

A Resource approach to immigrants' sense of attachment towards their host country:

Explanatory factors for expecting and understanding differences on immigrants' sense of attachment to Norway

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Antecedents of the problem

This research departs from the topic of immigrants' sense of *attachment* to their host country according to the Norwegian conceptualization of "the good citizen¹". What is meant by this term is the relationship an individual has towards both, the community and the state. This relationship is not limited to rights but also considers individuals' emotions, as their sense of attachment to a community (Thun 2007). That is because the concept deals with the individuals' citizenship status as a member of a community; including rights, participation, political culture, engagement, solidarity, cooperation, collective belonging, identity, attachment, and access to state's goods (Trollstøl and Heidar 2004:10 & Thun 2007).

To begin with the discussion of attachment, it can be said that there is plenty of scholarly review on the topic due to the persisting changes of migration patterns (Gordon 2007, Kofman 2005, Yuval-Davis 2006, Turner 1997 & 2006, Brochmann 2004, Togeby 2002 & 2003, Martinussen 1977 & 2003 and Parekh 1999). The relevance of this topic could have been triggered by changes on societies' structures, from homogeneous to heterogeneous (Martinussen 1977). The reason why this generated the importance of the topic can mainly be related to maintain peaceful and harmonious societies. Having these kinds of societies is also understood as an ideal of democratic countries, which is ensured by providing all citizens with equal opportunities (Martinussen 1977:v).

Attachment has become a central issue to the political agenda almost everywhere in the world (Yuval-Davis 2006:207). The immediate effect of this can be seen in stricter immigration policies (Brochmann 2004), as well as in a concern of developing a better exercise of democratic citizenship (Kofman 2005:453, Togeby 2002&2003).

¹ The term in Norwegian is "medborger".

Finally, according to the Norwegian conceptualization of “the good citizen,” individuals’ can have a feeling of attachment to more than one community. If a person can develop attachment to several communities can there be variations on his or her feeling of attachment to each society?

Statement of the Problem

The Norwegian term of “the good citizen” acknowledges that individuals’ sense of attachment can be related to more than one state or community. According to the literature from this perspective of “the good citizen”, there are reasons to believe that variations on attachment can be found (Martinussen 1977, 2003 and Togeby 2002, 2003). The argument is that variations on attachment can be explained by a given set of factors that shape individuals’ attitudes of their perception of attachment (Martinussen 1977:119). Those factors are identified as social, cultural and political resources (Martinussen 1977, 2003 and Togeby 2002, 2003). The same resources are simply an equivalent of a citizen’s rights: social, cultural, and political (Togeby 2002, 2003). It is important that the immigrants have the same resources as the rest of the citizens since these shape attitudes of attachment (Togeby 2002).

In the Norwegian state differences are not desirable when rights are distributed (Brochmann 2004:348). This is because Norwegian immigration policies are characterized by the principle of equal treatment among immigrants and citizens (Brochmann 2004:349). In other words, according to the state, it must ensure access to resources for the immigrants and citizens that are a part of society. However, the country has an actual problem of accommodating asylum and refugee immigrants (Brochmann 2004:349). The other problem is also related to the personal barriers that each individual has, since even though the state ensures access to resources that does not mean that there are no personal barriers for accessing them. Not having resources can affect attitudes of attachment, which support the claim that differences on it can be found (Martinussen 1977:119).

Research Question

There are two research questions that constitute this study, (1) “Is there a different sense of attachment among different immigrant groups towards their host country?” and if so, (2) “What factors can explain finding difference on immigrants’ sense of attachment to their host country?” The first research question is descriptive; it will be first necessary to find out whether or not there are differences on the immigrants’ sense of attachment to their host country. The second question is explanatory; it will seek to explain why such differences are found.

Objectives of the research

The first goal in this study is to present the degree of attachment that immigrant groups have to Norway, which will be done by analyzing new empirical data. This will help to answer whether or not variations on individual perceptions are found. The second goal will be to present the factors that explain those findings, based on previous researches (such as Martinussen 1977, 2003 and Togeby 2002, 2003) but considering new and different data (from Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). In reaching this goal it will be necessary to explain why these factors affect individual perceptions of attachment. It is essential to understand how the factors are related to attachment, and therefore, they can be used to explain the previous results.

Justification and nature of the research

This is an important investigation that needs to be done because no previous studies of such nature exist. Even though the literature on the Norwegian conceptualization of “the good citizen” suggests that differences on the level of attachment exist, there is not an empirical study that shows this. More narrowly, the existing literature of Willy Martinussen (1977, 2003) and Lise Togeby (2002, 2003) only provide a framework of the explanatory factors on variations of attachment, but no empirical study has proven that relation. That is why this research will fill this existing gap. The study will analyze new empirical data that will be used in relation to the previous literary framework of Martinussen (1977, 2003) and Togeby (2002, 2003). By doing this it will be

possible to see whether this existing framework can actually explain variations on the sense of attachment in case that those differences are found.

Relevance of the research for the Masters Program of Peace and Conflict Studies

This kind of study has not been done before, and it is relevant to conduct this investigation. For discussing the relevance of this study it can be argued that understanding attachment concerns not only violence, but also the building of multicultural communities.

As mentioned earlier, communities are being transformed from homogeneous to heterogeneous societies. These heterogeneous communities deal with issues on how to create a peaceful community when people come from different countries, as in the case of Norway. Some of the strongest immigration groups from nonwestern countries in Norway are from Bosnia Herzegovina, Chile, Somalia, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. Immigrants from these groups differ from each other. Have these differences affected their level of attachment to Norway and the way in which they coexist?

The majority of the immigrants from Bosnia Herzegovina have come to Norway due to the genocides or ethnic cleansing committed during the Bosnia War, from 1992 to 1995 (WIKI1). This means that migrants who came around those years are characterized mainly as being adult refugee seekers (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). According to information from the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration, skilled workers characterize the actual migration from Bosnia (2006:24). What is important to consider from immigrants from Bosnia is that even though the conflict ended, the country is still divided along ethnic lines (Aalund 2009). So even though immigrants are referred as Bosnian in English, they come from three different ethnic groups, the Bosnia, Serbs, and Croats (WIKI1). Have these three ethnic groups a high attachment to Norway making possible a harmonious coexistence in the country?

Another strong nonwestern immigrant group in Norway is Chile (Gulløy 2008). The majority of the immigrants from Chile are characterized as in coming to

Norway around the decade of the 1970s as political refugees, followed by those who migrated based on humanitarian reasons (WIKI2 and Major 1999:20). Those who migrated actually hoped that things on Chile were going to be resolved faster than they imagined (Major 1999:20). So when they migrated to Norway they did it with the idea of doing it for a short period of time (Major 1999:20). They wanted to go back to their country, but they were confronted with the fact that this was not going to occur soon (Major 1999:20). This actually influence in their integration to Norwegian society, since they were not motivated to learn the language (Major 1999:20). Not knowing the language might be the reason why in the 1980s there was a big rate of unemployment among them in Norway (Major, 1999:20). They were dependent on social offices, and according to their point of view, they were stigmatized and humiliated since they were treated as social clients upon their arrival to an unknown country (Major 1999:20). Have these difficulties, as not knowing the language or having income problems affected their level of attachment to Norway?

A different immigrant group that is also characterized for coming to Norway due to refugee reasons is Somalia (WIKI3 and Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). Somalia is characterized of lacking a functioning central government making their political situation unstable (WIKI3). The majority who has come to Norway did it around the year of 1998, and there was a high rate of immigration on 2002 (WIKI3). Immigrants from Somalia are young adults who have been here for a short period of time (WIKI3 and Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). What is also interesting to have in mind from this group is that the education system in Somalia collapsed on 1991 (WIKI3). Might this be why immigrants from Somalia are characterized as being a group without a work and with the lowest income in Norway (WIKI3)? In addition to these issues, immigrants from Somalia have segregated themselves. For instance, 44% of the Somalis live in Oslo, in the neighborhoods of Bydel Grünerløkka, Bydel Sagene, and Bydel St. Hanshaugen (WIKI3). Should these issues be considering as a problem that might affect their sense of attachment to Norway?

Sri Lanka is another nonwestern immigrant group characterized by refugee seeker immigrants (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). The country has been in an on-and-off civil war between the government and the Tamil Tigers since 1983 (WIKI4 and Dagbladet 2009). Another reason of immigration was in 2004, after the Asian Tsunami devastated the south and east coast (WIKI4). What is interesting from immigrants from Sri Lanka is that they have participated in constant public demonstrations in Norway (Guribye 2009). They want that the Norwegian government manifest their condemnation to human rights violations in Sri Lanka (Guribye 2009). Does the reaction of Norway to these inquiries can affect immigrants' sense of attachment to the host country?

A different strong nonwestern immigrant group in Norway is known to be from Pakistan (Gulløy 2008). Pakistan is characterized as being long established in Norway (Gulløy 2008). Immigrants from this country came to Norway as workers in the year of 1967 (WIKI5), which means that they have lived here for a period of 25 years (WIKI5). What is interesting from immigrants from Pakistan is that their reasons for coming and immigration history is different from countries such as Chile, which is also a long established group in Norway (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). Considering these differences, could immigrants from Pakistan have a different sense of attachment to Norway then those from Chile?

As it can be seen, Norway is a heterogeneous country confronted with issues on how to create, unified, and attached their multicultural community. These concerns can be seen when acquiring the Norwegian citizenship. This is because immigrants who acquire the Norwegian citizenship can participate in citizenship ceremonies. During the ceremonies the new citizens swear their oath and allegiance to Norway, and a gift book is given to them. This act marks a transition to the Norwegian citizenship, where "new citizens have the opportunity to show the public their attachment to Norway, and the local and public society welcome the new citizens" (Integregrings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet n.d.). The ceremonies are designed upon the wish to welcome and strengthen the attachment relationship between the new citizens and the Norwegian society. This has been stated to be an important

political technique for Norwegian integration and inclusion (Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet 2007). The reason why the ceremonies are important is because they contain new symbols and rituals that harden the growing multicultural Norwegian society (Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet 2007). That is why the study of attachment can be related to the topic of building communities, but it is not limited to that.

This study is relevant to the master's program of Peace and Conflict Studies because there are reasons to believe that lack of attachment can increase the chances of engaging in violence, for example the case of France.

France has been a place where civil unrest has resulted due to the lack of attachment, as exemplified in riots of October 2005 (CBC 2007). The violence that escalated in that period was after the accidental electrocution of two Algerian boys who were hiding from the police. The background of the problem can be tracked to the 1950s or 1960s, when immigration started to take place (CBC 2007). After the French African Empire collapsed, males from the former colonies immigrated to France as guest workers, but they were actually unskilled workers who were supplying the needed labor force of the booming economy. After a matter of time their families joined them. When the industrial jobs disappeared they were unable to switch to the service economy, and they were poorly adapted to attain jobs (CBC 2007).

Nowadays the living conditions of the immigrants located in France, and of their descendents, are different from the majority since they have difficult access to resources in comparison to the majority (CBC 2007). This difficult access to resources is translated into institutional discrimination in housing, employment, education opportunities, and political representation (CBC 2007). These inequalities are increased for those immigrants that live in segregated African or Arab communities, where unemployment is high and education level is lower than the national average (CBC 2007). Have these inequalities on resources shaped immigrants sense of attachment?

If lack of attachment can increase the chances of violence, would it be appropriate to understand first of all if attachment can vary among the immigrants of a country? If attachment does vary, would it be convenient to identify those who have low levels of attachment to prevent future violence due to the lack of attachment? And if future violence due to lack of attachment is to be prevented, would it be helpful to understand whether or not variations on attachment can be explained by having or not resources? Can awareness of what needs to be changed create new and positive attitudes of attachment? These questions underline the relevance of this study in relation the Master Program of Peace and Conflict Studies, and demonstrate the importance of conducting this study.

Structure of the research

To answer the research questions, (1) “Is there a different sense of attachment among different immigrant groups towards their host country?” and if so, (2) “What factors can explain these emergent differences on immigrants’ sense of attachment to their host country?” It will be necessary first to present the factors that explain differences on immigrants’ sense of attachment. This will be done according to the framework of “the good citizen”, which is the second chapter of this research.

The second chapter will focus on explaining how having social, cultural, and political resources can shape attitudes of attachment. Before establishing this link between resources and attachment it will be necessary to explain what is meant by each resource. Explaining each resource needs to be done in order to understand how each one can be translated into measurable variables, which will also be explained under the third chapter of this research.

The third chapter will start by explaining where the empirical information came from, and how that information was translated into the variables of researches. After this is done it will be possible to discuss all issues related to the empirical process followed under this study, which will be done on the same chapter. This will be done in order to understand how the results were

recollected. After the results are obtained it will be possible to analyze them in a new chapter.

The fourth chapter of this study will analyze the information according to the framework presented under the second chapter. The chapter will mention why there are reasons for expecting variations on the sense of attachment, and what should be expected according to the literature provided. It will also be described whether those expected outcomes were founded or not. By doing this it will be possible to understand if social, cultural, and political resources do shape attitudes of attachment. The framework will be analyzed by considering new empirical data, focusing on the immigrant country groups of Bosnia Herzegovina, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Chile. This will provide the investigation with different scenarios for understanding whether resources or affect immigrants' sense of attachment regardless of the different characteristics on each country. Now that this has been said it is possible to continue with the investigation.

CHAPTER II. EXPLANATORY FACTORS OF DIFFERENCES ON ATTACHMENT

According to the Norwegian conceptualization of “the good citizen”, there are reasons to believe that variations on attachment exist. The existing claim is that variations on attachment can be explained according to the resources perspective (Martinussen 1977:119). This is because, as Martinussen mentions, having resources shape attitudes of attachment (1977 and 2003). This section will therefore discuss what is to be understood as resources and how these account for differences on attachment, according to the resource perspective of Martinussen (1977 and 2003).

RESOURCE APPROACH

Resources can be understood as tools that immigrants’ need to manage on their own in the society they are living in (Joppke 2002:251 and Soininen 1999:692). The easiest and clearest way of grouping the different types of resources is by using the framework model of citizenship of T. H. Marshall² (Turner 1997:7). This is because the literature of resources, which is considered in this research, was actually formulated upon the social, cultural, and political rights (Turner 1997:9, Brochmann 2004:353, Togeby 2002:12, 2003:20, Isin and Turner 2002:3). That means that the types of resources are identified as social, cultural and political resources. Having these resources shapes attitudes of attachment (Martinussen 1977).

