

# Adult Language Education:

*A Study of Language, Work and the Diaspora in  
Norway*

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# Abstract

This thesis looks at how members of the diaspora in Norway experience adult language education, work placements and employment. Using a generic qualitative research design, I have interviewed members of the diaspora from different countries, recording their experiences with attending language classes, being in work placements, working or looking for work. Using theories developed by Bourdieu, this study finds that the participants struggle to make use of their previous cultural capital upon arrival in Norway, and that cultural capital, on the whole, does not travel well.

The Introduction Law, and the introduction programme which springs out of this law, places certain demands and rights on refugees and immigrants from outside of the EU/ EEA countries. Demands involve class attendance in Norwegian and social science. One of the stated goals of the introduction programme is to familiarize immigrants and refugees with the Norwegian labour market. One of the rights participants in the introduction programme have is to a personalized educational plan.

Many immigrants and refugees in Norway experience malcontent with majority language classes, work placements, and a lack of appropriate work opportunities. Despite prior education or experience within a certain field, many end up in work placements not well suited to their experience or wants. Looking at social identity theory and cultural identity, this thesis also focuses on how experiences with language education and work placements influences identity construction amongst members of the diaspora in Norway.



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# Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis deals with adult majority language education and employment in Norway. Attending language education and school as an adult is an aspect of the diasporic experience which all immigrants and refugees must participate in, subject to Norwegian law. As a central part of the diasporic experience, education informs and is in turn informed by how the majority of Norwegian society sees and treats immigrants and refugees. Changes in attitude towards diasporic communities leads to changes in laws, which in turn leads to changes in educational reforms and practice. As current educational practice for newly arrived immigrants and refugees often involves work placements and other work-related activities (such as courses to learn how to apply for work, to learn how to write a resume, how to use computers to find work, etc.), this thesis will look at language education and how it intersects with work placements, unemployment and employment.

## Purpose and Research Questions

My research purpose was to explore how newly arrived adult immigrants and refugees experience attending majority language education and work placements in Norway.

I developed two research questions to help guide the research:

**1:** What role does language education and work placements have in identity formation in the diaspora?

**2:** How do social and cultural issues influence the experience of language education and work placements?

The aim of this thesis is to explore the lived experiences of newly arrived adult immigrants and refugees, focusing on language education and work placements. Looking at identity formation in the diaspora, the thesis asks the question of how language education and work placements

influence identity formation in the diaspora. From a broader perspective, the thesis also looks at how social and cultural factors influence the experiences of members of the diaspora in regard to education and employment.

I see language education as a central and under studied aspect of identity formation in the diaspora. The issues which arise in everyday life for the participants in this study are replicated in their schooling: the feelings they have about their identity and how they are treated and perceived can be seen in school settings as well as when they are looking for work, attending a work placement, or attempting to become a part of Norwegian majority society.

Cultural hegemony will be discussed in relation to identity formation. The theory posits that the cultural values of any society are decided by those with the most societal power, social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital, but internalized and reproduced by society as a whole. In this fashion people contribute to maintain the status quo, regardless of whether this is beneficial to them as individuals or not. An example of cultural hegemony is the pervasive myth that if you simply work hard, you will succeed.

When the narratives of immigrants and refugees are not prioritized in educational research (Monsen, 2015), we risk ignoring central issues in the lived experiences of the many diasporic communities in Norway. A holistic view of the experiences of immigrants and refugees is needed in order to understand what issues are experienced as problematic, not just in terms of education, but in laws concerning integration and immigration as well. As such, this research is aimed at creating an understanding as to how education for adults affects and is affected by other aspects of the diasporic experience.

Language learning will be discussed in relation to work placements. Work placements can be part of the introduction programme, or part of an individual agreement with NAV, the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration. Work placements are for people struggling to find work, people who need help in getting back into the labour market, or people with little

previous work experience (Arbeids- og velferdsetaten, 2018a). In Norwegian, one talks of two different kinds of placements, language placements and work placements. These two forms of placements are practically interchangeable, and will be mentioned in this text as simply work placements. Both forms of placement offer work to the participant for a period of time in a Norwegian business. The participant ideally acquires language skills, practical skills, and experience with the Norwegian labour market (Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet, 2016a). The participants in this study have varied experiences with work placements. It will be discussed in detail in the findings section.

To explore the research questions I will use theories of diaspora, identity formation and cultural hegemony. In addition I will discuss cultural and social capital. This study was conducted using qualitative methods, and my findings are based on long, semi-structured interviews with nine participants. The thesis will be divided into six chapters: introduction, background, methodology, theoretical perspectives, findings and discussion and conclusion.

## Chapter 2: Background

In this section I will briefly outline the historical background of immigration and integration in Norway, as well as modern changes in laws regarding language, labour and citizenship. An issue which will be discussed when talking about integration and immigration is that of assimilation. The term “immigrant” in Norwegian is used about people who have applied for asylum or are refugees, people who have relocated permanently to the country, and also their children and grandchildren (Gullestad, 2006 p. 44). In addition to the terms "first" and "second generation immigrant" we have the term "third generation immigrant" (Kaya and Fauske, 2014, p. 13). This term is used to describe people whose parents, as well as themselves, were born in Norway, but who have grandparents from another country. If we were to include all of the people in Norway with foreign grandparents in the category of “immigrant”, I imagine that we would end up with a very large group of people. As such, the term is racially coded. A person with grandparents from Germany would never be referred to as a “third generation immigrant”. The term, as used in Kaya and Fauske’s work *Immigrants on the Outside of Society* (2014) is used to refer to people of colour, people who bear “markers of difference” (Fangen, 2008). The linguistic meaning of assimilation is to make something *similar* (Schneider & Crul, 2012, Bolafi et al., 2003). If used as a model for absorbing people into society, the ideal is that the new citizens should become as similar to the previous members of the nation state as possible (Bolafi et al., 2003). The final outcome should be the disappearance of cultural differences. Assimilation differs from integration in that integration emphasises a reciprocal relationship between the host nation and the people who settle there in terms of cultural exchange (Bolafi et al., 2003).

Brochmann and Hagelund note how the idea of worrying about cultural assimilation is a historically recent development (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2010). Concerns in the past have previously been directed more towards practical issues, such as finding adequate housing and employment for people moving to Norway. The focus now is more geared towards language and integration, and at least rhetorically, unemployment is still a major concern. The number of

immigrants arriving in Norway was significantly lower in the past. The focus then was not on integration as much as it was on usefulness, that immigrants could perform in a job, not that they were fluent in Norwegian. After the Second World war, famously, new immigrants were assigned a house, a job, and a dictionary when they arrived in Norway (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2010, p. 225).

In their book *Skrijving på norsk som andrespråk: vurdering, opplæring og elevenes stemmer* (Writing in Norwegian as a Second Language: Evaluation, Instruction and The Students' Voices), professors and language researchers Anne Golden and Elisabeth Selj posit that Norwegian language education has become more “mainstream” in the twenty-first century than it was in the twentieth, with the focus of language education being that “one size fits all”, or at least that one size should (Golden & Selj, 2015). If one looks at how consistently it was mentioned by the participants of this study that one size really did not fit all, it is interesting to note the insistence on changing curricula and teaching in that direction.

## Introduksjonsloven (The Introduction Law)

The introduction law was written in 2003 and put into motion in 2004. The law gives immigrants arriving on humanitarian grounds, family reunification and as refugees, the privilege and the duty to participate in full-time qualification programmes aimed at future employment or higher education (Lovdata, 2017a, Brochmann & Hagelund, 2010). In 2005 significant additions to the law saw to it that all immigrants, regardless of status, must participate in Norwegian and social science classes in order to gain residency, permanent or otherwise. Many people engaged in language education switch between schooling and work placements, attending school for some time, then a work-placement, then back to school, etc. The introduction programme lasts for two years, and is supposed to fill the same amount of time as a full-time job, at 37.5 hours a week (Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet, 2016b).

