevertheless, there seems to be a sizable gap between the official directives and the informal social behavior of the people of Norway. Kite and Whitley (2016) put forward that a commitment to diversity notably lowers a society's tendency to biases. However, to change certain stereotypes and presumptions like Islamophobia, the appointed leaders have to target certain goals like inclusion and unity in all institutions of a country. Osler and Lybaek (2014) make amends to the Norwegian Government and the policymakers for not stressing solidarity enough within the country in the educational curricula. Indeed, it is not sufficient to practice compassion with the peoples of the world from afar and discriminate against one's neighbours. The Global Education Monitoring Report (2019) also suggested that critical-thinking and openness are competences that may be boosted by a heterogeneous educational environment. What did the Muslim immigrants say about belonging and acceptance? Lindner's (2015) proposition on practicing a humanist, inclusive approach was reflected in the informants minds and opinions. Several have mentioned that an universal, global mindset helps them to deal with their bicultural origins. Others have remarked that sincere interest and respectful attitude are crucial for peaceful cohabitation. The informants highlighted two significant areas of socialization and integration (the field of education and the labor market) that are at risk. Not only did the informants come across challenges themselves in these areas, but they also noted how education (be it formal, informal or non-formal) may reconstruct one's whole belief system, making it a cardinal point in order to guarantee the coexistence of a secure society. Harmonization is indeed a powerful tool as it is able to reduce consensus differences. Approaching the functioning of Norwegian society from a critical point of view, initiatives that encourage cooperation between members of a society with different

cultural traditions, denominations and beliefs are very welcome. Three associations worth mentioning with regards to integration by strengthening the bonds between interfaith communities are the Christian Intercultural Work (KIA Norge[38]), The Church City Mission (Kirkens Bymisjon[39]) and The Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities (STL[40]). KIA Norge is committed to helping those vulnerable from immigrant backgrounds through goodness:

> *"When a foreigner resides with you in your land, you must not oppress him. You must treat the foreigner living among you as native-born and love him as yourself,"* (Berean Study Bible, 2021, Leviticus 19: 33-34)[41]

KIA has six regions within Norway and mainly works with refugees and minority-background women in the field of language schooling and mentoring. Providing them with a safe haven (Warner, 1993; in Frederiks & Nagy, 2015) to practice, engage in and cooperate with the warm-hearted local Christian helpers can strengthen their sense of belonging and help them to orient in the new culture. As one of the informants similarly stated:

> *If you want someone to believe in what you believe in, then you have to open the doors for them, like the Christians did with us, we couldn't speak Norwegian when we moved to Norway, but they had the doors open to us, they learned us, they speak this time with us.* (I5, Turkey)

The work of The Church City Mission also to be founded on humanistic and Christian values, but they identify themselves not as an organized religious community. According to their motto, 'there is room for everybody', the Mission is committed to dialogue and they proudly pronounce a well-ordered cooperation with public authorities, corporates, education and research sector. Their project called 'Veiviser'[42] focuses on building an expanded social network of people to promote inclusion and solidarity in the Norwegian society by exchanging life experiences. Although the program is not yet being fully available throughout the country, this initiative provides a wonderful way to show respect and social responsibility and manifest how to live together in acceptance and attentiveness in a diverse society.

Another organization interested in promoting dialogue is The Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities, which coordinates the operation of various religious and life stance communities along certain cardinal goals. Similarly to The Church City Mission, the Council is also present in the scheme of education, institutions, work life and military organizations. Their main aim is to foster ethical issues such as equality, human rights and enlighten the people about understanding

[38] Source: KIA Norge. https://www.kianorge.no/english-information. (2021-05-31)
[39] Source: Kirkens Bymisjon. https://kirkensbymisjon.no/about-us/ (2021-05-31)
[40] Source: Samarbeidsrådet for tros- og livssynssamfunn. https://www.trooglivssyn.no/english/ (2021-05-31)
[41] Source: Berean Study Bible (2021). https://biblehub.com/bsb/leviticus/19.htm (Retrieved: 2021-05-29)
[42] Source: Veiviser. https://kirkensbymisjon.no/veiviser/ (2021-05-31)

throughout diverse faith communities and denominations. Furthermore, The Council allows both majority and minority religious communities to establish common political objectives and represent their diverse audience at the same time. However, it is worth considering at which decision-making levels a given organization is involved in shaping the general public, as long-term change in society requires proven grassroot initiatives. For this reason, I would encourage the interested readers and potential changemakers to engage in and advocate bottom-up movements.

5.2. Limitations

One of the weaknesses of the study is the low sample size. Even though a qualitative research is never quantifiable, in order to cover a certain investigation area, the researcher shall endeavour to collect an exhaustive selection of data. Despite the number of the informants being low, the volume of the information given is rather concentrated.