The argument on how resources shape the sense of attachment is that first of all, general personal resources provide the individual with qualities and attitudes, such as: knowledge, ability to handle written material, public documents, ability to argue, etc. (Martinussen 1977:119). Secondly, resources provide individuals with life qualities giving them security in their own life situation. Individuals who are less secure are more likely to experience system remoteness, distrust, and discrimination (Martinussen 1977:119). Finally, it is by evaluating their life quality in comparison to the majority what

² Critiques to the framework of citizenship will not be discussed but can be studied by consulting Turner (1997) and Brochmann (2004).

serves for feeling that they belong to a group. For instance, when an individual identifies with a group that is under-privileged due to lack of resources, it will most probably lead to circumstances of apathy, powerlessness and distrust. On the other hand, those who identify with better position groups will produce the opposite attitudes (Martinussen 1977:119). These three points will then sustain how differences on immigrants sense of attachment to their host county is explained according to the resource approach.

The discussed claim also argues that resources are sometimes not accessible for certain individuals or groups (Martinussen 1977:7). According to this, some people do not have resources because of their own personal conditions, and that these conditions might affect their sense of attachment (Martinussen 1977:7).

THE PERSONAL VARIABLES

The personal conditions of an individual are determined by both their formal and informal conditions (Martinussen 1977:7). This means that in order to explain what is understood as personal conditions it will be necessary to know what the formal and informal conditions are. The formal conditions are related to laws and rules, while the informal are tied to specific relation groups or environments (Martinussen 1977:37 and Yuval-Davis 2006:201). More specifically, informal conditions can be described as the characteristics an individual has as in relation to their country of origin, gender, age, time of residence, and reasons for coming (Togeby 2002:14). The reason why it is important to be aware of the personal conditions of an individual is because these vary and might affect their own sense of attachment (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2002). This is because for some groups a determined condition shapes his or her life according to their location, while for others the same condition does not affect them (Yuval-Davis 2006:201). This means that not all individuals have the same personal conditions that affect their sense of attachment.

As mentioned earlier, this research is based on the Norwegian perspective of “the good citizen”. This is an informal perspective that has to do with the quality of one’s own participation to society (Kymlicka and Norman 1997:7). Thus, the perspective of “the good citizen” focuses on personal differences based on the informal characteristics of the individual explained above. That is why this study will only consider the personal differences based on informal conditions. This will be done since it might be that personal conditions can affect immigrants’ sense of attachment (Martinussen 1977). That is why personal conditions will be considered as an additional independent variable, named as personal variables.

The individual variations that will be considered in this research are according to differences of country of origin, gender, age, time of residence, and reasons for coming. The reason why it is important to consider those five personal variables is for reducing the effect that those could have over the variables of resources. This is because it is suspected that personal variables also account for explanations on differences on immigrants’ sense of attachment (Martinussen 1977). If personal variables are not considered, this will affect the analysis of resources by not knowing whether additional factors other than resources impact on immigrants’ sense of attachment. The reason why personal variables can affect the analysis is because personal variables affect who the individuals are. Being aware of the differences among the individuals provides a better understanding of the characteristic of the group. It is important to know the distribution of the groups and whether or not those personal variables matter on their sense of attachment. Knowing if a given personal variable did had an impact on their sense of attachment it will be possible to learn more upon whether resources do explain differences on attachment, and not the other way around.

Original country

It is suspected that the immigrants’ country of origin might be a variable affecting their sense of attachment (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2003). According to this, the political situation or environment in their original country can affect their sense of attachment in the new country (Togeby 2003:26 and

Constant & Massey 2002:24). This is explained by two different reasons. For instance, if there is a conflict in the immigrants' home country this might affect the individual to the degree in which he or she has less interest of the internal problems in the receptor country (Togebly 2003:26). At the same time, the political situation in which they were living might affect their skills, as in expressing themselves (Martinussen 1977). For instance, a country with an education system that is collapsed, as in the case of Somalia will have immigrants lacking of education and skills for writing (Martinussen 1977). These characteristics might affect the immigrants' development in the new country, reason why it is important to know if the country of origin does actually account for finding differences on their sense of attachment.

Gender

The reason for including this variable is to avoid any error that might exist because individuals do not have resources due to their sex, as other scholars have argued (Constant and Massey 2002:9, Togebly 2002, 2003 and Martinussen 1977:7). For instance, in some non-western cultures males possess more resources than the females. In these cases, females would not have a given resource based on gender according to their cultural norms (Togebly 2002, 2003). Because of this, it is important to consider gender as an additional variable since it is thought that gender might affect immigrants' sense of attachment. By knowing if gender does or not affect immigrants' sense of attachment it will be possible to have a better understanding on what factors account for explanations on variances on the sense of attachment. That is why it is important to include the variable for gender.

Age

Including age as an additional variable is also important. This is because immigrants vary according to their age and some authors have argued that age affects their sense of attachment (Togebly 2002). According to this there are reasons for expecting a higher sense of attachment among the youngest (Togebly 2002 and Constant and Massey 2002). This is explained as in individuals that have immigrated as adolescents reconstruct their resources faster than the old (Togebly 2002:143). This can explain why younger

immigrants tend to stay in the receptor country while older immigrants tend to return to their home country (Constant and Massey 2002:3,7,9). Including this variable will identify if differences on the sense of attachment are explained due to having resources, differences on age, or both.

Time of residence

An additional variable that might affect immigrants' sense of attachment to the host country has to do with the time they have lived in the host country (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2002). It is important to include this variable because as argued by other authors, it takes time to adapt to the migrated country affecting therefore their own sense of attachment to the new country (Togeby 2002:15). According to this, the time spent in the host country can affect immigrants' sense of attachment expecting a higher sense on those with a longer time of residence in the host country (Togeby 2002). However, even though it is common to think this way, this is not always the case. For instance, recalling the case discussed with immigrants' in France, those African immigrants in France have a low sense of attachment to the country regardless of the amount of time lived there (CBC 2007). This means that either time of immigration might or not affect immigrants' sense of attachment. Including this variable will serve to know if time of residence affects or not the immigrants' sense of attachment to the host country.

Reasons for coming

Another variable that might affect immigrants' sense of attachment has to do with the reasons for coming or migrating to the host country (Togeby 2003). It has been suggested that the past experiences that the immigrants' bring with them could affect their sense of attachment (Togeby 2002:15). Those past experiences matter because they represent barriers for adapting in the new country (Martinussen 1977). According to this, it is expected that skill immigrants have a higher sense of attachment than those who do not have enough skills because they could be lacking of competence or ability to cooperate, communicate, contribute, and to be integrated into the new society at their arrival (Martinussen 1977:127). In conclusion, including this variable will serve also to identify the factor that accounts for explaining differences on

the sense of attachment.

THE RESOURCE VARIABLES

Social Resources

Social resources have to do with features such as social networks, closeness, and trust, which facilitate cooperation and coordination for mutual benefits (Putnam 1995a:67, 1995b:664-665 and 1996:1). At the same time, social resources are also understood as capital such as employment, housing and health (Martinussen 2003:21,1977:51 and Turner 1997:7). These different types of capital are important because they can have influence the state of wellbeing of a person, which is produced from mutual benefits of participating in a network (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996).

How they impact the individuals' sense of attachment.

Social resource can affect immigrants' sense of attachment because a state of wellbeing can be produced and altered by forming part of a network (Togoby 2003:25 and Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996).

Before explaining how a network can alter the wellbeing of a person I will start by discussing what a network is. A network is where social relations take place (Coleman 1988). An individual can be part of several social networks since these are related to the regular daily life of an individual (Putnam 1995b:670, and Coleman 1988:96). For instance, the network for a person who works would be related to those with whom he or she has contact at work. At the same time, that same person invests time in their neighborhood, church, childcare, hospital, etc., which are all different types of networks (Putnam 1995b:670).

Networks can alter the wellbeing of a person because they (1) facilitate cooperation and coordination among its members, (2) allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved, and (3) broaden social identities (Putnam 1995a:76). These points can be explained as follows: first of all networks facilitate cooperation among its members because feeling close to others

fosters reciprocity and encourage trust among them (Putnam 1995b:665). Closeness or contact to other people is important because those who lack trust to the host society show low participation towards it, and this can be influenced by feelings of discrimination (Togeby 2002:10,151). Secondly, closeness and trust to a network allow the resolution of dilemmas of collective action (Putnam 1996). This is because people who trust and are close to others relate with the life of their communities, wanting to participate and cooperate in the resolution of conflicts instead of withdrawing (Putnam 1996:1). Finally, interaction in a network can develop the participants' sense of self, from "I" into "WE", which result on improving the benefits of the collectivity (Putnam 1995a:67). All of these three points produce and affect the state of wellbeing of the individual (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996), influencing therefore the immigrants' sense of attachment.

Additionally, having a concrete job, enough income, and an appropriate place to live might affect immigrants' perceptions of attachment to the host country since these might facilitate the participation in the network (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). According to Putnam, no income or bad house location might explain why some individuals do not participate in a network because they do not have the money to do so, or the costs of transportation to the network location, but these are only suppositions (1995a, 1995b, and 1996).

In conclusion, social resources might affect immigrant perceptions of attachment because individuals that invest time in a network develop closeness and trust among each other (as explained by Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Trusting and participating in the network's activities can change perceptions of individual differences into similarities (Putnam 1995a:67). That will mean that if individuals do not trust and participate in their network's activities, they might not see that they share similarities (Putnam 1995a). Thus, participation in the network is important for reducing misperceptions of discrimination (Togeby 2002). Discrimination might affect the way immigrants perceive how the society is taking them (Togeby 2002:16). Not experiencing discrimination is important because in developing attachment the immigrants need to feel accepted by the host society (Togeby

2003:232). Those that have experienced it, feel bad living in the host country, have less satisfaction towards it³, and withdraw from participating in the activities of their network (Togeby 2002:10 and Putnam 1995a). Thus not participating in the network will result in a negative cycle as, no closeness, no trust, no shared similarities, wanting to withdraw from the network, experiencing misrepresentations of discrimination, no desire to participate, no closeness, and no trust. All of these affect the wellbeing of the individual (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996).

Cultural Resources

Culture is “a symbolic vehicle of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories, and rituals of daily life” (Swidler 1986:273). In other words, culture can be understood as a kit-tool used for understanding, interpreting, and resolving conflicting situations in our surroundings (Swidler 1986:273). According to this definition, cultural resources can be understood as features of religion, language, and education.

Religion can be understood as a cultural resource since it first provides individuals with a unified system of beliefs, meaning, and practices (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4), which is what culture is (Swidler 1986:273). Language is a cultural resource since language is one of the vehicles in which an individual can formulate and express their meaning of the world (Swidler 1986:273, Turner 1997:7, Martinussen 2003:21, and Togeby 2003:25,61 and 2002:59). Education can also be identified as a cultural resource, since education is related to the ability to put one’s ideas into words (Martinussen 1977:41).

How they impact the individuals’ sense of attachment.

Cultural resources such as religion, language, and education can affect immigrants’ perception of attachment to a new country, and I will explain why.

³ Immigrants’ might feel they have experienced discrimination based on their interpretation of their own experiences (Togeby 2002:110).

Religion as a cultural resource is important because it is a source of meaning for interpreting and to understanding the world (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4). Those people sharing the same religion are unified by a system of meaning, by sharing the same beliefs and values, thus religion serves for the bonding of the individuals (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4). According to this, religion is not only a matter of practice of a belief, but it is a function that serves to integrate society in the share behavior involved (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4). Religion thus can affect the immigrants' sense of attachment understanding the first as a network where differences can be translated into similarities, affecting the state of wellbeing of the person (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Religion can affect immigrants' sense of attachment in another way.

Religion is also used for coping with conflicting situations in one's surroundings by organizing the chaos of existence and choice (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4). In relation to this, religion is important because it gives structure to the individual's (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4). Thus, when an individual encounters difficulties on continuing practicing his or her religion, they encounter chaos in their world, as in which they are and where do they belong (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4). These issues can be translated to experience a dis-attachment to the society in which they live. Not feeling attached to the host society can result not only because they do not have a network to translate the "I" into the "WE" (Putnam 1995a:67), but also as a discomfort or not being able to express their religious culture as in what they believe in, who they are, and where they belong (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4). The discomfort of the individual affects his or her sense of attachment since discomfort might result in remoteness from the host society, which can increase chances of developing feelings of discrimination (Martinussen 1977:119).

Language as a cultural resource is important because it is a way of expressing our culture and own ideas of how we understand our surrounding (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4). Language is fundamental for our expression of participation, since with language we communicate with others, express our point of view, and obtain information that we use for shaping our opinions

(Dahlgren 2002:2, and Coleman 1988: 104). According to this, not knowing the language of the community can affect the immigrants' sense of attachment because those who are unable to communicate will encounter problems of expressing participation. Not participating or interacting with others represents problems of not developing trust, and of changing the state of wellbeing of the individual (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). In other words, language can affect the sense of attachment when a person is unable to talk and interact with others (Dahlgren 2002:5)

A person who does not interact with his or her community has problems of developing socially, of shaping identity, of fostering values shared by the community, and of learning how to deal with conflict in productive ways (Dahlgren 2002:5). All of these outcomes will therefore affect the immigrants' sense of attachment in a negative way, as in not feeling attached to its community. In comparison, a person that talks to his or her community gets to shape opinions not only by the news they heard and read, but also through daily conversation (Dahlgren 2002). Additionally, a person who is able to talk with others can develop empathy and affective elements that serve for reaching collective outcomes (Dahlgren 2002:6-7). That means that a person who interacts and participates with its community through daily conversations, has an opportunity to resolve dilemmas of collective action, which can increase their sense of wellbeing (Putnam 1996). A person who is able to write, speak, and talk in meetings is more likely to be more effective when he or she gets involved into politics, and it is therefore why those who talk can obtain positive outcomes from participating in the resolution of collective dilemmas (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995:271). In conclusion, language can affect the sense of attachment since it is through this that people get to engage or participate in network interaction (Dahlgren 2002).

Finally, education is an important type of cultural resource similar to language (Martinussen 1977:41, 2003:21, Turner 1977:7, and Togeby 2003:25,62 and 2002:59). Education and language are similar since both have to do with intellectual skills as a source of knowledge (Togeby 2003). Education and language are important because as forms of knowledge, they can be related

to have information, which represents gaining insight or understanding the surroundings (Martinussen 1977:40). Thus education can affect the sense of attachment since knowledge and information capacitate the individual with abilities to interact with each other, trusting those who interact with, and therefore resulting in developing better future opportunities that affect the individuals' state of wellbeing (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996, and Togeby 2002:42).

Political Resources

Political resources have to do with the relation among personal ability and desire that makes citizens capable of participating in the political resolution process of the State (Martinussen 2003:9 and Togeby 2002:59, 2003:61). This desire of participation in the political process is characterized by having the goal of promoting wealth, and by sustaining controllable authorities (Kymlicka and Norman 1997:6). Individuals who desire to participate in the resolution process should also have disposition to auto-limit themselves and to embrace the personal responsibility in their economic demands, as also in the decisions that affect their health and environment (Kymlicka and Norman 1997:6). This kind of resource can be seen through freedom of organization or membership, voting, seeking electoral office, etc (Martinussen 2003:21 and Isin & Turner 2002:3).