It says in the introduction law that the programme is mandatory and must contain the following:

Norwegian language training, social science, and measures that prepare for further schooling or affiliation with professional life (Lovdata, 2017a). The first point is fairly straightforward, though what the social science module should contain is not specified, and the third point is even vaguer. It does not state that all immigrants in the introduction programme should be given jobs, but rather that the programme should include measures that prepares for an affiliation with working life. A common interpretation has led to placing immigrants into work-placements with the stated purpose of giving them work experience. Though decided by state law, it is the responsibility of each municipality to provide the introduction programme to the inhabitants affected by the introduction law.

## Immigration and Labour

Historically, Norway has used immigrants as labour, assigning them work as soon as they arrived, without offering any kind of education on a state level (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2010, p. 225). Integration was to happen through employment and time, and language would, possibly, follow, though this was not the focus. It was also not important that immigrants became Norwegian in a cultural sense, politically, the focus was on allowing for immigrants to keep their cultural and religious customs.

The idea, then, that work comes before integration, or that integration comes through work, is old, in Norway. When Norwegian politicians insist on work-related Norwegian education for immigrants as a way to integration, they are following a long tradition. What has changed drastically is the actual existence of places of work for immigrants with limited language skills. When immigrants in the 1950s were given a dictionary and a job, they worked with manual labour. They manned the factories and the shipyards, they farmed and they worked in the lumber and fish industry. They did work, in short, that did not necessarily require much language.

These places of work no longer exist in Norway to any considerable degree. We order our



goods from countries where they are cheaper to produce. A portion of the industry has, like in much of western and northern Europe, been moved to Asia. Norwegian ships have replaced their crews with non-Norwegian crewmembers, hired abroad for less pay than if the ships hired their crews in Norway (Brox et al., 2003, p. 39). This means that there are fewer jobs for people with no language and little prior education. One job which is often held by immigrants is cleaning, a job that formally rarely requires a high level of language skills. It is notable, however, that this job is also one of the more common ones given as work placements, where language learning through work experience is spoken of as beneficial. One might question what level of language attainment you gain from cleaning offices, although it does of course give some work experience to put on a resume, for applying for future cleaning positions. Additionally, many counties have placed restrictions on hiring people unable to pass language tests (Oslo Kommune, 2018, Bærum kommune, 2013), a further complication to finding employment. A business who hosts people participating in a work placement programme, is not under any obligation to hire the people working there in placements.

The problematic aspect of the policy of integration through work is that work must then somehow be found. The kind of work placements many immigrants are given require a high level of language skills. Kindergartens in Oslo, for example, often have people in work placements, but legally require their employees to pass the B1 Norwegian language test (Oslo Kommune, 2018). The level is described by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages as someone who:

Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc.

Can deal with most situations likely to arise while travelling in an area where the language is spoken.

Can produce simple connected text on topics that are familiar or of personal interest.

Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.

(Council of Europe, 2018)

The people having the work placements are therefore often ineligible for the work they are doing. For some people, reaching that level of language competence could take years, and for others it could be unattainable. The rhetoric then, around work and language, contains a fallacy. Where previously immigrants were told to work as a way to become integrated, and then provided with jobs, immigrants now are told the same thing, but instead of jobs are given “internships” in businesses where they are not paid a regular salary, and are not hired but rather replaced after a period of time. If immigrants should work from the minute they arrive in Norway, the government is equally responsible for providing said paid work after the placement. The absurd dilemma here is that immigrants want to work, and the government claims they want them to work, but immigrants as a group still struggle with higher unemployment compared to the rest of the population (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2018b).

## Citizenship and Language

New and changing regulations for citizenship demand higher levels of Norwegian fluency, measured through standardized tests (Lovdata, 2017a). There is also a demand for knowledge of Norwegian society, culture and history through a citizenship test that all immigrants must pass in order to qualify for citizenship (Utlendingsdirektoratet, 2017). In some ways this test is also a language test, because it must be completed in Norwegian, and deals with fairly advanced subjects such as legal and political regulations and historical events.

The Norwegian state to an increasing degree sees the ideal immigrant as one who is fluent in Norwegian. This is a historical change, according to Brochmann and Hagelund (2010), who have noted how immigrants to a very low extent received any language education before the 1990s, and, if they did, it was on a voluntary basis, both from the immigrants and from the municipality they lived in. Today all immigrants must participate in Norwegian classes, though how many hours they must attend differs, and to receive permanent residency they must pass a Norwegian test at the level of A2, as described by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

From the 1990s to the 2000s, with the introductory law, there has been a significant change to demands for language fluency. In the 1990s there was only one political party demanding obligatory language lessons for immigrants. With the introductory law in 2004, and its added elements in 2005, all immigrants, even skilled workers, became obligated to attend a minimum of 300 hours of classes, where fifty hours were to be social science classes about Norway and the Norwegian system, and two hundred and fifty were to be Norwegian language classes (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2010, p. 276). The citizenship test contains questions about work placement programmes (Kompetanse Norge, 2017), as well as questions about Norwegian history, such as what year the country was occupied by Germany, how the population moved from the villages to the cities during the 1800s, and when Norway got its constitution. There are also several questions about Norwegian law, related to such things as the rights of children, family life and divorce. Myself, having lived in Norway most of my life and having attended thirteen years of school here, did not know the answers to all of the questions, though I did know enough to pass.

## Summary

Marianne Gullestad writes that "At the beginning of the 21st century, it seems to be noticeably more evident to most 'Norwegians' that 'immigrants' need to modify their customs than that 'we' need to change 'ours'" (Gullestad, 2002, p. 17). In this chapter I have introduced the purpose of this thesis and provided the historical context for further exploration. In the following chapters, I will attempt to illustrate, through theory and findings, that language education reproduces difference, and is a microcosm of the diasporic experience in Norway. The next chapter will contain my literature review, exploring some of the previous writings on language education, work placements and the diaspora. After the literature review follows methodology, theoretical perspectives, and finally findings and discussion.

# Chapter 3: Literature Review

In the first part of this chapter I will discuss literature focused on identity construction and the diaspora. Special attention will be paid to writings on diaspora in Britain. The reasoning behind this is that many of the seminal writers on the diasporic experience based their writings on diaspora in Britain. Another reason is that the British example can be seen as a modern precursor to the Norwegian experience with diasporic groups. The second part of the literature review will focus on literature specific to Norway and integration, immigration and language education. The chapter will outline existing literature on adult education and work placements, as well as focus on the introduction law, which governs what rights immigrants and refugees have to education, as well as what duties they have to the state and municipality when arriving in Norway. For the work written in Norwegian I have translated the quotes and titles of the work myself.

## Locating Literature

My main source of research literature was the database provided by the University of Oslo, Oria. Oria is a search engine with access to a multitude of international databases and libraries around Norway. It allows you access to books, articles, journals and other online publications. The keywords I used when looking for literature were various combinations of diaspora, integration, assimilation, Norway, adult education, language education, and identity. I searched for literature in both Norwegian and English.