Another obstacle was the aspect of the intermediary language (English) and my own expatriate status. As a novice researcher, I lacked the social capital to channel a larger number of participants. Although the informants all speak well, this criterion is considerably reduced who I could access from the Muslim immigrant community.

Thirdly, I would not necessarily change the fact that I broadened the examination of national minorities and introduced several people from different ethnic backgrounds at the same time. It may well be worthwhile to study first and second generation migrants separately in the future.

5.3 Conclusion

My thesis aimed at first and second-generation Muslim migrants' experiences, cultural baggages and important qualities, stances along their integration journey. The goal of this paper was to represent through these witness statements how diversified Muslims truly are and yet how often they receive a hasty and unjust judgement as their share. I would like to bring my work to a close with Baumann (1999) statement:

> *"We no longer believe that religions are a cultural baggage of unchanging truths and have recognized them as navigational systems that depend upon the user's position in historical time and political space."* (p. 90)

Nowadays, while the only constant is change, resilience and adaptation are key to compete with the outdated dogmas. Therefore, I encourage all open-hearted readers to keep their doors open,

strive for dialogue, understanding and the equality in dignity, according to Lindner's (2015) humanist beliefs.

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RECOMMENDATION LETTER

Are you interested in taking part in the research project

***"Values, attitudes, and visions unfolded: A qualitative study on first and second-generation Muslim migrants in Norway*?"**

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to get a better understanding of cultural background, values, social and intergenerational ties, integration strategies and future plans of Muslims in Norway. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project

This is a master thesis scientific research led by Krisztina Borsfay, PhD (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary), as well as by Gerd Marie Adna (VID Specialized University, Stavanger, Norway). The interview will be conducted by Szonja Zoltánfi (Master's programme in Social Integration).

In the course of the research, we would like you to talk more about personal observations and experiences of your life in Norway as a first and second generation Muslim migrant, focusing on your cultural background and integration journey.

During the interview, we ask open-ended questions about the cultural-religious Muslim characteristics, having or living with an immigrant identity, family, current life situation, vision, future-planning and we ask you to talk about these freely and in detail in your answer.

Who is responsible for the research project?

Eötvös Loránd University (HU 1053 Budapest, Egyetem tér 1-3.)
ELTE PPK Institute of Intercultural Psychology and Education
H-1075 Budapest, Kazinczy utca 23-27.

and

VID Specialized University Oslo (Mailbox 184 Vinderen, NO-0319 Oslo)
VID Specialized University Stavanger
Faculty of Theology, Diaconia and Leadership Studies
Engelsminnegata 16A, 4008 Stavanger, Norway

are the responsible institutions for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

For our research, we are looking for 5-15 people over the age of 18 who have been living in Norway for at least 2 years, first and second generation Muslims who are or have been students at any local educational institution.

We are planning to use two modes of selection. A few gatekeepers from the local Muslim immigrant community connect the student researcher with prospective informants and she advertises a the call for interviewees on certain social media groups (Pakistani Students Assosiation[43] University of Stavanger, Islamsk Opplæringssenter - Masjid Al-Noor, MSIS - Muslimsk Studentsamfunn Stavanger, International Students' Union - Stavanger) as well.

What does participation involve for you?

Semi-structured interviews combined with a short demographic survey will be conducted in a two-person setup, or online (depending on the COVID restrictions).

If the interview is carried out in person, the student researcher informs the participant briefly about the purpose of the research and invites him/her to sign the declaration of consent form and the GDPR form.
If a participant decides to meet online (which could possibly occur due to the current pandemic situation), the student researcher schedules and organizes a meeting through an online meeting tool (Zoom). In this case, the student researcher introduces the aim of the research (information letter) in advance so that the participants sign the declaration of consent beforehand. The student researcher will send the invite through email. Prior to starting recording the interview, the interviewee's preference on application of the camera is always being discussed.

[43] It might be a typo, but that is the official name written on their social media page: https://www.facebook.com/Pakistani-Students-Assosiation-University-of-Stavanger-173458313313041/

The interview has an informal setting, the questions might not necessarily be asked in the given order, but to follow the methodology of the semi-structured interview to preserve the natural thread of the conversation. The interview is anonymous, the name of the interviewee won't be revealed. The informant has the right to refrain from answering any question. Personally identifiable information provided during the interview will be treated confidentially and will not be used in the research.

Dictaphone or voice recorder will be used to record the interviews in-person. In case of online meetings, the digital platform will be utilized to record the conversation solely.

The interview takes about 90 minutes. The conversation will be audio-recorded and treated confidentially by the researcher (including all personal information).