How they impact the individuals' sense of attachment.

The political resource might affect immigrants' sense of attachment because it can transform one's social conditions based on the resolutions achieved and implemented by the State (Togeby 2002:59). For instance if the immigrants' trust the system and participate on the resolution process, it is more likely that they develop high satisfaction towards the country (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996, and Togeby 2002:144). This happens because they believe that by participation on elections they can influence the decisions taken upon different arenas that matter in their life (Togeby 2002:93), as in their work place, education, health system, etc (Togeby 2002:13-14, 2003).

A person who is part of a political organization can perhaps trust more the government (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996) because he or she is in the inside, they can come with ideas of things to do, and can vote on activities to do by the organization. It might be that the person was motivated to take part of this party not only to protect his or her interests, but also perhaps he or she lacked trust to it because due to corruptive experiences with the system in their original country. Being in that party can change this way of perceiving the system, trusting it more (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Another way in which participation in political organizations can influence immigrants' perceptions of attachment is by understanding that voluntary participation represents opportunities for acquiring more skills for being political active (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995:273).

Voting can also shape one's attachment to the country because it is also related to influencing the resolutions of the country. A person who votes is taking part of the democratic process. They have the option to decide what is best for them, instead of being left behind. Voting can be seen as a citizen right, so voting can also shape their attachment because individuals exercise civic skills. For instance, it is expected in a way that a good citizen votes during the elections because they are part of the democratic process. In Norway immigrants that have lived a certain amount of time can vote, they do not need to be Norwegian citizens to do that. They are part of the decision taking and democratic process as other Norwegian citizens. They exercise the same civic skill as the others, and therefore this action can shape attitudes of attachment in a positive way.

Direction to follow

This section has presented the explanatory factors of differences on attachment based on the resources perspective of Willy Martinussen (1977 and 2003). This will serve to answer the second research question of my investigation, "What factors can explain finding differences on immigrants sense of attachment to their host country?" The reason why I presented the explanatory factors of differences on attachment first, was to show that according to the existing literature of resources, there are reasons for

believing that differences on attachment do exist. However these suppositions cannot answer alone whether a different sense of attachment among different immigrant groups towards their host country is present, which is the first research question of this investigation.

For answering the first research question it is necessary to undergo an empiric investigation based on the resource perspective that I just presented in this section. Empirical information will answer not only if differences on attachment exist, but it will also serve to understand if the resource perspective does account for those differences on attachment. Given the importance of the empirical investigation for answering both of the research questions in this study, I consider important to start by discussing the methodology that I used in this paper. Thus the next section will discuss how the information was obtained, which includes the validity of this investigation, and in addition, represents an opportunity of future reproduction of the same by other researchers.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

In order to answer the questions “Is there a different sense of attachment among immigrants?” and “If so, what factors can explain these variations?” it is necessary to have quantitative information that can support the claims of the existing literature, which was presented on the past section. This section will therefore focus on discussing the necessary data for answering the research questions. All the necessary quantitative information can be found on the report of LCAI, “Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006” (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). Access to the LCAI report was given through the Center of Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD), which consisted on 4 pamphlets and a computational program that contains the results of the LCAI survey (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008)⁴.

Description of the material: “Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006” LCAI

The persons in charge of the LCAI project

LCAI is a report that was conducted by the Bureau of Statistics Norway (SSB). Several people worked in conjunction under the LCAI project, and I will mention the main responsible persons. The persons who were responsible for the qualitative planning of the research were Gunnlaug Daugstad and Benedicte Lie (Gulløy 2008:1). Responsibility for the survey and collection of the data lies under the SSB Section of Interview Surveys, “Seksjon for Intervjuundersøkelser” (Gulløy 2008:1). The project leaders were Tor Morten Normann, Therese Gullbrandsen, and Elisabeth Gulløy (Gulløy 2008:1). The responsible for the content of the questionnaire of the survey and head responsible for the analysis of it was Svein Blom, from the Section of Demography and Living Conditions Research, “Seksjon for Demografi og Levekårforskning” (Gulløy 2008:1). Svein Blom also participated in the planning and work related to the collection of the data (Gulløy 2008:1). The Section of Data Work, “Seksjon for databearbeiding”, in SSB helped with the

⁴ NSD and Statistisk Sentralbyrå were not involve and are not responsible of the analysis that will be done in this investigation.

register of the questionnaire. Svein Blom, Thore Nafstad-Bakke and Elisabeth Gulløy had the responsibility of controlling and preparing the files (Gulløy 2008:1). The survey was financed by the Work and Inclusion Department, “Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartement” (Gulløy 2008:1).

The purpose of the LCAI project

The goal of the LCAI survey was to capture different important sides of the living conditions among different immigrant groups and their followers in Norway (Gulløy2008: 4). By doing this, it was expected to be possible to compare the results with the total of the population (Gulløy 2008:4).

The duration period of the LCAI project

The LCAI report started to take place by the end of 2002 (Gulløy 2008:4). At that time SSB decided to conduct a new survey on the living conditions of the immigrants based on previous works dated from 1983 and 1996 (Gulløy 2008:4). The fieldwork took place from the 20th of September of 2005, to the 31st of January 2007 (Gulløy 2008:14). In relation to the original plans, it was stated the fieldwork took a longer time then expected and it demanded of more resources then the predict ones (Gulløy 2008:14).

The design of the selected groups

The focus groups in the LCAI report were made according to the countries that represent strong immigrant groups from nonwestern immigrant countries in Norway (Gulløy 2008:4). Therefore the countries of selection were Bosnia Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Somalia, and Chile (Gulløy 2008:4). I limited the groups into five, based on the countries that represent strong immigrant groups from East-Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Gulløy 2008:5). The countries that I selected were therefore Bosnia Herzegovina, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Somalia, and Chile. In addition, I selected those five countries based on their particular characteristics on migration patterns to Norway, which was described during the introduction section of this research.

The distribution of the groups in the LCAI survey is disproportional in variables such as relation to country of origin and place of residence, and proportional in relation to variables such as gender, age, time of residence and distribution between immigrants and their followers (Gulløy 2008:8). From this it can be seen that the average coverage of the country groups was of 85.5 percent, with Pakistan and Somalia in different ends of the scale (Gulløy 2008:6). The population of Pakistan was covered with more than the 90 percent of the population in Norway (Gulløy 2008:6). Somalia in the other hand was at the other end of the scale where only 80 percent of the population was in the survey (Gulløy 2008:6).

The variations according to age and gender are to be explained due to different immigration histories or demographics from the selected countries in the research (Gulløy 2008:6). According to the LCAI report, an example of this can be seen in that all countries had fewer women respondents than men, except in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina (Gulløy 2008:6). Additionally, the differences in variables such as: gender, age, and immigrant generation, are expected to be related to actual variations on the population (Gulløy 2008:6-7). In case that those differences do not represent the actual population, it is stated that other factors could have influenced the distribution (Gulløy 2008:7). For instance, an external factor as in place of residence could have influenced the distribution of the groups, since all the groups are overrepresented by immigrants living in Oslo, while those living in smaller municipalities are underrepresented (Gulløy 2008:7-8). In relation to this, that explains why Pakistan was overrepresented with a young population of an age of 16 to 24, since there is a small probability for them to live in the municipalities that were omitted from the group selection for the research (Gulløy 2008:7).

The collection of the data

The information was collected by interviews either made in person or by phone (Gulløy 2008:9). Before the interview took place there was a letter and brochure that was sent to the selected individuals (Gulløy 2008:11). The reason for sending that information was to orient the individuals about the

content of the survey, and to encourage them to participate (Gulløy 2008:12). The letter included incentives for participation, which consisted of four coupons of a value of 5000 crowns, and ten coupons of a value of 100 crowns, which were to be given after fulfilling the interviews (Gulløy 2008:12).

The time of the interview varied according to the immigrants' country group but it tended to last an average of 1 hour and 11 minutes (Gulløy 2008:10). The groups that used more time during the interview were Bosnia Herzegovina and Somalia, while Pakistan used only 61 minutes (Gulløy 2008:10).

During the interview the interviewer used a printed survey for asking and collecting the information given by the interviewee (Gulløy 2008). The object of investigation had the option to choose the sex of the interviewer, as well of the language (Gulløy 2008:9). They could select either their own language, English or Norwegian (Gulløy 2008:9). The reason for allowing the interviewee to select the language and sex of the interviewer was to generate positive impacts on trust, comfort and confidentiality (Gulløy 2008:9-10).

The Advantages of using the LCAI report

It is a positive thing that the survey has been based on previous ones, because it might have taken the best from previous research. For instance, the majority of the questions in the survey were collected from the survey of 1996, and others (Gulløy 2008:4). The topics seen under the survey were housing and living situation, working and working environment, education and language, religion, family and background from original country, economy, health, social contacts, violence and lack of security, organizations and free time (Gulløy 2008). At the same time, considering older research might have been developed on prior limitations, or on items that were not included and needed to be studied. This might be the reason why new topics were considered in the report as questions of citizenship, religion, real estate property abroad and experience of discrimination (Gulløy 2008:4).

Another good thing about using this survey is that it contains all the necessary quantitative information for answering the research questions. The topics mentioned above seek to reach the goal of mapping the most important sides of living conditions from persons with immigrant background⁵ and on their descendents⁶ (Gulløy 2008). The questions that were used to measure immigrants' living conditions according to the different topics can be translated into the independent and control variables. That is why the survey represents enough material to answer the research questions.

Another significant aspect on the LCAI is that the interviewees were those who have lived at least two years in Norway by the 1st of September of 2005 (Gulløy 2008). This is also positive because for some resources immigrants' need to have lived in the country for more than two years, for example in order to participate in voting elections. What I am trying to say is that, having immigrants that have lived in Norway for over a period of two years represents a better opportunity for them to access the same resources as the Norwegians because they have the same rights.

Recollection of the data: The translation of the dependent and independent variables

As previously discussed, there are many good reasons for using the LCAI material. The most important thing is that the information under LCAI can serve to answer both research questions. In order to answer the research questions I need empirical information first of all, on the degree or level of attachment among the immigrants. This should be understood as the dependent variable. Secondly, I also need quantitative data on the independent variables, which are in relation to the personal and resource variables.

In order to draw internal valid conclusions among the relationship between the dependent variable and the social, cultural, and political resource variables I

⁵ Immigrant is a person who has been born abroad with both parents being born also abroad, regardless of their actual citizenship status (Gulløy 2008:5).

⁶ Descendents are the persons who were born in Norway with both parents being born abroad (Gulløy 2008:5).

need to understand whether the differences on the sense of attachment are not caused by other factors than those by the resource variables. Therefore, I included the personal variables of country of origin, gender, age, reasons for coming, and time of residence. These five personal variables are identified as the possible alternative factors that can have an impact on immigrants' perceptions of attachment (Martinussen 1977). Additionally by considering these five variables I will be also able to find more about the constitution of my sample, which cannot be given by analyzing the results on social, political, and cultural resources in relation to the sense of attachment.

After understanding the constitution of the sample, and being aware of any possible effect that these might have over the relation to the dependent variable, I will focus on the resource variables. The resource variables are related to the social, cultural, and political resources. I will understand the relationship among the dependent and each of the resource variables, taking into consideration the effect of personal variables. By doing this I will be able to draw conclusions that take into consideration external factors that affect the sense of attachment other than resources. This will serve to see whether social, cultural, and political resources do explain variations on the level of attachment. With this said, I will start by presenting a general overview of how the information was obtained. Additional detailed information of the translation of the variables from the LCAI survey in relation to the framework I am using can be seen on *Table 3.1*.

The dependent variable: The sense of attachment

The dependent variable for this study is the level of attachment immigrants had towards Norway. The dependent variable is used to answer the first research question, "Is there a different sense of attachment among immigrant groups?" That mapping of attachment will also help to answer the second question, which focuses on explaining those differences.

It is important to mention that the dependent variable, that is attachment factor, was grouped according to the immigrants' groups, which is a personal variable that will be described later on. Another important thing to mention is

that the level of attachment was measured on an average scale from 1 to 7 (low to high) sense of attachment.

The independent variables: The explanatory factors for finding differences on attachment

Original country

The countries that constitute the sample of research are Chile, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sri Lanka, Somalia, and Pakistan. These five countries represent the strongest nonwestern immigrant groups in Norway from Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and that was one of the main reasons for focusing only on those five countries (Thorud, Haagensen, and Jølstad 2008:40). Additionally, the groups represent construct validity of the sample since the country groups represent the current differences of immigration patterns in Norway according to time or residence, reasons for coming, gender, and age (Thorud, Haagensen, and Jølstad 2008, and Major 1999). It is important to keep in mind at all times that the average scale of attachment will be understood in relation to these five countries.

Gender

This variable will help to distinguish not only among female and male respondents. The variable will also be used to know whether gender differences account also for differences on immigrants' sense of attachment.

Age

Age factor was divided into four different groups, the young from 16 to 24, the young adults from 25 to 39, the adults from 40 to 55, and the older from 56 or older. By using these four categories it will be possible to tell apart the respondents according to their age group, and whether the rational expectation, of finding a higher sense of attachment on the youngest group was found.

Reasons for coming

This variable will differentiate between the migrants who were motivated of migrating to Norway due to working, studying, family, or refugee reasons. One of the reasons for including these four categories is that they represent the

real situations of migrating to Norway (The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration 2006:4). Another reasons for including these variables has to do with understanding whether or not variations on the level of attachment are explained according to different reasons for migration to Norway.

Time of immigration

Time of immigration was set into interval groups of three; those that have been in Norway for more than 10 years, from 5 to 10 years, and those less than 5 years. By using these three categories all of the population will be included and distinguished from each other according to the group that matches with the time spent since migration to Norway. With this variable it will be also possible to see if it explains immigrants' sense of attachment or not.

Social Resources

It was mentioned that social resources have to do with a state of well being produced by investing time on a network. This variable can be measured by the monetary income a person has in relation employment, housing and health situation, which affect that state of mind. The way in which I examined it was by using the empirical indicators of income, neighborhood environment, and house situation.

Cultural Resources

Cultural resources were identified as intellectual abilities used by the individual to formulate or express themselves. This factor was measured by using the empirical indicators of: education in Norway, Norwegian language ability, and religion practice opportunity in Norway.

Political Resources

Political resources were defined as the relation among the personal ability and desire that makes an individual capable of participating in the political resolution of the State. This factor was measured by using the empirical indicators of: membership on a political party and participation during elections, such as in the elections of 2003 and 2005.