For literature on the diaspora I explored some of the more well-known authors writing on the subject. Several of these I knew about before conducting my research, others I discovered both through Oria, and by marking down useful references used in the academic texts I was reading. Some authors, such as Frantz Fanon and Edward Said, will not be discussed in detail in this thesis. They are mentioned because their work paved the way for further research on diasporic

experiences. Fanon, with his works: *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), and Said, with *Orientalism* (1979), were influential in shaping much of modern writing on diaspora. I was helped a great deal by finding Marte Monsen's article in *Norsk som andrespåk*, where she documents all research done on adult education in Norway from 1985 to the time of publication, 2015. From this article I was able to explore articles related to my topics of interest.

## Literature on the Diaspora

Post-colonial and diasporic history contains many famous names, such as Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, Homi Bhabha, Stuart Hall, Avtar Brah and Paul Gilroy. Diaspora is a term used for a scattered population whose origin lies in a separate geographic locale (Merriam-Webster, 2018). Originally used to describe Jewish communities settled outside of historic Palestine, it is now used more broadly to describe any group of people who have settled away from an established or ancestral homeland. Several prominent scholars within the field of diaspora studies have focused on the diaspora in Britain. Theorists such as Stuart Hall, Avtar Brah, and Paul Gilroy are connected, either by birth or by diasporic movement, to Britain. Therefore, the literature on the diasporic experience in Britain is particularly rich. Though historically different from Norway, the example of Britain contains many relevant links to developments that can now be seen here. With their colonial history and years of immigration, developments in Britain most likely predate similar tendencies in Norway. As such, experiences immigrants and refugees are having in Norway now can be found to mirror experiences diasporic communities have had in Britain years earlier, and still might be having. Because of the great wealth of diasporic literature focused on Britain, I have chosen to include some of the most relevant and seminal works in this literature review. I believe that this literature helps broaden the perspective of this thesis and illustrate the universal aspects of the diasporic experience.

Diasporas are places of long term, if not permanent, community formations. Often invoking the images of trauma and displacement, they can also be the sites of hope and new beginnings (Brah,

1996, p. 193). Diasporic identities are at once local and global. They are networks of transnational identifications encompassing “imagined” and “encountered” communities (Brah, 1996, p. 196). Races are likewise imagined, Gilroy writes, and the contingent processes from which they emerge may be tied to equally uneven patterns of class formation to which they, in turn, contribute (Gilroy, 1990, p. 264). As such, any discussion on ethnicity and culture will be tied to that of class. The hegemonic reproduction of difference in any society relies on hiding or incorporating the processes of oppression on which it relies. When race in modern critique of immigration or integration has given way for the more easily defended “cultural differences”, this is simply another veil behind which hegemonic systems are disguised. As Stuart Hall writes, “Every social relationship or problem takes place in a social space that is socially, sexually and economically differentiated” (Hall, 2012, p. 31). Class, in the same way, does not operate independently of other axes of differentiation. Class is also gendered, raced, sexualized and so on (Brah, 1999, P. 24).

In 1996 sociologist scholar Avtar Brah wrote the book *Cartographies of the Diaspora* on the Asian diaspora experience in England. Her book details her own experience as a “Ugandan of Indian descent” who found herself in England as a student around the same time many of her compatriots of Asian descent were expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin. Experiencing first-hand the racism and sexism directed against the perceived “other”, Brah weaves together her own experience with that of other first and second generation Asian members of the diaspora in England. Through a combination of historical data and interviews, Brah details everyday life for members of the diaspora, covering work, school and generational and gendered conflicts over a period of some forty years. Brah is well known for writing about the diasporic experience, and for working in the intersection between politics and theory. Much of her work concerns social inequality and ethnic and gendered labour markets (Hall, 2012). Brah’s work illustrates how ethnicity and boundaries function in tandem, referencing Fredrik Barth’s seminal work, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969).

Brah writes about the concept of “new racism” (Brah, 1996, p. 166). Previously discussed by Paul Gilroy (1990), “New racism”, as opposed to “old racism”, combines the free-market philosophy of capitalist libertarianism with social authoritarianism. Inside a free-market system, the state should work to uphold traditional morality and to preserve the traditional British society. In addition, the authoritarian state should protect the nation from the disintegration of law and order and cultural decline (Brah, 1996, p. 166). Racism is no longer concerned with biology, rather, the focus of racism is now “culture” (Gilroy, 1990, p. 268). Paul Gilroy writes of what he calls British “postcolonial melancholia” – the unrequited mourning for a lost object of desire (2004). The ideal is always lost, or on the verge of becoming lost.

Jon Lauglo writes that “Norwegian nation-building rationales have historically stressed a shared ethnic origin and ordinary folks as carriers of national culture.” (Lauglo, 2015, p. 6). In Norwegian media and literature there seems to be a concern that the “Norwegian” is disappearing and that immigration, the appearance of “others” is a threat to Norwegian culture. People speak of “the old days” as if referring to a lost time when things were better, when Norway was different, closer to a slightly mythical ideal (see for example: Tybring-Gjedde, 2014; Alghasi et al., 2012). This ideal has also historically been based on race, on being white. Like in Britain, the essence of being British was to be white (Brah, 1996, p. 166). To speak of the British or English people is to speak of the *white* people (Gilroy, 1990, p. 268).

## Literature on Diaspora in Norway

The term diaspora has gained some traction in modern Norwegian social research. Most of the research is country specific, with much existing literature on diasporic communities centred around the Somali diaspora in Norway. Somalis are the fourth largest immigrant group in Norway, preceded by Poland, Lithuania and Sweden (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2018c). They are the biggest group on the list from outside the EU and the EEA countries, making them the biggest group to be affected by the introduction programme, as well as regulations regarding non-EU/EEA citizens. As such, it makes sense that this group has been the focus of Norwegian

research on integration and immigration. Cindy Horst at The Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO) led a large EU-funded cooperation project from 2008-2011 that studied the transnational political activities of Somali, Ethiopian and Eritrean diaspora organizations based in Europe called Diasporas for Peace (Horst, 2008-2011). The project resulted in several publications and reports on the Somali experience in Norway. The fifth largest immigrant group in Norway is now Syrian (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2018c). It will be interesting to see how this is reflected in future research done on diasporic communities in Norway.

In the publication *International Politics* in 2011, Iver B. Neumann writes that there is too little theory on diasporic communities in Norway (Neumann, 2011, p. 572). He expands on how Norwegian politicians have been better at utilizing immigrants' experience to influence Norwegian immigration policy than the research community has been at documenting or understanding it (Neumann, 2011, p. 572).

Studies on specific diasporic groups in Norway often focuses on the histories of the groups and their arrival times and cultural backgrounds, rather than their current, lived experiences. Marianne Gullestad writes about this in relation to Norwegian society, noting that Norwegians are not in general overtly racist. Rather, as a people Norwegians hold a widespread belief in a cultural belonging and non-belonging (Gullestad, 2006, p. 47).

A literature search in Oria using the search words; Norge (Norway), diaspora, and språk (language), turns up with 48 articles, none of which deals directly with adult language education with members of the diaspora. The same search in English (Norway, Diaspora, Language), is too broad, and renders several thousand results, of varying relevance. Searching with the narrower keywords: Norway, diaspora, language education, adult, gives no results.

I was able to find some studies focused on members of the diaspora, employment and language, notably by Elizabeth Lanza, who writes about agency, language and employment amongst the Filipino diaspora in Norway (see: Hvenekilde and Lanza, 2001; Lanza and Svendsen, 2007;



Lanza, 2013). Though a group arriving from Asia, and therefore subject to some language demands by the state, the Filipinos in Lanza's cases are working immigrants, and the subjects of this study are either refugees or in Norway on family reunification grounds.