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the research is voluntary and may be terminated at any time. 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 for you 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 the purpose of the research specified below in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

Only the student researcher, the student researcher's supervisor (Gerd Marie Adna, VID Specialized University) from the institution responsible for the project as well as the external supervisor (Krisztina Borsfay, PhD, Eötvös Loránd University) will have access to the personal data that can be directly linked to individual participants.

The student researcher will replace the interviewee's name and contact details with a code. Additionally, the list of names, contact details and respective codes will be stored separately from

the rest of the collected data. The paper-based GDPR form which includes personal information, will be placed with a third party, who has no direct link or contact with the participants. The information letter, the consent form, the audio file of the interview as well as the transcripts of recordings will be stored on a passport protected computer with the informants' identification number or their pseudonym (which is not personally identifiable). Based on the identification number, personal identification of participants is not possible.

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

The project is scheduled to end 15th April 2021.

The paper-based GDPR form which includes personal information, will be placed with a third party, who has no direct link or contact with the participants, for at least 3 years after the research. Interview recordings (digital audio file) will be deleted at any time at the request of the interviewees. The audio is stored securely on the computer based on the informants' identification number or their pseudonym (which is not personally identifiable). Based on the identification number, personal identification of participants is not possible. Once the transcript is complete, the audio files will be deleted. Transcripts of audio recordings (digital file, word document) that are not suitable for personal identification will be stored on a password-protected computer for 5 years after data analysis and then deleted.

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 is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is 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 Specialized University (Faculty of Theology, Diaconia and Leadership Studies) and Eötvös Loránd University (Institute of Intercultural Psychology and Education), 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 you find out more?

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

- VID Specialized University Faculty of Theology, Diaconia and Leadership Studies via Gerd Marie Adna. +47 92 206 449
- Data Protection Officer, responsible for ethical issues at VID Specialized University: Mrs. Nancy Yue Lui, Email: nancy.yue.liu@diakonhjemmet.no Telephone: +47 938 56 277
- ELTE PPK Institute of Intercultural Psychology and Education via Krisztina Borsfay, PhD. +36 (1) 461-4500 ext. 3492
- Data Protection Officer of Eötvös Loránd University: Rector's Cabinet HU 1053 Budapest, Ferenciek tere 6. Email: strategia@rk.elte.hu Telephone: +36 (1) 411-6500/2855
- 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

(Student Researcher/Supervisor)

Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project **"Values, attitudes, and visions unfolded: A qualitative study on first and second-generation Muslim migrants in Norway?"** and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- □ to participate in semi-structured interview with a short demographic survey

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. 15th April 2021.

(Signed by participant, date)

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Short demographic survey

1. Sex
2. Age group
3. Place of residence
4. Level of Education
5. Marital status

Interview Guide

1. Tell me a bit about yourself. How would you describe yourself briefly?

2. What is your primary cultural affiliation?

    a. How would you describe your culture/cultural background?
    b. Which culture do you identify with?
    c. Which emotions characterize your identity?

3. How would you describe Norway?

    a. How does it feel to be a member of a minority group in Norway?
        i. How does an average day look? Who do you meet? What do you do?
    b. On a scale to 1-10, how integrated do you feel in Norway?
    c. How strongly do you identify with being Norwegian?
    d. What are the common obstacles that you face? What helps you to deal with them?

4. What does it mean to you: being Muslim?

    a. What do you think about being a Muslim in Norway?
    b. How would you describe the Muslim community in Stavanger and in other places in Norway if you know any?
    c. What do you believe in?
        i. Do you practice your religion?
            1. How often do you pray? How often do you visit the Mosque? Other religious practices that you are engaged in?
            2. Being Muslim is important for me, because…
        ii. If you do not practice your religion can you tell the reasons behind it?

5. How important is family to you?
    a. Who are your family members? Who belongs to your family?
    b. How much time do you spend with your family (online and offline)
        i. in Norway?
        ii. outside of Norway?
    c. When you hear home, what comes to your mind first?
    d. Family means … to me.
        i. What do you think, is the Norwegian family concept different from your own or your family's?
6. Which national, cultural, religious traditions does your family celebrate? What about your own practices, traditions?
    a. What about your own practices, traditions?
    b. Can you tell me which are these traditions, cultural practices?
    c. What is the role of these traditions, practices in your life?
    d. I think these traditions are …
    e. Is it important for you to keep national, cultural or religious traditions?
7. Tell me a bit about why and how you and your family arrived in Norway? (story of migration)
8. Where do you see yourself in 2 years?
    a. What future plans do you have in your work-life?
    b. Where would you like to live in the future? (geographical)
    c. Can you imagine what is going to happen in your private life?
        i. Do you have dreams? What is your purpose/goal in life?
        ii. If you do not have your own family, would you like to have a family one day?
        iii. What would you say about your relationship with your parents?
        iv. What do you hope for your children and grandchildren?