Table 3.1: Identifying the variables in the LCAI survey

Variable Type	Name of the Variable	Empirical indicator:	Located in the survey as question or position:
Dependent Variable	Level of Attachment	Attachment	D7. "People that live in Norway can feel in certain degree a level of attachment to Norway. Ranking from 1 (none) to 7 (highest), which will be the best option for you?"
Independent Variables	Social Resource	Income	N4. "Have you in the last 12 months, had problems for affording your living expenses? (1) No resource: often, sometimes, rarely , (2) Has resource: never and (3) Un trust: do not know "
		Neighborhood environment	P4. "Do you have problems with criminality, violence in your area? (1) No resource: yes , (2) Has resource: no , and (3) Un trust: do not know ".
		House situation	B8. "How is the size of your living place for you? (1) No resource: too big, too small , (2) Has resource: right , and (3) Un trust: do not know "
	Cultural Resource	Education in Norway	M7. "Have you gone to a Norwegian school? (1) No resource: no , (2) Has resource: yes , and (3) Un trust: do not know "
		Norwegian language ability	L5. "How good would you say that your Norwegian language is in relation to...(c) talking to other Norwegians on the street? (1) No resource: bad, very bad , (2) Has resource: very good, good, average , and (3) Un trust: do not know "
		Religion practice opportunity in Norway	E5. "How do you experience your opportunity to practice your religion in Norway? (1) No resource: difficult, very difficult , (2) Has resource: really easy, easy, neither easy nor difficult , and (3) Un trust: do not know "
	Political Resource	Membership in a political party	R3. "Are you a member of a Norwegian political party? (1) No resource: no , (2) Has resource: yes , and (3) Un trust: do not know "
		Participation in elections	R7. "Did you vote on the elections of 2003? R8. Did you vote on the election of 2005? (1) No resource: no , (2) Has resource: yes , (3) Un trust: do not know, do not remember , and (4) Did not have/has the right .
	Gender	Female	Position 260: "utv_kjonn"
		Male	
	Age	16-24	Position 279: "utv_alder"
		25-39	
		40-55	
		56-older	
	Original country	Chile	Position 278: "landbackg"
		Bosnia-Herzegovina	
		Somalia	
		Pakistan	
	Time of immigration	More than 10 years	Position 262: "forstdato"
		From 5 to 10 years	
Less than 5 years			
Reasons for coming	Work	Position 309: "background"	
	Studies		
	Family: (marriage, family reunion, came with family)		
	Refugee: (Asylum, humanitarian)		

Explanations:

Bold: indicates how the answers were re grouped in this research

italics: indicates the original possible answers that could be selected

The measurement

Table 3.1 shows the empirical indicators that are needed for measuring the variables of research. As it can be noticed there are two types of variables, the dependent and independent variables. The independent variables, as seen on *table 3.1* were divided into two different classes: resource and personal variables. This means that there were mainly three types of variables that were measured in this investigation.

The dependent variable, sense of attachment was measured on an average scale of 7 (1:low - 7:high). As it was mentioned earlier, the study understands the immigrants' sense of attachment in relation to their original country. This means that the cross tabulations that were obtained from the LCAI report (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008), showed the frequency distribution of attachment on 7 levels according to the country groups that are being studied. From this information, the frequencies were transformed into percentage frequencies for each country group. The percentages were done according to each country group because each group has a different population. That is why the percentages were not taken from the total of the country groups. Besides, the percentage frequency of the distribution of attachment was used for obtaining measuring attachment in an average percentage scale of 7. The selection of this method will be described later on.

The personal variable, which is an independent variable measured differences according to gender, age, time of residence, and reasons for coming (as seen on *table 3.1*). There were two different types of measurement used for all of the personal variables. One was related to attachment, using the same method as mentioned before. This means that the average scale of attachment was done from a cross tabulation of attachment, country of origin, and then a particular group of a personal variable. For instance, in the case of time of residence there are three groups less than 5, 5 to 10, or more than 10 years of residence. For obtaining the average percentage scale for those living in Norway less than five years, the frequency distribution was taken from that particular group and not from all, and so for the rest of the groups. This

applies for the rest of the groups under each category of the personal variables seen on *table 3.1*.

The other measurement used for the personal variables was for knowing the response rate for each country group. For obtaining this information a cross tabulation according to the country of origin, gender, reasons for coming, age, and time of residence was done. With this information I got a percentage frequency of distribution according to the country groups. By doing this I was able to know more about the constitution of each group, their differences, and/or similarities.

In addition to these two measurements I used a third one, but this one was not use for all personal variables. A correlation was done for the variables of (a) age and (b) time of residence according to the average percentage scale of each country group. This means that there were two correlations made in this study. The reason for doing the correlation of these variables was mainly to see how the variables were placed at the same time. As it is going to be seen in the next chapter, the analysis is done upon at least two country groups where the average percentage scale of attachment was different. This means that I am not analyzing each single country group. By doing the correlation for age and time of residence I will be able to see differences, and to select the countries of focus. This means that even though I used a correlation, I will be making the analysis upon the average percentage scale of attachment. This is done because the correlation does not represent that the variations on the factors are dependent on each other.

The final variable that was also measured was according to the type of resource: social, cultural, and political (see *table 3.1*). These indicators took into consideration the average percentage scale of attachment, as it was just explained. As it can also be seen on *table 3.1*, there was information that needed to be regrouped according to each indicator. For instance, take the example of the social indicator of income. The original survey provided information with several different options (shown in italics on *table 3.1*). To make things easier through the analysis I decided to regroup that information

according to those who did not have a resource, had a resource, or lacked of trust during the interview (shown in bold on *table 3.1*). By doing this I included all possible answers, and with this it will be possible to know: (1) if individuals from a country group had or not a given resource, and (2) if the average percentage scale of attachment was different among those who did not have a resource, had a resource, or lacked of trust. This last point will serve to understand whether differences on the average percentage scale are seen when individuals have or not a resource, and if their level of attachment can be explained by in relation to having or not a resource. This will also serve to answer whether or not the resource approach does explain differences on immigrants' sense of attachment to their host country.

It is important to mention that each empirical indicator for social, cultural, and political resources was considered individually (see *table 3.1*). This means that for instance, there were 3 cases considered throughout the analysis of social resources as in income, neighborhood environment, and house situation⁷. The reason why I decided not to group those 3 cases into 1 is because each group has a different population. For instance it might be that those who did not have the social resource of income, have the social resource of house. By consider the results according to each empirical indicator less information will be lost when doing the analysis, reason why I decided to not regroup the indicators according to the resources being analyzed. Another positive thing for using the cases individually is to understand whether an indicator matters most, as in has an impact on immigrants' sense of attachment.

In conclusion all variables measure the level of attachment according to an average percentage scale. By using the average percentage scale of attachment I will be able to compare differences or similarities for each country. I also decided to use this measurement because as it is simple for me, as in understanding the measurement process, there is less space open for mistakes. Additionally, less information is missed when measuring it in this

⁷ The empirical indicators for the cultural and political resources can be seen on *table 3.1*.

way since I am using measuring attachment according to an average percentage scale. However there is a limitation while using this method. Since attachment is measured upon an average, this means that no generalizations can be made upon the results. Even though generalizations cannot be made, this method serves to answer both of the research questions of this study. It is therefore why this method was selected since it will serve to reach the main goal of this research.

The response rate and differences between the groups

The data that was recollected revealed how groups were constituted. Some groups had exactly the same patterns of migration among their females and males. Other country groups revealed that gender differences indicated different patterns of migrations. All the necessary information regarding group distribution is as follows:

Bosnia Herzegovina

The information that was recollected showed that the majority of the persons of Bosnia Herzegovina were adults (40-55) who came mainly as refugee seekers. This means that even though it was expected to have a high response rate from skill immigrant workers (according to the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration 2006:24), this was not the case. However, as it was explained during the introduction of this research, it was also expected to have a high response rate from refugee immigrants due to the Bosnia War (WIKI1), which was reflected in the group constitution. Other indicators according to the time of immigration revealed that as it was also expect, the majority of the immigrants have been living in Norway for a time period from 5 to 10 years. However, gender differences indicated that there were the same patterns for migration found among the males and females of Bosnia Herzegovina.

Somalia

The country of Somalia was characterized by a majority of young adult (25-39) immigrants who have been here for a period inferior to 5 years, which was expected and mentioned during the introduction of this research. Another

characteristic for this group is that the majority came for refugee reasons, which was similar in the case of immigrants from Bosnia Herzegovina. These immigration patterns were exactly the same for the males and females of Somalia. According to the LCAI report, this group showed a low answer disposition (Gulløy 2008:34), reason that makes me suspect that there will be a high amount of immigrants indicating feelings of un trust during the interview.

Sri Lanka

Immigrants from Sri Lanka were similar to Bosnia and Somalia when considering the reasons for migrating to Norway. The majority of their population, as in Bosnia and Somalia, came for refugee reasons. Other indicators as in age, showed that the majority of this country group is adults (40-55), who have been here for a period from 5 to 10 years. There was a different immigration pattern when considering gender differences. The majority of the male population for Sri Lanka came as adult refugees (40-55) and have been here more then 10 years. The females however had a majority of family immigrants, who are young adults (25-39), and have been here for a time period of 5 to 10 years. This might mean that the females followed those males who migrated first, and that is why they migrated for family reasons.

Pakistan

Even though it was expected to have Pakistan constituted by a majority of skilled working immigrants, as mentioned during the introduction, this was not the case. The majority of Pakistan came to Norway for family reasons. It was also found out that the majority has been here for more then 10 years, and that the majority of them are young adults (25-39). The male population of Pakistan was constituted exactly by these patterns of migration, but this was different for the females. The females from Pakistan had a majority of family young adult immigrants (25-39) that have been here for a time period for 5 to 10 years. That means that the only difference between the genders is according to the time residence of the majority.

Chile

This country group was constituted by a majority of adults (40-55) that have been here for more than 10 years. The main reasons for migrating to Norway are based on refugee reasons, as it was also expected. These patterns of migration were exactly the same among females and males from Chile.

Threats, bias and limitations

Some important aspects that limit the study were based on the nature of the material used. Even though translations of the survey into different languages were made carefully, there were some language problems that were encountered. This is because some key concepts have an abstract meaning even in Norwegian, making it difficult to translate them or explain them (Gulløy 2008:37). Some interviewers complained that particular concepts such as “levekår” and “samhørighet” were difficult to translate into other languages. The abstractedness of these concepts could have misled the interviewee (Gulløy 2008:37). It is important to take in mind this language bias I am using the concept “samhørighet” as attachment, and it might be the concept meant different things to the individuals in research affecting the results or measurement on the dependent variable.

In addition to the language bias on the concept of attachment, memory or recall bias could also have affected the interviewee. It might be that individuals remember past experiences in order to answer their level of attachment, as well as other questions. When individuals remember experiences, they could recall either the positive or the negative experiences that they encountered. This will mean that the subject could have had a bias when answering the survey, which would represent measurement bias as well.

Another measurement bias related to the interviewee has to do with attention bias. As it was explained earlier in this section, the information was obtained through interviews that were done by phone or personally. The interviewee knew about the study (Gulløy 2008), and it might have been that they have

bias information to the interviewer since there was a contact among them. What I mean is that the subject could have given results that were more positive because of the existence of the interviewer during the survey. To avoid this bias the LCAI report mentions that the interviewee could chose the gender and language of the interviewer to create feelings of trust, confidentiality, and comfort (Gulløy 2008). Regardless of these steps, attention bias could have been still present during the collection of the information. To avoid this problem of having information on the level of attachment affected by their attention bias I consider a variable identified as un-trust (see *table 1*). By using this variable I will be able to separate those who were uncomfortable during the interview and could have had a different response rate affected by their discomfort.

In relation to the intervention of the subject and the interviewer, there is also another bias that could have been present through the interview, which is timing bias. As it was mentioned earlier in this section, the interviews tended to last 1 hour and 11 minutes, immigrants from Pakistan used lesser time while immigrants from Bosnia Herzegovina and Somalia used more time for answering the survey (Gulløy 2008). Time could have had an effect on the results, as in having respondents that were not into the survey, giving the first answer that came through their minds to be done with the interview as soon as possible.

Another bias that could have been present due to the nature of the investigation is related to the response rate. As it was argued, there was an overrepresentation of immigrants living in Oslo while the smaller municipalities were underrepresented in the study (Gulløy 2008). This could be an external factor influencing the results, since according to Martinussen distance to resource influence its access (1977). In that sense, this could represent having easier access to resources since there was an overrepresentation of people living in Oslo, having therefore a greater sense of attachment (Martinussen 1977). One way in which I decided to overcome this problem was to consider data on individuals that have and do not have resources. By doing this it will be possible to see whether the theoretical framework explains

differences on the sense of attachment as in those having resources and those not having resources.

Additionally, those who participated on the survey were not all of those who were selecting during the planning of the project (Gulløy 2008:16). There were individuals that were not found when the interviewer tried to contact them or did not want to participate (Gulløy 2008). Older people did not want to participate due to sickness (Gulløy 2008:18). This could have had affected the representation of the older in the research. Reasons for not finding individuals were due to not registering addresses changes, being on vacation, or they were working out their houses (Gulløy 2008:18). The individuals that were not found were mainly from Somalia, Chile, and Pakistan, yet the last had a high percentage of respondents (Gulløy 2008). Somalia was the country characterized of having a low answer percentage rate in relation to the average, and Chile was also below the average (Gulløy 2008:18). However I do not consider this as a problem since the samples represent migration patterns of each country (Gulløy 2008). Besides, I am taking the average percentage scale of attachment according to each country group, and by doing this I will avoid to have problems of comparing scales of attachment based on differences on the actual amount for each population. In addition I consider additional variables on gender, age, time of residence, and reasons for coming for understand the constitution of each group. These same variables are considered when accessing information according to the average percentage scales. By doing this is possible to avoid mistakes due to misrepresentations on the groups. The only disadvantage that I have will be, as I argued earlier, that I am unable to make generalization from this study.

Finally, there is another bias related to the measurement I am using in this research. It could be debated whether I am measuring the empirical indicators (see *table 1*). However according to the framework I am using, those empirical indicators do represent the resources that I want do study. That is why I consider that the only problem would actually be on having more empirical indicators for each resource. At the same time I do not think that this represents a problem since I am considering information on having or not

resources. This information allows me to make an analysis without losing data during the measurement of the same. That is why I do not believe that additional empirical items are needed. In conclusion, I am therefore aware that no generalization should be drawn from my research. Even though generalization will not be done, this study is still valid and important.

Validity

Regardless of the biases that could have been present through the collection of the information due to the points discussed, this project is still valid and I will argue that.