## Norwegian Literature on Adult Education and Integration

Marthe Monsen writes in the journal *Norsk Som Andrespråk* (NOA) (Norwegian as a Second Language), that research in adult education for immigrants has traditionally been focused on assessment of programmes and skills (Monsen, 2015, p. 373). It is further noted that the research done on the subject has been rather scattered and non-systematized, most of it conducted as Master's theses (Ibid.). The authors theorize that these issues stem from the subject not being prioritized by any political agenda. With the so called "refugee crisis" in 2015, and the subsequent rise in tensions surrounding the issues of immigration and integration, this might no longer be the case. Due, in large part, to the conflict in Syria, more than a million people crossed into Europe in 2015 (BBC, 2016). However, despite the increased attention these issues have garnered, there might still not be an increased interest in looking into them from an educational research perspective, with the current political climate directing the political conversation towards limiting the number of immigrants allowed access to the country, and attempting to impose stricter regulation of the rights of the ones already here.

In the publication Monsen systematically goes through all relevant articles, papers, theses and publications specifically focused on second language adult education in Norway, from 1985 to 2015. She evaluates 88 different publications, finding that the majority of them are concerned with evaluation and basic reading and writing instruction, with 31 and 19 entries respectively (Monsen, 2015, p. 377). A common trait with most of the publications studied by Monsen is that they were conducted by people who had either been involved in teaching or in evaluating adult education previously.

Monsen writes of how one of her former students expressed anger at being “infantilized”, asked about his normal habits and how he got dressed and brushed his teeth (2015, p. 374). According to Monsen, having studied several reports, this is a commonly felt issue among students of a second language. She quotes van Lier, who wrote extensively on this issue regarding English language learners.

English language learners in the school system in fact often feel acutely that they are cut off from full participation in the iconic and symbolic affairs of the host country when they complain, as they often do, that only trivialities are discussed in their classes, and that they feel they are treated as if they had nothing of value to say for themselves (Lier 2004, 67).

Andreassen’s Master’s thesis from 2007 is an example of this. Having worked for more than twenty years in adult education, she writes about the need to differentiate teaching methods to help individual students in the best way, focusing on students with little prior education (Andreassen, 2007, p. 12). The study focuses on how one can best teach language, and makes a point of noting that the students have trouble getting to use their Norwegian skills outside of the classroom.

Another Master’s thesis written by another experienced adult education teacher is that of Ragnhild Steien Henriksen (2011). Topically similar to this thesis, Henriksen interviewed ten participants in Norwegian education, and constructed six cases from her findings. Henriksen has worked for more than ten years in adult education, and chose to interview students from two different schools, one of them being her own. She also conducted participant observation at her own place of work (Henriksen, 2011, p. 12). I find her description of a careful selection of participants from her own school who “knew her very well, and whom she also knew well” (Henriksen, 2011, p. 12)” quite problematic despite the fact that she compensated by talking to an equal amount of students from a different school. She writes that she had to choose students with a high proficiency in Norwegian because she did not want to use an interpreter. This is

understandable, but problematic in terms of having a representative selection, especially when the topic being studied is language education.

## Work Placements and Employment

There has been some research conducted which looks into the effect of work placements. Much of it is concerned with the administrative aspects of the work placement programmes. If the research has been qualitative, the people interviewed have mainly been the ones in charge of running the programmes, not the participants. I will document some of what has been written about work placements below.

The researcher Anne Britt Djuve has written several reports about immigration and work placements. She has been looking at work placements from the perspective of businesses offering these placements to immigrants. One of her findings is that little instruction is given to the immigrants in these programmes, and the title of the 2007 report: *Vi får jo to ekstra hender (We get an extra pair of hands)*, is not encouraging. Some informants noted how free access to labour for businesses hinders actual employment for qualified candidates (Djuve & Tronstad, 2011, p. 59). She notes how immigrants in Norway remain on the edges of society, participating in placements, temporary contracts, and different programmes (Djuve, 2007, p. 11).

In Norway, work placements in general have shown to have little effect on later job opportunities (Zhang, 2016; Djuve, 2007). A moderate positive effect can be observed for immigrants who first receive other types of training, such as language education, and *then* participate in work placement programmes (Zhang, 2016). Immigrants with higher qualifications are usually only valued if they also speak the language fluently (Kogan et al. in Wingers et al., 2011, p. 76), meaning that previously attained education or experience is only valued in Norway if it comes with Norwegian language proficiency. There is still too little research on how work placements are experienced by the participants, a gap this study is attempting to fill. Though Djuve's report

is instructive and informative, highlighting central issues in work placement programmes, it still focuses on the experiences and perceptions of administrators, not the participants.

Cartographies of the Diaspora include the same issues with regards to Britain. Being part of training programmes, or “training schemes”, was not felt to make any difference, and was not seen as leading to employment. Instead, these programmes were seen by many respondents as a way to exploit people for their labour. Although this was a pervasive perspective, others said that they enjoyed their training programmes, though they had not gained employment afterwards. As noted by Brah, the comments of several of her respondents show how these institutions (schools, job centres) are implicated in reproducing (Asian) labour at the lower rungs of the socio-economic formation (Brah, 1996, p. 65).

## The Introduction Law and Introduction Programme

The introduction law is central to discussions about integration and immigration in Norway. The law governs the rights and duties of immigrants who are refugees, asylum seekers, or related to a person who has been granted residency on the basis of being a refugee or asylum seeker. Nina Reksten has done research on the impact of the introduction law. She notes how the introduction law does not contain specific structural elements concerning the needs of the individual participants. Structural needs are exemplified by childcare, economic issues, as well as individual plans and guidance. Students in Norway do have the right to this, but Reksten points out that what it means to have the right to individual plans and adjustments in education is unclear and not always taken into account (Reksten, 2010, p. 59). She emphasises the importance of these structural elements for the individual’s perception of the quality of the course offered, and how the lack of them can negatively influence the individual’s experience of quality, as well as the ability to move through the educational system towards finishing tests, language mastery and employment (Reksten, 2010, p. 59-60).

The introduction programme springs from the introduction law. Where the law informs the required elements of the introduction programme, the details of the programme is decided by the municipality, and can depend on economic factors and the amount of participants. Margrethe Karijord writes about integration through the introduction programme (2007, *Integreringspolitikk i praksis: om forholdet mellom stat og kommune med hensyn til iverksetting av integreringspolitikk*). She studies the relationship between the state and the municipality when taking responsibility for the integration of immigrants, specifically refugees. She stresses how this relationship is essential for making integration function according to its stated purpose, and how this is central to the lived experiences of individuals. The perspective, however, is on the institutional level, macro- and meso- levels, and not seen from the perspective of the individual immigrant or refugee. She writes that she chose not to interview refugees because it would have made her paper too extensive, but recognizes the value of this perspective (Karijord, 2007, p. 8). She justifies the choice by stating that she believes the people working with integration are better able to see “the big picture”, than the refugees themselves (Karijord, 2007, p. 8).

Likewise, Martine Gran, in her Master’s thesis, interviews municipality employees and teachers in order to understand if the introduction programme has been as success, concluding that it has been (Gran, 2014). In her thesis, she writes that about half of the people in the introduction programme move on to paid work or further studies. She does not, however, interview the participants in the programme to understand their experiences of it, and whether it is considered as helpful or good by them. Gran notes this, and makes a comment for further research, that “this thesis concludes that the introduction programme is a success, but it has not looked at who it is a success for” (Gran, 2014, p. 88).