First of all, the five groups that I am using do represent the strongest ten immigrant groups from non-western countries (see Gulløy 2008). According also to the LCAI report, different distributions represent patterns of migration history and demography (Gulløy 2008). That means, that if the groups are unequally distributed those differences represent the constitution of the groups and how the real world is, which is a part of construct validity. Besides during the analysis of the information I will discuss the construction of the group to be able to know whether external factors such as age, time of residence, reasons for coming, gender, and original country affect the response rate. By being aware of the differences, and in whether this had an effect in the response rate, I will be providing with construct validity to this research. After the analysis is done I will know which variables correlated and which did not correlated giving convergent and discriminative validity to the construction of the sample. From the construct that I am using, that is the sample groups, I will expect that the resource variables correlate, giving convergent validity. From the personal variables I am expecting that these do not correlate, giving discriminative validity. What it can be said is that I am measuring the right things for drawing conclusions, which gives again construct validity to this research.

The questions that were selected in order to measure the dependent and independent variables, which gives content validity to this study. Besides, I added the personal variables through the analysis of the dependent and

resource variables to see if the first had also an effect over the dependent variables. By doing this I will be able to know whether those external factors are affecting the dependent variable, giving internal validity to the research. There might be other factors that I did not consider that might affect the dependent variable, and I will discuss that during my conclusions. Thus, being aware of my limitations will help me to conclude only what I am able to see, and will acknowledge how other factors could have affected the dependent variable when describing the analysis. I will therefore try to present valid conclusions, but no generalization can be made since this research is not externally valid.

The reason why no generalizations can be made from the subjects in the study to the entire population is related to the concept of attachment. Attachment has to do with an individual feeling, should I understand it as collective or individual feelings? To avoid giving inappropriate conclusions, I am not generalizing. There are limitations on my study based on my statistical knowledge, thus it can also be that I had problems with measuring the data. I am aware of all these disadvantages or limitations, and that is why I understand that this is simply a small study where no generalization should be made to avoid providing inappropriate conclusions of the entire population. I am limited only to understand the construct groups, by designing the research based on the resource perspective I will be able to answer both of the research questions, which is the goal of this project. In addition, the steps that were taken in obtaining the information were given in this section, which means that the reader knows how the information was obtained and can reproduce it on his or her desire.

From this research the reader will be able to know if the resource perspectives do explain differences on attachment or not. That is the main thing that the reader will gain after reading this project. It is therefore why I believe that even though there are strong biases in this project, it is still valid. The project is valid because it was designed to answer the research questions in the best way possible, which is by using the information from the LCAI.

Summary

The perspective of “the good citizen” acknowledges how an individual can have attachment to different places, and not only to one. This gave place to the research questions, (1) “Is there a different sense of attachment among immigrant groups in Norway? If so, (2) what factors can explain those variations?” The relevance of answering these questions is because there are reasons to believe that lack of attachment to a country might result on conflicts, as the case of France (CBC 2007). The study becomes even more important because no previous research has answered those questions.

Existing literature under “the good citizen” paradigm suggests how attachment can vary (Martinussen 1977). That literature discusses that having or not resources explains differences on the level of attachment (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2002). This literature of the resource perspective was taken into consideration for having a framework for answering the research questions. The framework was then use for designing how the information was going to be obtained. In other words, this research presents literature and new empirical material to answer the research questions based on the resource perspective.

The first step that was taken in this study was to explain how the resource perspective argues that different factors can explain differences on the sense of attachment immigrants have (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2002). It was argued that personal variables might be an additional factor that explains differences of attachment, reason why it was mentioned that variables for gender, age, reasons for coming, time of immigration, and original country were going to be considered in the research. After these five different personal variables were discussed it was explained how resources as social, cultural, and political resources might explain differences of attachment, by explaining their importance and relation to attachment.

The second step that was taken in this study was to present information of the steps that needed to be made in order to answer the research questions by

using the framework that was previously presented. It was argued that all the necessary empirical information can be obtained from the LCAI report (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). It was also explained that there are limitations in this study based on the biases that could have been present during the collection of the data. However, there were steps that were taken to overcome those biases in order to answer the research questions. After all these steps were taken, it is now possible to analyze the results that were obtained from the LCAI survey (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008) in order to answer: (1) "Is there a different sense of attachment among immigrant groups in Norway? If so, (2) what factors can explain those variations?"

CHAPTER IV. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

As it was mentioned earlier in this research, there are reasons for believing that differences on immigrants' sense of attachment towards their host country exist. These differences were explained according to the resource perspective, since resources shape individuals' sense of attachment. It was also stated that an empirical study needed to be done in order to answer both of the research questions of this investigation. As it was argued, all the necessary information for conducting such study could be obtained from the report "Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008)⁸. It was therefore explained how the information was going to be translated into the variables of research and how it was going to be measured. What needs to be done now is to analyze the recollected information, which will serve to answer both of the research questions.

The main objective of this chapter is to examine the recollected data in relation to the explanatory factors of differences of attachment, which was presented on the second chapter of this research. For presenting the analysis this chapter will be organized in two parts.

The first part of this chapter will consist on presenting the results on the level of attachment on an average scale of 7 according to the five country groups studied: Bosnia Herzegovina, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Chile. After the average on the level of attachment is presented it will be possible to comment upon the results. This part will be therefore describing the results, identifying important points to consider from it, and explaining whether or not such results were expected. This information will serve to answer the first research question, on (1) "Is a different sense of attachment among immigrant groups towards their host country?" After this is done it will be possible to continue with the second part of this chapter, which will answer to (2) "What

⁸ All the data presented in this section was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). This information can be accessed through The Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD). Recollection and rights of the reports are originally performed by Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB). Neither NSD nor SSB are responsible for the analysis and interpretation of the data done in my study.

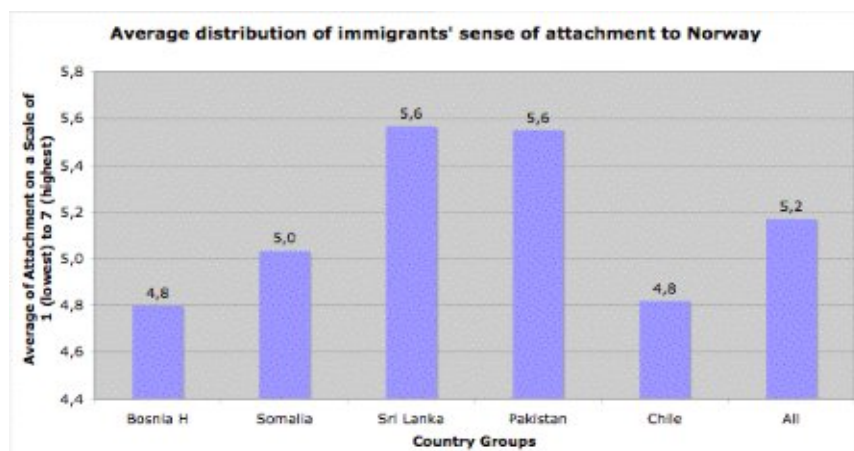
factors can explain differences on immigrants sense of attachment to their host country?”

The second part of this section will start by analyzing the results in relation to the personal characteristics of the groups as in: gender, age, time of residence, and reasons for coming according to the immigrants' country of origin. This will be done since according to the presented literature in chapter two, these factors can serve as barriers for having resources that can influence immigrants' sense of attachment to their host country (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2002). In other words, it is necessary to know whether the personal characteristics do affect immigrants' sense of attachment before understanding if resources matter. The reason why this needs to be done is because if personal characteristics do matter, this might affect the level of attachment and be an additional explanation for differences of attachment other than resources itself. By doing this it will be possible to understand if resources do account to explanations on differences of attachment and not the personal characteristics. This means that after the average on the level of attachment is understood in relation to the personal characteristics, the next step will be to analyze the average of attachment in relation to the social, cultural, and political resources.

Both analysis on the average level of attachment in relation to the independent variables of personal characteristics and resources will consist of discussing the reasons for believing that a given independent variable can affect the immigrants' sense of attachment. In other words, the analysis will be discussing the reasonable expectations according to the literature and whether or not those expectations were found by explaining the cases of some countries. All of these steps will serve to understand if a given personal characteristic/resource does matter on the immigrants' sense of attachment, which answers the second research question. With this stated it is now necessary to start by analyzing the results on the immigrants' level of attachment.

Level of Attachment

Figure 4.1: Average percentage of immigrants' sense of attachment to Norway on a scale from 1 to 7



There are three points that can be identified by observing the results on the average percentage scale of immigrants' sense of attachment to Norway shown on *Figure 4.1*⁹. I will discuss and explain those three points and whether I expected such results or not according to the framework of resources that I am using.

The first point that I will like to discuss is that *figure 4.1* shows the average percentage scale of the immigrants' sense of attachment to Norway according to their country of origin. In this figure, countries ranked from 4,8 to 5,6, which is not a big difference among each other even though it seems like that on *figure 4.1*. The reason why it seems that there are big differences on the sense of attachment is because the scale that appears on *figure 4.1* goes from 4,4 to 5,8. For this reason from *figure 4.1* it can be said that (1) there are small variations on the average percentage of immigrant's sense of attachment to Norway. It might be also said that even this small variations might be not significant, pointing more towards an equal sense of attachment. Was I expecting such low variations and a high level of attachment?

According to the literature that I presented, if individuals do not possess the same resources as the majority of the population, they will be lacking of

⁹ The data was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

attitudes that let them cope and participate in their society, as in: knowledge of public issues, public documents, ability to handle written material, and to argue (Martinussen 1977:119). Lacking of these attitudes can lead to experience system remoteness, distrust, and discrimination (Martinussen 1977:119). Distrusting ones' own network and not participating in it can influence the state of mind, affecting therefore the individuals' sense of attachment (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996), as in was explained earlier in this research. This information made me expect two possible outcomes. The first one was to find differences of the sense of attachment among the immigrants, and the second was to not find differences at all. I account this in relation to the framework I am using, since it argues that differences on the sense of attachment can be explained due to not having the same resources that are needed for coping in the society (Martinussen 1977). That is why I understand as reasonable to believe that if there are no differences on the sense of attachment this might be explained due to no difference on the possession of resources among the immigrants of Norway. However I do not know if this was the case.

As it was mentioned earlier in this research, rights in Norway are supposed to be equally distributed. Rights as social, cultural and political rights constituted the social, cultural, and political resources. This means that if rights are equally distributed, so are resources. If resources are equally distributed and these affect the sense of attachment as it was previously argued, this can explain why variations were not high. Even though resources are equally distributed, that is, that everyone can enjoy them equally, that does not mean that all individuals do actually have them. So even though I find low variations, I did expect greater variations thinking that individuals possess different resources even though these are equally distributed. It is important to mention that at this moment it is not known empirically, if all the immigrants possess the same amount of resource, which can explain why variations are not so different from each other. It might be that immigrants do use the same amount of resources and that is why variations on the sense of attachment were small.

Another point that can be described from *figure 4.1* is that even though big differences were not found, (2) the countries did actually had a medium/high level of attachment to Norway. It is important to notice that the average percentage of attachment was done on a 7 scale, which was the highest degree of attachment. Results ranked nearly over 5, which means that immigrants have generally a medium/high level of attachment to Norway. Could this level of attachment be explained due to having resources, and if so, could one expect a lower sense of attachment in the case of France?

As it was mention in the introduction of this research, African immigrants in France live segregated which limits their possession to different types of resources (CBC 2007). For instance the academic level of the schools in their community are bellow the national average (CBC 2007). This means that young people living in these communities are not as qualify as other French professionals are, which results in unemployment and/or unskilled workers (CBC 2007). Second generation immigrants are unsatisfied because of these inequalities, since they are left out from the social capital (CBC 2007). If immigrants in France have an unequal access to resources while immigrants in Norway have an equal access to resources, are immigrants in Norway expected to have a greater level of attachment over those in France? I do not count with empirical information on immigrants' sense of attachment to France to know if this is the case. I think that it is an important point to take into consideration for future researches to know more on what factors explain variations of attachment.

The final point that I will like to comment from seeing *figure 4.1* is that (3) some countries had the same average percentage scale of attachment regardless of their different characteristics as discussed during the introduction of this research. Notice that Sri Lanka and Pakistan have the same level of attachment, as also Bosnia Herzegovina and Chile had. If the countries had the same level of attachment regardless of their differences, should this be understood as personal characteristics do not influence immigrants' sense of attachment? This is not known by simply seeing the countries distribution of attachment. That is why it is important to understand

whether personal characteristics do account for explanations on the immigrants' sense of attachment.

What is known at this point is that the average level of attachment presents low differences, and what needs to be known is: what factors can explain these low differences? Are these low differences explained according to the personal characteristics, and/or according to the resources immigrants have? In order to answer the second research question of this research, based on the resource framework it will be now necessary to analyze the personal and resource variables in relation to the average level of attachment.

Personal Variables

Table 4.1: Av. % of immigrants' sense of attachment to Norway on a 7 scale.

Personal Variables		Bosnia Herzegovina	Somalia	Sri Lanka	Pakistan	Chile	All
All		4,8	5	5,6	5,6	4,8	5,2
Gender	Male	4,8	4,8	5,7	5,5	4,5	5,1
	Female	4,8	5,2	5,4	5,6	5,1	5,2
Age	<=24	4,9	4,9	5,5	5,6	5,2	5,2
	25-39	4,6	4,9	5,6	5,5	5	5,2
	40-55	4,7	5,1	5,6	5,7	4,4	5
	56+	3,4	1,9	3,2	3,6	3,7	3,3
Time of Residence	<5	4,6	5,1	5,3	5,5	3,3	5
	5 to 10	4,8	4,8	5,6	5,2	4,9	5,1
	>10	4,9	5,8	5,6	5,7	4,9	5,4
Reasons for coming	Work	5,4*	7*	5,1	5,7	4,8	5,4
	Studies	0,0*	6*	5,6	5,6	5*	5,6
	Family	4,2	5,1	5,4	5,5	4,9	5,2
	Refugee	4,8	5	5,7	5,9	4,6	5

Asterisk sign (*) indicates frequencies that were equal or inferior to 5.

Table 4.1¹⁰ contains information regarding the average percentage scale of immigrants' sense of attachment to Norway. If you notice the first column on table 4.1 shows the personal variables that were used: gender, age, time or residence, and reasons for coming. Thus the average scale of attachment is according the personal variable studies, as well of the country of origin of the immigrant. The reason why the scale of attachment was shown related always

¹⁰ The data was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

to the country of origin and to the different personal variables has to do with the suspicion that the country of origin influences on the level of attachment (Togebly 2002: 15 and Martinussen 1977).

The literature on the resource perspective mentions that the country of origin might affect immigrants' sense of attachment because the past experiences that the immigrants' bring with them matter in their development in the new country (Togebly 2002). This was explained as in past experiences related to the resources they had in their country of origin (Martinussen 1977). So according to this, immigrants that had bad experiences, as in not having resources, have problems developing their own resources in Norway. According to this it should be expected to find variations on the level of attachment related to the country of origin of the individual. The next subsections will discuss whether this expectation of finding differences according to the country of origin was found comparing the results with the rest of the personal variables of gender, age, time or residence, and reasons for coming. The analysis is done in this way in order to understand if the personal variables do actually have something to do with the level of attachment, and on whether the country of origin matters the most.

Gender

According to the literature that was presented on the second chapter of this research, there are reasons for believing that gender differences can affect immigrants' sense of attachment. The reason for believing this is that cultures where gender divisions are marked strongly among males and females could result on impacting their sense of attachment. For instance, if males tend to work while females tend to stay at home, this could represent that the males possess more resources than the females since they participate in more networks in their society that only in those involved in their home surroundings (Togebly 2002, 2003). It is important to note that if such role gender differences exist, that a male has an active role while the female has a submissive role, they are related to the cultural background of the immigrant (Martinussen 1977:7). In other words, it is not simply a question of gender, but gender related to the cultural practices of each country, since in some

countries there might be equal gender roles while others differ. What should be expected from this?

If countries do have different gender roles it should be expected to find that gender differences do impact on the level of attachment. For instance in countries where males are more active while females have more submissive roles, I will expect to find that males have a higher level of attachment than females because they possess more resources. However there is an important point to take into consideration, the effect on gender equality in Norway. If females from a country where their roles are unequal to the males come to Norway where there is equality of gender, might this affect their level of attachment? By taking into consideration the literature yes, it might be that females experience more attachment than the males even though resources are equally distributed. Females possessing more resources than in their country of origin might experience to develop a higher degree of attachment than the males, since their state of wellbeing is affected in a greater degree than the male who did not experience such a big difference on having resources. I will expect the females to have a higher attachment to Norway since their state of wellbeing is even more affected than the males, having therefore more gratitude to Norway. Was this the case in the study? Did gender differences have actually an impact on the immigrants' sense of attachment?

Table 4.2A: Av. % of attachment on a 7 scale according gender & country gp.

Gender	Bosnia Herzegovina	Sri Lanka	Chile
Male	4,8	5,7	4,5
Female	4,8	5,4	5,1

Table 4.2B: % of freq. according gender & country gp.

Gender	Bosnia Herzegovina	Sri Lanka	Chile
Total	333	353	288
In all	100	100	100
Male	47	53	54
Female	53	47	46

Table 4.1 shows that the reasonable expectations for differences on the level of attachment due to gender differences were present. However there are important things to consider from *table 4.2A*¹¹. First of all, there was a different level of attachment among the males and females from Sri Lanka

¹¹ The data was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

and Chile. The males from Sri Lanka had a higher average scale on their sense of attachment than the females, which was the opposite case in Chile. Bosnia Herzegovina did not present any difference at all. What can explain this? Might it be that gender differences do matter in the case of Sri Lanka and Chile, but not in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina? This will suggest that not only gender has an impact on attachment, but also that the country of origin together with gender is what affects the sense of attachment. This takes me to a second point.

The second thing that can be seen is that not only gender group shows differences on attachment, but also that differences on attachment vary even more in relation to the country group. What does this suggest? According to the literature this will suggest that is not only a question of gender what explains the differences of attachment, but in relation to the cultural practices of their country of origin (Martinussen 1977). This might explain why differences tend to vary more according to the country group. The effect of immigrants' original country might explain why variations are seen even though male populations were constituted exactly the same in the case of Sri Lanka and Chile. Both countries had a male majority of adult refugees with an immigration time greater than 10 years. Not having the same level of attachment will suggest that is not only gender what explains the level of attachment. That there is an additional variable affecting their level of attachment, and this might be related, as Martinussen mentions, to the country of the individual as in to their cultural practices, and to the rest of the personal variables (1977). This will also suggest why the male population of Sri Lanka ranked higher than its females, while the female population of Chile ranked higher than its males.

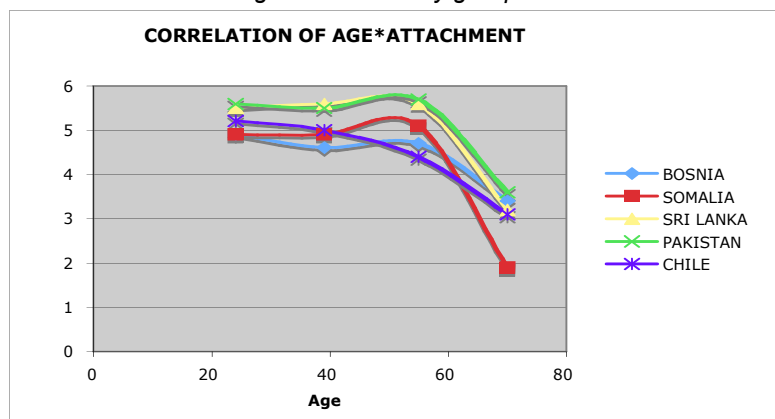
Regarding the additional variables the majority of the female and male population of Chile was constituted by the same majority as in: adult refugees with an immigration period greater than 10 years. Similarities on the female and male populations of Bosnia Herzegovina were also seen. Still Bosnia Herzegovina does not present differences on the level of attachment, while Chile does. What does this suggest? This will suggest in the case of Chile that

gender those affect, and that the additional personal variables might be affecting also this sense of attachment. However in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina it seems that gender in relation also to the additional personal variables seems not to affect the level of attachment. This is interesting because it might be that some factors matter to some countries while others not, as in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina where gender seems not to matter on the level of attachment. It will therefore be interesting to continue to understand whether additional personal factors explain differences on attachment in order to understand what factors account for explanations on the level of attachment.

Age

There are reasons for believing that age can affect immigrants' perception of attachment (Togeby 2002:143). According to the literature exposed, young immigrants could have a higher attachment because those who live their adolescence in the country of immigration develop and reconstruct their resources in a faster way (Togeby 2002:143). What should the expected outcomes then be? According to this it will be expected that younger age groups have a higher level of attachment then the older groups. Thus the level of attachment will decrease the older the individuals are. This again is to explain why younger immigrants tend to stay in the receptor country while the older tend to return to their home country (Constant and Massey 2002: 3,7,9). Was this the case in this investigation?

Figure 4.2 Diagram showing the correlation of x: age, and y: average percentage scale of attachment on a scale 7 according to each country group.



By seeing *figure 4.2*¹², which shows the correlation among the age and level of attachment, it is seen that the average level of attachment is higher the younger the individual is, and it drops drastically the older the individual is. However this is only a correlation that does not capture causation, which means that results do not actually mean that a change on attachment is actually caused by a change on age. Another important point from *figure 4.2* to be consider is that the level of attachment is given on an average percentage scale of 7, and as it needs to be remember, there are low variations. I think that is therefore interesting to take into consideration the actual average scale of attachment, to notice if this variations were actually decreasing with age. I will like also to consider the percentage of frequencies, since a low percentage rate will imply that no generalizations should be made.

Table 4.3A: Av. % of attachment on a 7 scale according age & country gp.

Age	Somalia	Chile
<=24	4,9	5,2
25-39	4,9	5
40-55	5,1	4,4
56+	1,9	3,7

Table 4.3B: % of freq. According age & country gp.

Age	Somalia	Chile
Total	245	288
In all	100	100
<=24	24	24
25-39	51	27
40-55	19	38
56+	6	11

Table 4.3A and *table 4.3B* shows the average of attachment and the percentages of frequencies in each age group for the countries of Somalia and Chile. I focused on these two countries for two reasons. Notice on *figure 4.2* that the curve seems clearer in the case of Chile. This is because the curve starts to take place in the first age group. In the rest of the countries the curve does not exist in the first age group, first it seems to be a line, even increasing in a certain age and then decreasing, finding the curve nearly at the end of the age groups. From these countries I selected Somalia because it is the one having, according to *figure 4.2*, a greater average level of attachment. Thus these two countries will provide us with more insights since both results seem to be different.

¹² The data on *figure 4.2*, *table 3A*, and *table 3B* was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

So considering *table 4.3A*, does the reasonable expectation on finding a higher attachment among the youngest was seen? In the case of Chile age does matter on the level of attachment. Thus *table 4.3A* shows that the average level of attachment decreases the older the person is in the case of Chile. Since the average rate was taken from each percentage frequency in each age group, the drop is not to be explained by a low participation rate. However, *table 4.3B* shows that the respondents' rate decreased for the oldest. According to the LCAI this should be a reflection of the actual population represented by Chile, which means that there are less old people from Chile in Norway (Gulløy 2008). Another point that was mention on the LCAI report is that it was harder to get respond from the oldest, and that is was due to sickness (Gulløy 2008). The reason why I am mentioning this is because it might be that age is not by itself affecting the level of attachment. If older people tend to be more sick then the younger, it might be their illness what is causing them not to possess a set of resources in addition to their age. Thus sickness would be an additional factor affecting the level of attachment, which is related to the age of the person. I do not know whether individuals were healthy or not, but I am just mentioning to be aware that sickness and age might be working together for affecting the level of attachment. Might this be related to the results in Somalia?

In the case of Somalia it is seen that the average of attachment is the same for those youngest and the young adults. An increase on the average level of attachment is seen for the adults, seen on *table 4.3A*. This will suggest that being younger does not mean having a higher level of attachment, since the adults rated higher then the two first. However notice that the average level of attachment decreases again for the oldest being at 1,9, which is a low level of attachment. This means that being young does not mean having a higher attachment, but that the oldest do tend to have a lower level of attachment compared to other age groups. If age decreases for the oldest, as it was expected, it might be not only related to age or sickness, as I just mention. Might it be that the oldest have no possession or have less resources then the rest of the age groups? It might be that in the case of Somalia attachment increased for the adults because they had more resources then the young or

young adults. It might also be that they had the same resources then the two groups just mention, but that compared to the resources they had in their original country, that they have even more resources in Norway.

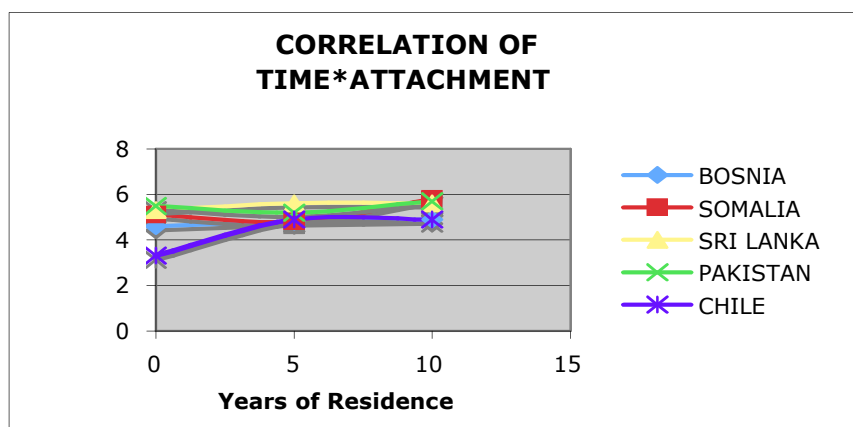
There is a last point that I will like to discuss. Notice again *table 4.3A*, both of the countries similar age groups did not have the same level of attachment. There is the same percentage frequency for the youngest of Somalia and Chile, seen *table 4.3B*, but there level of attachment on *table 4.3A* is still different. Thus once again, this suggests that the country of origin is also affecting the level of attachment, as it was expected.

Time of residence

According to the resource perspective, time of residence in the emigrated country can affect the level of attachment (Togeby 2002 and Martinussen 1977). The reason for believing that time of immigration does influence immigrants' sense of attachment is because it takes time to acquire the resources in the migrated country (Togeby 2002:15). For instance, for having the right to vote, which is a political resource, immigrants must have been living in the country for a certain amount of period. That is why time can affect which resources immigrants have. However, it was also mention that time is not directly translated as in having more time having more resources, since the immigrants from France with a longer period of time still lack of resources needed for coping into French society (CBC 2007). So according to this, what should be expected from immigrants' level of attachment related to their time of immigration?

In the case of Norway where it is supposed that all individuals enjoy of having the same resources as the majority it is to be expected that time does actually affect the level of attachment. The results to be anticipated will be therefore showing an increase on the level of attachment the greater the time of residence in Norway. I believe to find this results since I think all immigrants possess the same resources, but was this the case? Does the time of residence actually influence on the level of attachment?

Figure 4.3. Diagram showing the correlation of x: age, and y: average percentage scale of attachment on a scale of 1 to 7 according to each country group.



According to *figure 4.3*¹³, it seems that yes, the more time of immigration the greater the level of attachment. From this table I will like to focus in Chile, Bosnia Herzegovina, and Pakistan. These were the countries having more differences between them, and it is therefore I selected them for further analysis. Notice on *figure 4.3* that Chile presents a clear curve, increasing the level of attachment through the more years spent. The curve for Pakistan, as it was also the case of Somalia, seems to be different than Chile. Notice that it seems that attachment tends to decrease at the midterm of years, and increasing after that instead of increasing at all times. Knowing the curve for Bosnia Herzegovina becomes difficult, since I do not see the actual curve on *figure 4.3*. Additionally the correlation that is shown here is also related to the average level of attachment, where variations are not that different to each other, as it seems on *figure 4.3*. Because of these reasons I will like to see how the scale of attachment was distributed on a different table according to time of residence and original country.

¹³ The data was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

Table 4.4A: Av. % of attachment on a 7 scale according time of residence & country gp.

Time of Residence	Bosnia Herzegovina	Pakistan	Chile
<5	4,6	5,5	3,3
5 to 10	4,8	5,2	4,9
>10	4,9	5,7	4,9

Table 4.4B: % of freq. According time of residence & country gp.

Time of Residence	Bosnia Herzegovina	Pakistan	Chile
Total	333	307	288
In all	100	100	100
<5	9	10	7
5 to 10	89	22	22
>10	2	68	71

Table 4.4A¹⁴ shows the average of attachment on a 7 scale according to the time of residence group and original country. From this table it is seen that in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina, time did matter on the level of attachment. From this it can be said that the more the time of residence, the greater the level of attachment in the case of the Bosnians. However notice that the average level of attachment does not vary that much. The variation or increase on the level of attachment is actually a matter of 0,1 or 0,2 difference. Thus it can be debatable whether time does actually matter or not. It cannot be generalize from this information whether time tended to impact on the level of attachment. This might have to do, as it was mention earlier, that even though is commonly thought that time matter on the sense of attachment this is not always the case. Where there greater differences in the case of Pakistan and Chile?

In the case of Chile it is evident that the level of attachment is low for those who have been here a short period of time. Table 4.4A also shows that the level of attachment increases with a greater difference then in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina when immigrants have been residing from 5 to 10 years in Norway. What it is interesting to note from this table is that there was not an increase on the level of attachment after this time period. That means, that immigrants that have been residing more then 10 years had the same level of attachment as those with a time residence from 5 to 10 years. What does this suggest? This might suggest that time does have an impact on the case of Chile, but that after a certain period of time does not matter any more and I will explain why.