Several people have focused their theses or reports on the introduction programme and the introduction law (Anderssen, 2007; Gran, 2014; Karijord, 2007; Djuve & Kavli, 2007; Lillegård, 2013). What the abovementioned all share is that the research conducted is not based on the experiences of the participants in the programmes, but rather on either the administrators and facilitators, or on the state and counties. In Djuve and Kavli’s report from 2007, they

acknowledge the need for further exploration of the participants' perspectives (Djuve & Kavli, 2007, p. 182). According to Djuve and Kavli this has not been properly addressed in Norway since the very early 2000s, in the works of Djuve et al. (2001) and Lund (2003), before the introduction programme was introduced, and Norwegian and social science lessons were made mandatory for all. This points to a significant literature gap.

The Norwegian Bureau of Statistics (SSB) has also written about the introduction programme, and done statistical analysis of how immigrants who participate in the programme fare after the programme is complete (Blom & Walstad, 2015). Though the data is interesting by pointing to statistically significant factors, such as age, gender, and country background, the study, looking at almost fourteen thousand refugees participating or having participated in the introduction programme, is purely quantitative, and does not engage with the experiences or opinions of the refugees themselves.

## Integration

Literature that deals with the issue of integration in Norway tends to focus on topics that are seen as negative aspects of diasporic groups in Norway. Examples of this are female genital mutilation (see Talle, 2010; Strand, 2008; Fangen, 2008), domestic violence (Aden, 2008, 2011), and unemployment (Kaya & Fauske, 2014). A notable exception to this rule is the work of Marianne Gullestad (2002, 2006). Gullestad has written impressively about Norwegian society and integration, illustrating the need for further research and reform within that field. Gullestad was an important academic because she focused less on how immigrants and refugees are problematic for society, and more on how Norwegian society's treatment of diasporic groups is problematic for successful integration.

Several authors writing about integration make fairly reductionist claims about the diasporic communities in Norway. "There are mainly two expectations that affects immigrant women's cultural models," writes Mehmed Kaya in *Immigrants on the Outside of Society* (Kaya & Fauske,

2014, p. 39). In the chapter on immigrant women and employment he makes it clear that though he is using the term “immigrant women”, he is in fact talking about twelve women from Turkey that he interviewed. The two expectations he mentions are a better economy, and their relationships with their husbands. It is somewhat surprising to learn that there are only two things affecting the cultural models of “immigrant women”. *Immigrants on the Outside of Society* is still found in most academic libraries and referred to as part of Norwegian research on integration.

In a similar vein, the well-renowned anthropologist Ada Engebriksen writes that Many Somalis are also mainly concerned with the fact that they are going home one day, and don't wish to "become Norwegian" or to become fixed in Norway. On the contrary, they try, in different ways, to keep contact with their home countries through visits, money transfers and phone/internet. (Engebriksen in Nes, Skoug & Strømstad, 2005, p. 172)

Engebriksen has written extensively on the Somali diaspora in Norway, and has increased general knowledge on the topic. Some of her research still illustrates a trend in Norwegian research that does not allow for diasporic groups to speak for themselves. Additionally, a correlation is made between keeping in touch with family elsewhere, and not wanting to be a part of Norwegian society. In line with this, Engebriksen also acknowledges that the Norwegian media speaks positively about those immigrants who distance themselves from diasporic environments, and that they are often talked about as "ideal" immigrants, positive contributors to Norwegian society, different from the "bad" immigrants who isolate themselves and bear markers of difference (Engebriksen, 2009, p.21).

## Summary

In this chapter I have explored some of the literature written about language education, work placements and the diaspora. Looking at both the international and the Norwegian literature, it

seems clear that issues of diasporic groups are similar across country lines, but that the concept of diaspora is not so frequently found in Norwegian literature. I have tried to make a link between the universal experience of being a migrant, and the specific experience of being an immigrant or refugee in Norway. Most of the literature about majority language education for adult refugees and immigrants in Norway concerns either administrators or policy. There is a gap in the literature concerning in-depth qualitative interviews with participants in language education. When looking at literature about work placements, the same gap is found. The people interviewed tend to be administrators, not participants. This is a gap this thesis is attempting to fill.

In the following chapter I will discuss the methodology of the thesis and give an overview of the participants of the study. The methods used to collect my data will be detailed. There will also be a discussion around the issues of access, bias, and language.



# Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter I will describe the methods I used to collect and analyze my data. Further on, this chapter will explain how the data sample was selected, and how I protected the anonymity of my participants. I will also detail issues encountered while doing fieldwork and analysis. To best understand my own bias and role as a researcher I have used Patton's reflexivity checklist (2003). All the names of the participants have been changed to preserve their anonymity.

## Research Design

For my purpose, it was natural to use qualitative methods rather than quantitative. I wanted to look into the subjective experience of my participants, something I chose to do by conducting long, open-ended interviews so that the participants would be able to actively shape the conversation. As such, this study follows a generic inductive qualitative model (Bryman, 2012). This was necessary in order for the participants to explain how they themselves see their lives and interpret their experiences, something which would not have been possible with a quantitative study. In addition, I used a purposive sampling technique, with snowball sampling within the chosen demographic. "Snowball sampling is a sampling technique in which the researcher samples initially a small group of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research" (Bryman, 2012, p. 424). The sample still needed to be purposive, because the project is focused on a certain segment of Norwegian society, and not Norwegian society as a whole. The interviews were conducted between October and January 2017-18.

To understand the participants' experiences with work and school in Norway, I prepared a comprehensive interview guide, shown in Appendix 1, which was followed to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the individual participant. The main bulk of questions were open ended, though at the beginning of each interview some general background questions were asked, such

as when the participant arrived in Norway, how long they had attended classes, if they were married and had children, etc. The interview guide helped focus the interviews, and was important for answering my research questions. Semi-structured interviews are useful for allowing the participants a great deal of leeway in how to reply to the questions asked (Bryman, 2012, p. 471). If the participants seemed to want to talk about something in particular, or were more verbal about certain questions, we would follow that thread, allowing the interviews to become more unstructured. Some participants had particular issues they felt strongly about, and talked for a long time about these without me asking any particular questions. My approach varied from subject to subject, and there was also a variation between participants who would begin an interview by talking freely, and people who at first needed prompting, but then had a lot to say once they warmed to the subject and understood that I was interested in their answers regardless of how closely they related to the original question.

The interviews lasted between half an hour and two hours. The longest interviews were the least structured, as the participants of these had already had some thoughts on the subjects broached. The shortest interviews, and to me the least rewarding, were the ones where an interpreter was present.

What I found most beneficial by conducting my interviews in such an open manner was that it allowed the participants the possibility to drive the conversation, within a previously agreed upon topic. If a participant seemed less inclined to embellish on one topic, or particularly interested in another, I allowed for the conversation to flow naturally. For the longer interviews the participants tended to return to subjects they were more interested in. For both Omar and Dunya, for example, two participants who participated in quite long interviews (both close to two hours' duration), it was clear that they both wanted to underline certain points, things they wanted to tell me, which they returned to several times during our conversation. This was interesting also because of the radically different opinions of these particular participants. They both had strong feelings on the subject of education, but their opinions and feelings differed widely. Like Bryman mentions, the great benefit of semi-structured interviews is that they are *flexible*

(Bryman, 2012, p. 472). The focus is with the participant and how he or she understands and interprets events and experiences. Although my interviews were not life histories, they allowed for much room for interpretation and opinion by the participant.

## Participants

To find participants for the study, I used the *snowball sampling method*. I met one participant at a social event, another I was introduced to by someone I tutor in Norwegian. This participant again introduced me to someone from their former workplace. A lawyer I knew referred me to someone doing a work placement at her office, this person again knew someone else also doing work placements, etc. In this way I gathered a diverse sample group. Of course, they all have a vague connection to me or someone I know, even if it is twice or three times removed. None of the people interviewed were people I had known personally before the interview took place, and the participants have known nothing of me apart from what they were told by the people who asked them if they would agree to be interviewed.