¹⁴ The data was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

It is possible that time does influence on the level of attachment at the first years of immigration. As the literature suggests, time affects attachment because it takes time to have social, cultural, and political resources (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2002). If I did not find that attachment tended to increase at all times, that is after ten years of residence, I think it has to do with understanding only the first years as crucial for having the resources. It might be that after five years of residence immigrants from Chile have the resources that they need, which are exactly the same resources after being in the country for more than ten years. However why does attachment tend to decrease after residing five years in the case of Pakistan?

Table 4.4A shows that the level of attachment among immigrants from Pakistan was higher in the first years of residence than from 5 to 10 years of residence. This will suggest that time does not matter in the case of Pakistan for having a greater attachment, or if it does, that there is something more affecting their level of attachment, which might be explained by the having or not resources.

Before finalizing notice in *table 4.4A* that all of those living less than five years have a different level of attachment. In the case of the immigrants from Pakistan the level of attachment was medium, while in the case of Chile the level of attachment was low. This suggests that the country of origin those affect once again the level of attachment in conjunction with the time of residence.

What is learned from here is that time of residence seems not to produce strong differences among the sense of attachment as the original country does. For instance, all countries, excluding Chile, had a high level of attachment regardless of the amount of time lived in the country. Differences among the sense of attachment seem bigger when compared to the country of origin. According to this, it might be that the low sense of attachment on Chile for those with a time period inferior to 5 years is mainly explained due to the country of origin.

Reasons for coming

Another variable that can affect the level of attachment has to do with the reasons for coming or emigrating. The reason why this variable can affect the sense of attachment is, as it was explained earlier, that the past experiences that the immigrants bring with them could matter in their development in the new country (Togeby 2002:15). Another reason for expecting variations is because it is suspected that those who come for family reasons do not want to go back to their country, as their link their attachment to their family that is at the country of immigration (Togeby 2002:44). It is also expected that those who come as refugees have a different level of attachment because this reason for immigrating influences their level of attachment. This was explained as in the political situation in their country affects the way in which they desire to possess resources in Norway (Togeby 2003:26 and Constant and Massey 2002:24). Where there variations according to the reasons for coming? Did they actually matter for the immigrants' level of attachment?

Table 4.5A: Av. % of attachment on a 7 scale according reasons for coming & country gp.

Reasons for coming	Sri Lanka	Pakistan
work	5,1	5,7
studies	5,6	5,6
family	5,4	5,5
refugee	5,7	5,9

Table 4.5B: % of freq. According reasons for coming % country gp.

Reasons for coming	Sri Lanka	Pakistan
Total	353	307
In all	100	100
work	2	8
studies	10	2
family	40	56
refugee	46	2
missing data	2	32

Before understanding if the expectations were found, it is interesting to make some comments upon *table 4.5B*. *Table 4.5B* shows the percentage rate of the frequency distribution according to the reasons for coming and their original country. If you notice, there among those reasons for coming there is an option identified as missing data. Since the data that I access on LCAI was categorized like that (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008), I do not know whether the missing data has to do with other reasons for coming or for immigrants that were actually born in Norway.

If the missing data has to do with immigrants being born in Norway, then they could not answer the question on why they came to Norway since they were

born here. I think this will explain why the percentage is greater in the case of Pakistan, since they have been living the longest period of time here, having more second generation immigrants' born in Norway (WIKI5). Since I do not know actually why there was missing data, I did not take this into consideration as reasons for coming, limiting it to my sub groups of analysis. The final point to notice from *table 4.5B* is that there was a low response rate from immigrants who came for working or studying reasons. Since there was a low percent rate no generalization can be made from these two groups. So what can be understood from *table 4.5A*?

From *table 4.5A* it can be seen that the average scale of attachment was focused on the case of Sri Lanka and Pakistan. As it was mentioned earlier, it was expected to find differences on the level of attachment due to the reasons for coming to Norway. There were actually variations on the level of attachment according to the reasons for coming. This will suggest that the reasons for coming do have an impact on the level of attachment. However the differences are low. These same differences on the level of attachment are seen by considering the country of origin, which suggests that the country also has an impact on the level of attachment.

What can be learned from here is that according to the reasons for coming, there is still a high level of attachment among immigrants. That these four reasons are related to having a high attachment and it might be explained as Togeby suggests, that immigrants selected to emigrate in this country for particular reasons (2002). However it cannot be generalized whether an immigrant worker has a higher level of attachment then refugee since percentage rates drop as seen on *table 4.5B*. A possible explanation for having a greater attachment can be perhaps that the refugees tend to value more their resources then the workers, due to the situation of their country. This is as in having more resources here then in their original country, and even using those resources to impact a change in their original country even though they are in Norway. This will then suggest again that resources might have an impact on the level of attachment. Was this the case?

Resource Variables

So far it has been analyzed whether or not the personal variables had an impact on the level of attachment. It was argued that gender, age, time of residence, reasons for coming, and original country were expected to matter when analyzing the level of attachment. What it was found was that in such variables of gender and reasons for coming, there were very low differences among the sense of attachment. However it was also argued that those variations on the level of attachment were also seen according to the country group of the immigration. This suggested that gender, reasons for coming and country of immigration might have an impact on the level of attachment, but that this might not be significant since variations were low. This will leave space for future investigation on whether or not resources account for differences on attachment.

Considering the rest of the personal variables, there was a greater difference on the level of attachment regarding to age, years of residence, and country group. These three personal variables indicated a low sense of attachment on the oldest (56+) and those living in Norway for less than five years. However it was also argued that it seemed that an additional variable might be affecting the level of attachment. This again makes it interesting to see whether resources might be the additional factor influencing immigrants' sense of attachment. To understand if resources did matter, this section will present the analysis according to social, cultural, and political resources.

Social Resources

There are reasons for believing that social resources might affect immigrants' sense of attachment according to the framework that was presented on chapter two. According to the literature of resources, social resources as social networks or even employment and house situation might affect immigrants' sense of attachment (Martinussen 2003:21, 1977:51 and Turner 1997:7). Indicators of social resources as income, house, and environment security affect the sense of attachment because these three indicators can affect the state of wellbeing of the person (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996).

This was explained by mentioning how participation in different networks produces mutual benefits, as in allowing dilemmas of collective action to be resolved, facilitating cooperation and coordination, and broadening social identities (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). What should be expected according to this?

The reasonable expectation is to find out that social resources do matter in relation to the sense of attachment. This means that it should be seen that those who have resources such as income, house and environment security should have a higher level of attachment than those who do not have them. If this is found, this should be explained because those who have those indicators of social resources have developed closeness and trust among each others, participating therefore more in their network (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Participation in the network reduces misperceptions, changes the focus of seeing differences into noticing the similarities between its members, resolving dilemmas, etc (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996).

It should be expected that those who do not have social resources have a lower sense of attachment than those who have social resources. This is explained due to for instance not having income is not having enough money to participate in activities or to travel to the location of the network, related to traveling costs, which reduces participation (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Another example will be that those who do not have an appropriate house might not have the time to participate in the network, since they could use that time to either look for a better house or because they are concern of their situation (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Environment can also affect the degree of wanting to participate, so those who do not have a secure environment will be more reserve on participating on activities where their safeness is at risk (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). All of these will be reasons for finding a low sense of attachment. Was this the case on the study? Did social resources actually matter in relation to the level of attachment?

Table 4.6A: Av. % of sense of attachment on a 7 scale according to social resources

Country of Origin	Indicator	No resource	Has resource	Untrust
Sri Lanka	Income	5,7	5,5	7*
	Environment	5,8	5,5	Norie
	House	5,5	5,7	Norie
Chile	Income	4,4	5,1	6*
	Environment	4	5	6*
	House	4,9	4,6	4*

Explánations:

Norie: no response rate

Asterisk sign (*): indicators frequencies that were lower or equal to 5.

Table 4.6B: % of freq. according to social resources

Country of Origin	Indicator	No resource	Has resource	Untrust	sum
Sri Lanka	Income	36,8	62,9	0,3	100
	Environment	9,9	90,1	0	100
	House	21,2	78,8	0	100
Chile	Income	40,4	59,2	0,3	100
	Environment	16,4	83,3	0,3	100
	House	30	69,7	0,3	100

First of all I was expecting a high percentage of immigrants having social resources, according to what I mentioned earlier on the formal distribution of resources in Norway. Was this the case? *Table 4.6B*¹⁵ shows the percentage of frequencies for each item under social resources, letting us know whether it was true or not that immigrants had social resources. As it can be seen on *table 4.6B*, more than the half of the populations of Sri Lanka and Chile do have social resources. Those percentages are according to each of its population. So as it can be noticed, the countries do not have exactly the same possession of social resources as income, environment, and house. For instance, if you see on *table 4.6B*, having a secure environment is not the same for Sri Lanka and Chile, and this occurs also for having a good income and a house. This means that the immigrants do not have exactly the same resources, which might influence why the countries ranked differently on their sense of attachment. If you notice, variations are not either so big, which can explain why variations on the sense of attachment were not either big. Because of this I think that the average scale of attachment ranked high since more than the half of its population had resources.

According to the resource approach social resources influences the sense of attachment since participation in the social network creates trust, closeness, facilitating cooperation and coordination for mutual benefits (Putnam 1995a: 67, 1995b: 664-665, and 1996:1). Having a good income, a place to live, and a good environment are important because these factors can facilitate participation into a network (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Therefore it might be that the ranking of attachment was medium high for all countries

¹⁵ The data on *table 6A* and *table 6B* was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

since the persons considered were those having resources, which were more than the half of its own population. It might be that all these people have transformed perceptions of “I” into “WE” due to their participation in their network facilitated by their access to resources feeling therefore more closeness to their network and feeling highly attached to it.

Another interesting point from *table 4.6B* is that there was a very low percentage of lacking of trust among the respondents. The reason for including them is because it is expected that their level of attachment is even higher than the rest. I believe that those who felt uncomfortable with the survey tended to answer more positively than the rest, as in what they thought it was expected from them. Where my suspicions correct? Did those who have social resources had a higher sense of attachment than those not having? And did those who did not trust the survey had even a higher sense of attachment than the rest? *Table 4.6A* lets us know how the average scale of the sense of attachment ranked. As it can be seen, those lacking of trust had a higher level of attachment than the rest. What about having or not social resources? The expected differences were not found. Immigrants who had or did not have resources had a little difference between their sense of attachment. More interesting is to notice the case of Sri Lanka where those who did not have a good income or a good environment had even a higher level of attachment than those who had that given resource. Another important consideration is that those who did not have resources had also a high level of attachment. Is there any possible explanation for this?

I believe that taking into consideration what we have learned on resources, this does not mean that the resource perspective is wrong. Not necessary. The differences between those who had or not social resources as in income and environment had a low difference among those from Sri Lanka. This might tell us that in this case, for the individuals from Sri Lanka, those two social resources are not that important for defining their sense of attachment. In the case of Chile it is seen that social resources also as income and environment do affect the immigrants sense of attachment. This is seen because those who had that resource had a higher level of attachment than

those who did not have it. This will then mean that some resources matter to some individuals, while for others they do not matter. This will also suggest why individuals have some variances in their sense of attachment, even though they are low. If resources are not important this might suggest why their sense of attachment was still high even though they did not have a social resource, since there are other resources that might affect their perception.

There is another important thing to be mention from *table 4.6A*. Take for instance the case of Chile. From those who did not have resources, a higher level of attachment was found according to house, income and finally environment. If immigrants from the same country value the same things, then it will be logically to find out that those who had resources had a higher attachment as in first for house, then income and finally environment. However the sense of attachment was higher in the following order: income, environment, and house. These differences were also seen in Sri Lanka. That will mean that the personal experiences of each individual are affecting their own perceptions, as the theory suggest. In other words, variances on the sense of attachment according to the literature are to be understood individually, and not according to groups, since their own experiences is an additional variable affecting the results.

Cultural Resources

Another resource that might influence immigrants' sense of attachment was identified as cultural resource. It was explained that a cultural resource can be understood as features of religion, language, and education since these three provide with a "symbolic vehicle of meaning, beliefs, ritual practices, informal practices as language, stories, gossip, etc" (Swidler 1986:273). According to the resource perspective, cultural resources might affect immigrants' sense of attachment since for instance, those who continue practicing their religion have a network that can be used for developing trust, closeness, unification (Blanco-Mancilla 2003:4 and Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Language and education should also affect the level of attachment since they provide the individual not only with knowledge, but also with abilities for expressing themselves to others (Martinussen 1977). Individuals who lack of knowledge,

as in the language of as the ability to formulate their thoughts, as part of education, have problems for participating in their network (Dahlgren 2002). So what should be expecting according all this?

Taking into consideration the literary framework of resources it should be expected to find differences on the level of attachment among those who have cultural resources and those who do not have cultural resources. What I expect to find is a greater level of attachment among those who have cultural resources then those who do not have those resources. If this is found this should be explained in relation to the previous argument, on how cultural resources help the individual to express him or herself and participate in the network (Dahlgren 2002 and Martinussen 1977). Was this the case? Where there differences on the level of attachment according to the explanation of how cultural resources influence immigrants' sense of attachment?

Table 4.7A: Av. % of sense of attachment on a scale of 7 according to cultural resources

Country of Origin	Indicator	No resource	Has resource	Untrust
Bosnia Herzegovin ^a	Education	4,7	4,9	4,9
	Language	5	4,8	4*
	Religion	4,1	4,9	5,3
Sri Lanka	Education	5,6	5,4	None
	Language	5,3	5,8	6*
	Religion	5,3	5,7	4*

Explanation:

None: No respond rate

Asterisk sign (*): indicates frequencies that were lower or equal to 5.

Table 4.7B: % of freq. according to cultural resources

Country of Origin	Indicator	No resource	Has resource	Untrust	sum
Bosnia Herzegovin ^a	Education	54,8	40,1	5,1	100
	Language	5,1	94,6	0,3	100
	Religion	12,9	83,5	3,6	100
Sri Lanka	Education	50,8	49,2	0	100
	Language	4,5	94,9	0,6	100
	Religion	21	78,8	0,3	100

Surprisingly again, it is seen on *table 4.7A*¹⁶ that there were low differences on the average percentage scale of attachment among those who did not have and had resources. If you notice the differences, even though small, those who have cultural resources such as education and religion have a higher average sense of attachment then those lacking of them, in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina. Cultural resource such as language had a higher average sense of attachment for those who did not have the resources in the same case of Bosnia Herzegovina. This makes me suspect that for Bosnia Herzegovina, perceptions are affected by cultural resources such as education and religion, but not by language.

¹⁶ The data on *table 4.7A* and *table 4.7B* was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

This idea that some resources affect individuals while others do not affect is also seen in the case of Sri Lanka, where those not having education had a higher level of attachment than those having it. So once again it can be said that some resources matter to some individuals and some do not, and that their own personal experiences might be also affecting their perception.