I have interviewed four women and five men, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years. Their religions have varied between Muslims, Christians and non-believers. I have interviewed people from Nepal, the Sudan, Malaysia, Syria, Iraq and Kurdistan. All participants arrived in Norway between 2012 and 2017. Because of the war in Syria, I have ended up meeting slightly more Syrians than I have people of other nationalities. I don't think this in itself is problematic, as the religious affiliation, age and gender of the Syrians I interviewed still differ. None of my participants were from EU, the US, or EEA countries. The reasoning behind this is that rules for people immigrating within the EEA are different. People from the EU or the EEA countries are not affected by the introduction law (Introduksjonsloven, 2018), and there is free movement within the EU and EEA (Arbeids- og velferdsetaten, 2018c). Rules are also different when having foreign education approved. If, for example, a person has education within a medical profession (dentists, nurses, doctors, pharmacists, etc.) and is not covered by the EEA agreement, he or she needs to pass a Norwegian B2 test, complete several courses, and pass a proficiency

test (Helsedirektoratet, 2016). Including people from within the EU and the EEA seemed to broaden the scope of this thesis to an unmanageable degree.

None of the people interviewed have attended classes together. Some were still in school when the interview took place, some were in work placements, some were working, and some were unemployed. One participant, who was fairly confident in her place of work being secure, ended up being let go the week following our interview.

Dunya was the first person I interviewed, and Omar the second. Omar was a track one student<sup>1</sup>, without prior education. Dunya was a track two<sup>2</sup> student with plenty of prior education. Both of the interviews lasted close to two hours each. Of course one cannot draw any definite conclusion from just two interviews, but it did give me an idea of something that could be worth further research. When I later conducted several more interviews, I carried some of the initial impressions from the first two interviews with me, which to some extent coloured the conversations with the new participants. I then looked for theoretical perspectives on identity building, in order to better understand the findings I had made, and what it signified.

I chose to meet participants in public spaces, with one exception, where I was invited to the home of a female informant and her husband. As I had hoped to talk to both of them, and as they were doing me a favour by talking to me, I agreed. With all the other interviews I met the participants in cafes, asking first where they lived, and then trying to locate a place near there. This led to some confusion, such as me and one informant sitting in two different cafes in the same part of Oslo and thinking the other party to be late, as well as some places having surprisingly loud music, loud people, or lack of seating, but the cafes I chose, in general, were fine. I chose to meet the participants in public places because we did not know each other from before, and I did not want to assume to be welcome in their homes. I knew nothing of their home situations before I met them, if they lived alone, if they had a room in a collective or an

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<sup>1</sup> Track one means little or no prior education

<sup>2</sup> Track two is some previous education. Dunya would have been a track three student if her school had been big enough to offer more than two tracks, due to her educational background

apartment, and if they would be comfortable having visitors. It was easier, therefore, to immediately invite them to a cafe.

Below I have included a table of my participants.

<b>Participants</b>	<b>Dunya</b>	<b>Omar</b>	<b>Khalil</b>	<b>Hussain</b>	<b>Maya</b>
<b>Aprox. Age</b>	35	40	23	45	32
<b>Arrival Norway</b>	2015	2014	2016	2013	2016
<b>Work Status</b>	Part time	Full time	Unemployed	Full time	Part time
<b>Language ed.</b>	Not finished	Finished	In school	Finished	Finished
<b>Country</b>	Syria	Syrian Kurdistan	Syria	The Sudan	Nepal
<b>Participants</b>	<b>Osman</b>	<b>Daniel</b>	<b>Clara</b>	<b>Rabab</b>	
<b>Aprox. Age</b>	22	25	28	35	
<b>Arrival Norway</b>	2015	2016	2016	2015	
<b>Work Status</b>	Part time	Unemployed	Unemployed	Work placement	
<b>Language ed.</b>	In school	In school	Not finished	In school	
<b>Country</b>	Syria	Syria	Malaysia	Iraq	

Although my sample was diverse, and I attempted to keep this as a priority when selecting informants, I interviewed people I was put in contact with, and the people they again introduced to me. The sample has a majority of Arabic speakers, though not all of these speak Arabic as their first language, and this is possibly where my sample is skewed. It was a benefit for me, since I speak some Arabic myself, which also worked well as an ice breaker. There are many Arabic speaking people arriving, or having arrived in Norway in the last few years, something

that is also reflected in Norwegian classes, with a large increase in Arabic speaking students. Several of my informants noted this as an issue of classroom teaching, since they felt it was too easy for people to avoid speaking Norwegian in class.

A possible way to mitigate the skew in favour of Arabic speakers would have been to increase the sample. I chose not to do so, due, in some part, to time constraints, as well as the need to give appropriate space and voice to the participants I interviewed. If I was to conduct further research into this topic, one idea could be to increase the sample. I felt that the data collected was sufficiently dense to allow for an interesting analysis.

## Negotiating consent

I had each participant sign a consent document agreeing to participate in the study (Appendix 2). The participation consent form is now the only place where the full names of the respondents are recorded. All the names in this paper have been changed to avoid recognition, though most respondents told me they did not mind if I used their real names. No one was financially compensated for their participation, though I did offer to buy them all coffee or something else they wanted. This did not work out in most cases. Some kept insisting that they had to buy ME coffee, and some didn't want anything. Two participants I interviewed separately, who knew each other from before, agreed to let me buy them something, and then ordered the same specific drink (cocoa with whipped cream), which made me think the first one had told the second one about the proceedings before she showed up. Besides the two of them, only one other participant agreed to let me buy them a cup of coffee. My general feeling was that we were all approximately equally embarrassed.

All the interviews were recorded on a tape recorder, as well as a backup recording on my phone, which I deleted as soon as I had checked the quality of the tape recording. In all but one case this was not needed, but one interview would have been lost if not for the backup, so in the end I was

glad I did. Before beginning to record I asked and received verbal consent from all the participants. I told them that they were free to change their minds, and that the original recording would be destroyed after the completion of the research project. All the original recordings have been saved on an external disk that I keep in my home, all copies have been deleted. The transcriptions, with all original names and details altered, are available to me online, but can only be accessed through a double verification process where you need access to both my passwords and my actual phone. Though there are ways to increase the safety of these documents even further, they do not contain any sensitive data, and I feel it is sufficient. It was essential to record the interviews, as they were far too dense for me to have been able to recreate them if I only had my own notes to rely on. It is also useful to have a recording of the interviews because a recording recalls not just what was said, but also *how* it was said (Bryman, 2012, p. 482). If something was mentioned with a laugh, or if it was said in a serious tone of voice, made a difference when interpreting the data. For my longest interviews, over twenty pages of transcribed text, this difference would have been lost without the recording.

Of the people I contacted for an interview directly, most were willing to participate, though the time between initial contact and the actual interview varied with as much as two months. One participant wanted me to email them some information about the interview before it took place, which I did. Another participant was willing to be interviewed, but became ill and dropped out of the study. Some information about this participant was still collected, with his verbal consent, through an extensive interview with his wife, another participant. In gaining access, it was also essential for me to overcome my personal reticence, and call and text people I did not know to ask them to do me a favour. Several people I either talked to about my project, or interviewed for the project, told me they knew others who might be interested in participating. None of them actually put me in touch with people they knew without my prompting, sometimes repeatedly, for the names and numbers of respondents, sometimes succeeding, sometimes not.

## Communication

The most challenging aspect of the interview process was to convince people who did not know me to tell me about things they had possibly not talked about, or thought much about before. Due to time-constraints it was necessary to develop a level of trust very quickly, based on very little shared information. Some, like Hussain, agreed to meet with me as a favour to a colleague of his, and did not know what we were going to discuss, or who I was, before we sat down together in a cafe. This created a need to first make sure that what we were going to talk about was understood, and that participation was still voluntary. Looking over my transcripts, I can see that some interview participants, like Hussain, thawed a little during the interview. Their answers towards the end are longer and less restrained. Others, like Omar, simply sat down and began talking, with very little prompting needed from me.

For my interviews with Daniel, Khalil and Osman I used an interpreter. In hindsight, it would have been better to attempt the interviews without one, as my familiarity with the participants was not established, and the questions were answered briefly and incompletely, at least for my purposes. I was told my participants spoke very little Norwegian, and I felt too insecure in my Arabic knowledge, so I chose to accept the offer of help from an Arabic speaking friend. After having met them, it was obvious that we would have done better without the interpreter.

Communication contains so many different factors, not wholly dependant on language, but also on non-verbal cues and gestures. Having worked as a Norwegian language teacher for several years, I have experience with having conversations with people without too much shared language, but because of the presence of an interpreter, we ended up turning to him instead of trying to understand each other. To me this led to the conversations feeling less honest, or less organic. There is also the issue of the interpreter taking up space in the words translated, that the opinions of the person doing the translation ends up colouring the answers one gets.

My brief experience with using an interpreter was unsuccessful. I imagine that if further interviews were to be conducted it would be better if I increased my own language knowledge in



languages I already know fairly well, such as Arabic and French, and aim to have only participants who spoke Arabic, French, English, or Norwegian. It is also possible that some of the interviews could have yielded better results if there was a broader common understanding of language than there was. Luckily for me, in some of the cases where the participant spoke little Norwegian, they spoke a decent English. In a few interviews, we managed to get quite far, but some questions became too complex due to lack of language.

All in all, though, the issue of not being fluent in the languages of the participants turned out to be a smaller problem than I had originally anticipated. Several of my participants spoke English, and my own extensive experience with teaching Norwegian and communicating with people where we have little language in common, means that I probably had an easier time understanding and interpreting than some others would have. In addition, the subjects raised were ones many of my participants have been made to talk about in Norwegian before, such as work placements and language classes. In class they often work to learn words related to these subjects, and how to tell someone about their work placements and what they do there.

After conducting the first two interviews I began coding. I interpreted the data and looked for similar concepts, concerns, or themes being brought up, and as I gathered more data I either added to the themes established, or moved towards other, more salient themes, if my first assumptions were not reinforced by further data collection. The coding was comparative from the onset. I analyzed the first two interviews and looked for similarities and discrepancies, and then I used these interviews as a basis for further coding.

The interviews, once transcribed, were long and dense. The longer ones, over twenty pages of transcribed text, were littered with topics and opinions, ranging from what I wished to inquire about (often issues relating to school and work) and the topics they wanted to raise. To code these, I worked with markers such as alienation, dissatisfaction, expressed happiness, expressed frustration, optimism, and pessimism. Coding with these broad categories, I had to interpret the data and then decide how it best fit into these categories, though sometimes the participants themselves used the categories without prompting from me.

## Educational and Professional Background of Researcher and Reflection

*No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society. (Said, 1978, p. 10)*

My educational background is in anthropology, and I generally believe in the suitability of ethnographic fieldwork for collecting qualitative data. However, to best suit my purpose, I decided on long, open-ended interviews, conducted more like casual conversations, when this was possible.

One option that was considered and then discarded was that of sitting in on classroom education for a certain number of hours, and using this as background for a more ethnographic study. There are several reasons why I chose not to go down this route, some practical and some theoretical. I have worked as a teacher of adult immigrants and refugees for almost seven years, and as such, I am very much “at home in the field.” I have taught many different students, subjects and classes, and sat in on several others over the years. As such, sitting in on a few classes for this project was unlikely to yield much new information, unless I was to conduct a proper ethnographic study and follow a class (or a teacher) for all their lessons over a long period of time to study the dynamic and evolution of this particular class.

There have been some concerns about previous research conducted on adult education in Oslo portraying the programmes and the teaching in a less than favourable light. Being both a teacher and a researcher at the same time felt like something of a role conflict, and I found it easier to

avoid the moral issues of conducting research (or asking to conduct research) directly in an institution I also have a vested interest in.

I initially had imagined having no issues regarding access to participants, however, this turned out to be slightly more complicated than I had originally thought. Since my participants are all of legal age, they are free to choose to talk to me, but I am bound by issues of confidentiality in regards to my work. Partially due to this, I chose not to contact any students with whom I had any previous teacher-student relationship. Additionally, I did not want to worry about my informants answering in a certain way because of their prior relation to me. Instead I ended up contacting participants I did not know, who did not know me, and had gone to school in different places. I got a hold of these people not through colleagues, facing the same issues as me, but rather through friends of friends. I used the snowballing technique, asking the people I interviewed if they knew anyone else who might be willing to talk to me. In one case, I was able to make use of a “gatekeeper”, who knew several people who had participated in government language courses, and was willing to make my case on my behalf. This was very beneficial to me.

As a researcher within a familiar field, bias is difficult to eliminate completely. Studying the issue of language education from a background in that very field, I bring some assumptions to the table that are difficult to bypass. Compared to someone who has no prior knowledge of adult education, I have previously formed ideas about what some of the issues discussed involve, and some ideas about the answers I would get from my respondents before asking them concrete questions. I believe that I have attempted to bring as little of my prior bias as possible into the interview sessions, and when looking through transcripts of the interviews I conducted, I have refrained from using quotes confirming certain statements if I have been uncertain as to them being “uncontaminated” by me. This kind of “contamination” could happen, for example, if there was a lull in the conversation, or the participant found it difficult to answer, and I would attempt to help them;

Rabab: If you want to work in Norway you need many relationships with Norwegians.

J: Know some people.

R: That's important to get a job.

J: Yeah, so it is difficult, if you don't know anyone. Speaking Norwegian might be important to get a job?

R: Yes, of course.

This is an example of text that I would neglect to use when attempting to prove or disprove the argument that Norwegian language proficiency is important in order to get a job, because Rabab felt that the most pressing matter was that of having Norwegian contacts. When I mentioned language, she agreed with me, but she did not bring it up herself. When coding it, therefore, I put her concern with employment as focused on knowing people, not on speaking the language. Bryman writes of the importance of not asking leading questions (Bryman, 2012, p. 473). It is at times tempting to do so, because there are specific issues you want to get at. For me it was at times challenging to accept that certain interviews were not going to mention certain issues because they were not of concern to all the interviewees.

## Summary

In this chapter I have discussed my choice of methods for conducting my study, as well as outlined why I felt these methods were the most appropriate. There has also been a brief outline of the coding and the central themes that emerged during this process. I have listed some of the issues I encountered, and explained why I chose not to include certain segments in the analysis. My personal and educational background and bias have been accounted for to the best of my ability.

In the following chapter I will detail my theoretical framework. First I will explain the theoretical relevance of the concepts I have chosen to best explore my research questions. I will then discuss the different theories of identity construction I have used, social identity theory and cultural identity theory. The chapter will then discuss Bourdieu and social and cultural capital, and finally Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony.