As the theory also suggest, the country of origin affects the level of attachment in conjunction to their resources. This was explained as the political environment of their country had an effect on the immigrant even though they are not living there any more. I think that therefore it is logical to see that language matters more to Sri Lanka than in the case of Bosnia. As it was mentioned earlier Sri Lanka lives an in-and-off conflict. Language for them affects them more because they use it to expressing their ideas to the majority and affecting the resolutions taking towards the situation in Sri Lanka (Swidler 1986:273, Turner 1997:7, Martinussen 2003:21 and Togeby 2003:25,61 and 2002:59). The immigrants of Sri Lanka are affected more from this cultural resource of language since this is important during public demonstrations, because they can express their own point of view, and to resolve dilemmas of collective action increasing therefore their sense of wellbeing (Putnam 1996, Dahlgren 2002:2, and Coleman 1988:104). This will explain why, when the resources matter they do affect the immigrants perception of attachment.

Another point that can be seen again from *table 4.7A* is that religion is a cultural resource that affects both country groups. Notice how the average level of attachment increases when the cultural resource of religion is present, and how it decreases when it is absent. I think that this will also prove why the level of attachment was high among all countries. Religion serves as a bonding force that serves to unifying a collectivity (Blanco Mancilla 2003). If individuals practice their religion, they get involved in a different sort of network, which also affects their level of attachment (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). So even though the immigrants are lacking of a resource, they still have religion, which matters the most and affects their level of attachment.

This will explain why the level of attachment tended to be high, and that cultural resources as religion tend to matter the most.

Political Resources

The final resource that might matter on the immigrants' sense of attachment was identified as political resource. Political resources were described as the personal ability and desire of participating in the political resolutions of the state (Martinussen 2003:9 and Togeby 2002:59, and 2003:61). The reason why political resources such as, membership in a political organization or voting can impact the individuals' sense of attachment was described as trusting the system and participating in the resolution process (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996, and Togeby 2002:114). Those who trusted the government and participated during the resolution process could have a greater sense of attachment because they develop attitudes of closeness, trust, cooperation, etc. (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). All of these attitudes will impact the immigrants' sense of attachment as making them see the similarities they share rather than their differences, or being aware that they can reach common goals or overcome obstacles (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996).

According to the resource perspective, it should be expected that individuals that have political resources as membership in a political organization and voting have a higher level of attachment than those who do not have those resources. If this is to be the case, then the difference on the sense of attachment could be explained due to having political resources, but does this actually matter?

Table 4.6A: Av. % of sense of attachment on a scale of 7 according to political resources

Country of Origin	Indicator	No resource	Has resource	Untrust	No right to vote
Somalia	Member pol. Org	5	5,1	5*	None
	Voting 2003	4,7	5,3	5	5,4
	Voting 2005	4,7	5,2	5,3	5,1
Chile	Member pol. Org	4,9	5,2	6,5*	None
	Voting 2003	4,5	5	5,4	5
	Voting 2005	4,5	5,1	5*	4,8

Explanations:

None: no respondent

Asterisk sign (*) indicates frequencies that were lower or equal to 5.

Table 4.6B: % of freq. according to political resources

Country of Origin	Indicator	No resource	Has resource	Untrust	No right to vote	sum
Somalia	Member pol. Org	91,8	7	1,2	None	100
	Voting 2003	42,2	30,3	5,3	22,1	100
	Voting 2005	33,2	27,5	2,5	36,9	100
Chile	Member pol. Org	95,5	3,8	0,7	None	100
	Voting 2003	38,3	50,3	2,4	5,9	100
	Voting 2005	45,3	48,4	1	5,2	100

Having political resources do affect immigrants sense of attachment, as shown on *Table 4.8A*¹⁷. In both countries the level of attachment tended to increase while having the political resources, and decrease while not having the political resource. The level of attachment was even higher when there was a lack of trust. What is interesting to see is that those who did not have the right to vote, due to time issue, have nearly the same average of attachment as those who did voted. What does this suggest? I think this explains that immigrants understand that this is only a matter of time, as in that they are not excluded. If they felt excluded then their level of attachment was to be reduced, as explained according to the theory on resources (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996).

It is also interesting to note that even though immigrants did not have political resources, their level of attachment was still high, and not low. This will again suggest that there are other resources affecting their perceptions, as in cultural or social resources. This can be explained according to Putnam's idea of participation in networks (1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Not having political resources does not mean that the individuals are less political active, and I will explain why (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Putnam argues that if political activity in organizations is important, it is because participation on that organization develops desired skills as being cooperative, which helps during the resolution of dilemmas (1995a, 1995b, and 1996). Those same skills can be acquired through participation on other kind of organizations, not necessary in the political ones (Putnam 1995a, Coleman 1988, and Dahlgren 2002). For instance, an individual might participate, or invest their time on their religious congregation, or in work meetings. This kind of activities are a way to develop other political skills not related to voting, but relating to set up for the best of their community by accepting and encouraging resolutions in their given area. These other kind of networks might be an arena for being political active, since their participation might affect the resolution process of the state (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). I believe that is why attachment

¹⁷ The data on *table 4.8A* and *table 4.8B* was obtained from the report "Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2005/2006" (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008).

still ranked high, even though there was a minor percentage of frequency for those using political resources, as shown of *table 4.8B*.

One last point that I will like to discuss is regarding why differences on the sense of attachment, as in higher in those having resources than in not having them, are more clear in the case of political resources. I believe that the differences that were expected were seen in both countries in the case of political resources because this matter the same for the individuals. This might also explain why the ceremonies for acquiring the Norwegian nationality are important, since immigrants tend to have the same effect on political resources and attachment. However, this does not mean that social resources are inferior to political resources. I think it is necessary to consider that the theory of resources is actually focused on political resources, which will suggest why the expectations were obtained more clearly here. For instance, it might be that cultural or social resources are better explained by a psychological framework rather than a political one.

From all these information of resources and personal variables in relation to the level of attachment, I believe that all suggests that there is an important relationship in actual participation in a given network for developing desire skills and feelings of trust and closeness (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, and 1996). I believe that this might explain why attachment tends to be high for each country, since they might participate in different types of network not only related to their work, neighborhood, but also related to where they study, practice their religion, political organizations etc. I think that for instance, even though I discuss language as a cultural variable there is an additional variable, as the language network, that might be affecting the rate of attachment. I think that networks are related to most of the variables and that explains why attachment was ranking high.

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION

Research question and objective of the investigation

This study was constituted upon two research questions: (1) “Is there a different sense of attachment among different immigrant groups towards their host country?” and if so, (2) “What factors can explain finding difference on immigrants’ sense of attachment to their host country?” The aim was to answer these questions according to the resource approach, which was discussed on the second chapter of this research. Were these aims achieved? Both of the aims were achieved by considering the resource approach, and by analyzing it according to the empirical results of this investigation. More narrowly by taking these steps it was possible to map immigrants’ sense of attachment to Norway, and to understand what factors explain their sense of attachment.

Outcomes and issues that affected the research course

What was the outcome from the first research question: “Is there a different sense of attachment among immigrants in Norway?” According to the resource approach that was used, there are very small variations on immigrants’ sense of attachment to Norway. I was hoping to find more significant differences, considering that the country has an actual problem of accommodating asylum and refugee immigrants, as it was mentioned in the introduction of this research (Brochmann 2004). However I considered that these results were interesting. I found out that even though no big differences were found, the level of attachment among all immigrants was high.

What was the outcome for the second research question: “What factors can explain finding difference on immigrants’ sense of attachment to their host country?” Since I did not find significant differences as the analysis showed, it might seem that I had an obstacle for answering this questions. Even though I did not find big variations on immigrants’ sense of attachment to Norway I continued the study. I did this because I thought to find greater differences when considering the resource and personal variables. However after I got to

learn that no big differences exists, but that the level of attachment was still high I saw an interesting path of investigation. I asked myself why was the level of attachment high, and why were there no big differences on immigrants' sense of attachment to Norway? I therefore rephrased the second research question as: (2) what factors can explain the results on immigrants' sense of attachment to their host country? This question was answered by using the same framework, and the objective of this was the same, to understand what explains the immigrants' sense of attachment.

Main findings

I got to learn two important things from this research. First of all according to the resource approach, personal characteristics and resources do affect immigrants' sense of attachment to their host country. The degree in which these factors affect immigrants' perceptions of attachment is related to their past experiences, as those experiences that they have lived in their original country (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2002). That is why it is complicated to know which factor matters the most or the least. Individuals have lived different experiences, which tend to be related to the political situation in their original country (Martinussen 1977 and Togeby 2002). The different scenarios that were used during the analysis of this research showed that while for an immigrant a given factor impacts their sense of attachment, that same factor might not impact the sense of attachment of a different immigrant. This difference was explained due to the experiences the immigrants lived in their original country.

Another thing that I found out from this research is that, in the case of the immigrants in Norway it cannot be said that if immigrants do not have a resource then they have a low sense of attachment. Does this mean that it is actually not important for immigrants to have the same resources as the majority? And if so, does this mean that resources do not impact their sense of attachment? Even though immigrants' sense of attachment was normally medium high among individuals who have and did not have resources this does not mean that resources do not affect immigrants' sense of attachment. What I found out was that resources do matter, and they do affect immigrants'

sense of attachment. Those who did not have a resource still had a high sense of attachment because they might have other resources affecting their perceptions. That again underlines that the framework of resources understands immigrants' sense of attachment by a conjunction of several factors. That means that the sense of attachment is not only explained by one factor, as in by age, or by social resources, or by country of origin. What this means is that the sense of attachment can be explained by several factors. How much they affect the immigrants perceptions depend on who the individual is, as in which personal characteristic defines him or her.

As argued before, immigrants differ to each other according to their personal characteristics, and how much these characteristics influence them depend on the cultural background from each individual (Martinussen 1977). That is why it cannot be said that only the personal characteristic of original country explains immigrants' sense of attachment. For understanding immigrants' sense of attachment it is necessary to take into consideration their country of origin, the rest of the personal characteristics, and the resources. Another important thing to be mention is that, there might also be different personal characteristics affecting the individual that were not consider in this research. These missing personal characteristics might exist according to what important axes of power define the constitution of the individual in her or his own eyes.

Relating the findings in today's world

As it was also argued during the introduction of this research, attachment has become a central issue on the state's political agenda (Yuval-Davis 2006:207). The immigration policies try to control the amount of immigrants that are granted with access into the country. (Brochmann 2004) These measures have been a result of wanting to prevail harmonious and peaceful societies with principles of equality that characterize democratic societies (Martinussen 1977, Kofman 2005:453, and Togeby 2002 and 2003).

According to what I learned, even though Norway has a problem for accommodating refugee immigrants (Brochmann 2004), there are still

measures that are taken for creating, unifying, and attaching their multicultural community. It might be that this problem of accommodating refugee immigrants is not equivalent as in having problems for maintaining attached their multicultural community because of the measures taken by the state. For instance Norway is characterized by a principle of equality, where immigrants can have social, cultural, and political resources as the majority. So even though there is a problem of accommodating those refugees, they have resources either: social, cultural or political that affect their sense of attachment to Norway.

I think that overall this research has changed my point of view towards strict immigration policies and attachment. Before doing this research I considered strict immigration policies as in not wanting a predominance of immigrants in the country because of fear. I thought that fear of having a majority of immigrants was seen as a threat for that country. Therefore they had strict immigration policies. I thought that if attachment was important for them it was always to prevent conflicts. However, after doing this investigation I have a broader perspective towards immigration policies and attachment.

I think that another reason why some countries have strict immigration policies is not just for protecting their citizens. Strict immigration policies are in a way to ensure that their citizens have appropriate living conditions, and that all have the same resources. If immigration is not controlled, and anyway could come to Norway, then it might be that they do not have resources and develop the same living conditions that the rest. In other words, I understand attachment now not only as a rational measure for protecting the interests of the state. I see attachment now as also protecting its citizens not from outsiders, but as in giving them an appropriate quality life, appropriate resources for feeling that they belong to that place, to that country.

Problems and suggestions

As I previously argued during the introduction of this paper, there are no similar empirical studies in this nature. After doing this investigation I think to

understand the reason for this based on the problems that I was confronted with.

One of the problems that I have during this study was as I mentioned earlier, there was actually not a big difference on immigrants' sense of attachment. This does not mean that the research was not successful. The research succeeded on explaining which factors influence the sense of attachment immigrants have to Norway, which was high with no big differences. However there is a thing that if given the time I would have changed on this investigation.

I had problems with the measurement of the empirical indicators, and it might be that these influence the results on the average percentage scale of attachment according to resources. This was not in all the resource cases, and I will explain why. I measured resources as in having them or not having them. I will advice to include another category as having problems with the resource. This is basically because of the nature of the survey I used. There were some questions where individuals did have the resource, but they have problems with it, as in having problems with income. Having problems with income might be not the same as in not having income at all. The reason why I grouped those that did not have the resource or had problems with it was because the frequency of the groups was so small. However this suggestion might depend on the host country being studied, since in Norway nearly all individuals had resources, the other percentage frequencies were low.

If given the time and the necessary information, I would have also applied the same framework into a different host country as in France. I think it will be interesting to see if immigrants there have a lower sense of attachment then the immigrants in Norway. This kind of studies will help us understand even more on what factors matters or influences immigrants' sense of attachment.

There is another thing that I would have done different, if given the time and information. I might have even focus in the same host country Norway, but I would perhaps include new data on immigrants sense of attachment to their

original country. I think that this will be an interest path for future research, which I will be discussed later on.

New Directions

I think there are several paths to follow from this research. For instance, a direction to follow from this study can be to considering the existing data provided here, and adding new data. As I just mentioned, this new data could be related on understanding immigrants' sense of attachment to their home country before coming. I think it will be interesting to know the sense of attachment immigrants have to their home country before coming. Might it be that immigrants in Norway have also a high sense of attachment to Norway because they did not have a high sense of attachment to their home country? This kind of research can even help to develop the knowledge of why even though immigrants did not have resources in Norway still have a high sense of attachment. As I mentioned earlier, they might have another resource affect their attachment, but did they have any resource at all back in their country?

One of the important things to take into consideration is that the framework of resources was understood according to immigrant groups in Norway. As I just mention, the country is characterized by a principle of equality. According to the resource approach, this principle of equality is the reason why immigrants who do not have and have resources still have a high sense of attachment. Immigrants have a high sense of attachment because they could have either: social, cultural, or political resources affecting their sense of attachment. But what if Norway was not characterized to have that principle of equality? What if we understood this approach in a different context, as for example the immigrants from France. Could there be even more variations on their sense of attachment? I think it will be interesting not only to understand the framework that I presented in the case of immigrants in France. I think it will be fruitful to consider this framework in relation to societies characterized of inequalities, corruption, and/or lacking of infrastructure.

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