# Chapter 5: Theoretical Framework

In this section I will discuss the theoretical framework for my thesis, and why this particular framework and these concepts were chosen. I will give an overview of the important features of identity theory, capital theory and hegemony. Then follows a brief section of how these theories and concepts overlap and interact with each other, concluding with a discussion of the merits of the chosen theoretical concepts as they pertain to the analysis of data gathered for this paper.

## Research Questions and Relevance

For my theoretical selection I looked at what would be the most useful when exploring my research purpose: How adult immigrants and refugees experience attending majority language education and work placements in Norway. To best analyse and name the concerns and issues raised by the participants, I chose to focus on identity construction, social identity and cultural identity. The concept of identity construction was examined in relation to theory on diaspora. I have also drawn on Bourdieu's theories of capital to explore how changing circumstances can lead to conflict between how a person sees themselves and how they are perceived by others. In addition to this, I have looked at the concept of hegemony in order to understand how social categories are maintained, and how everyone contributes, more or less consciously, to maintain the status quo.

The theoretical selection was made on the basis of covering the issues most relevant to this research question: identity, culture, capital, power and society, and how these concepts work together to shape the experience of individuals engaged in education and work placements.

## Theories of Identity Construction

There are several theories on how identity is constructed. In this thesis I have made use of two different identity theories: social identity theory and cultural identity theory. In the section below I will detail the two theories used, and how they overlap and compliment each other.

Social identity theory concerns how people identify themselves and their peers. Tajfel and Turner (1979) proposed that there are three stages involved in deciding who is to be considered as “us” and who is to be considered as “other” otherwise known as who is in the “in-group” or the “out-group”.

The first stage that Tajfel and Turner recognize is *social categorisation*. Social categorisation involves assigning people to different categories based on different visible and invisible signifiers, such as white and black, English and Vietnamese, Jewish, and Buddhist, taxi driver and politician. The purpose of this categorisation, according to Tajfel and Turner is to understand our social environment.

People constantly put others into categories, the visible signifiers being used first, and non-visible signifiers possibly being used to re-categorize afterwards. When a ticket controller comes onto the bus you are riding, you categorize them as a ticket controller, and you show them your ticket, or, if you don't have one, you allow them to fine you. In order to function as a society, we constantly categorize and re-categorize the people around us.

Self-categorisation is something we engage in continually, which affects all areas of our public and private lives. Self-categorisation works in the same way as other kinds of social identification; we identify as students, as teachers, as Christians, as Muslims, as Asian, as

Caucasian, as Norwegians, as Algerians, etc. A person can identify with several social categories at the same time.

The second stage is *social identification*. This involves people adopting the identity of the group they categorize themselves in. If being Christian, for example, is a categorisation that you feel is fitting for you, you are likely to adopt a “Christian identity”, Christian values and beliefs. “In identity theory, the core of an identity is the categorisation of the self as an occupant of a role, and the incorporation, into the self, of the meanings and expectations associated with that role and its performance” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.225). If you categorize yourself as a particular kind of Christian, say, Roman Catholic, you are likely to adopt behaviors and beliefs that separate you from other branches of Christianity, possibly accentuating the differences between your category of Christianity and others. To a non-believer, Christianity might be a social category where all Christians are placed, and he or she might not be aware of the many smaller subcategories that spring from this large and diverse category, though the differences might be perceived as essential to members of subcategories of Christianity.

The third stage is *social comparison*. In this stage, we compare our group to other groups, or other groups to each other. Full-time employees at a school might compare themselves to part-time employees at the same school, and feel that their group compares favourably to the other group. The group one identifies with is the basis for making any comparison, and it is not so important how other people see that person. For example, one of the part-time employees at a school could identify as a student, not as a part-time employee, and feel that the part-time job was simply a way to make money. The full-time employee, on the other hand, sees and treats them as a part-time employee, regardless of the fact that the part-time worker sees themselves as first and foremost a student.

Burke notes how a person, during the course of a lifetime is a member of a unique combination of social categories (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 225). This is mirrored in Banks’ theory of

multicultural education, where he stresses that although looking at one's group membership in order to understand an individual is critical, any one person will belong to several different groups, and their actions will therefore be impossible to completely predict (Banks, 2010, p. 10).

Problems can arise when one group of people sees another group as homogenous. There is the risk of prejudice. Identifying as Muslim, Christian or Hindu, for example, means identifying within a large group which separates into hundreds of subgroups who do not necessarily identify with each other. If one categorizes oneself as Christian, one would at the same time identify with a certain Christian subgroup, such as Catholic. Another Christian, like a Quaker, would be seen as different within the larger Christian community. From an outside perspective, there is a tendency to over-simplify the categorisation of others into large, homogenous groups.

Tajfel stresses that the in-group tends to increase group identity self-esteem. This is done by both enhancing the good qualities of the group, and also by down-playing the good qualities of other groups. Putting other groups in a negative light accentuates the superiority of the group. This is similar to theories developed by Fredrik Barth in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), where he argues that ethnicity is constructed not as a natural phenomenon within a group, but rather to distance the group from the "others". In order to maintain boundaries, we stress the similarity of some and the difference of others. Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities* (1983), notes how states, the macro-level of group identity, works in much the same way, creating a narrative of similarity to connect a vast number of people who will never meet, and might have nothing in common beyond the myth of nationality.

## Cultural Identity

Stuart Hall is known for developing the concept of cultural identity in his work *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* from 1994. He writes that identity is an "ongoing process of becoming, as well as being" (p. 224). Cultural identity is related to a person's self-conception and self-perception. It concerns a person's ethnicity, religion, nationality and social class. It is highly related to group



identification, in that a person adopts the customs, beliefs and norms of the group they identify with. Cultural identity reinforces bonds with groups one identifies with, and are ever-changing and subject to culture and power (Hall, 2000). As such, identity is determined not just by individual desire and recognition, but also by those who have the power of determination. It is not enough simply to desire or identify with a certain identity, you must also be “allowed” to claim it. Cultural identity was originally developed as a concept to describe diasporic communities and their sense of identity and belonging. However, the concept can be used to describe the cultural identity and sense of belonging in any society and for any group or individual.

Identity has a pivotal relationship with a politics of location (Hall, 1996, p. 2). Identity comes with “placedness”: where are you from, where are you going, where do you belong? More importantly, who is allowed to decide where someone belongs? The term “diaspora”, too, embodies a subtext of “home” (Brah, 1996), which immediately involves “another”, a native, someone who is not diasporic, and another place, somewhere the members of the diaspora were once “home”. The concept of diaspora places the concepts of dispersion and home in creative tension, inscribing a homing desire while simultaneously critiquing discourses of fixed origins (Brah, 1996, p. 193). The concept of diaspora signals processes of multi-locationality across geographical, cultural and psychic boundaries (Brah, 1996, p. 194). Identity is shaped as much by what it excludes as by what it includes. Identity is contested, always changing, not so much a story of who we are, as of who we are becoming (Hall, 1996; Brah, 1996).

## Bourdieu and the Different Forms of Capital

All people are holders of different kinds of social and cultural capital. It is mentioned in this thesis because it relates to how people are able to maneuver in society. I contend that as part of hegemonic structures in Norwegian majority society, members of the diaspora are less able to make use of their capital to create new lives for themselves in Norway. Here follows a brief overview of the different kinds of capital and what they relate to.

Capital as discussed by Bourdieu takes many different forms. A person's capital in any form will influence both what options they have, and what choices they make. Previous education, economic status, both past and present, as well as their social network, both in their home country and their new one, are all aspects of their identity that will shape future choices and decisions. This study will look at how different immigrants experience education and work placements differently as they have different capital, or a different habitus.

Social capital is understood here as networks, social relationships, family, and the ability to participate in a social environment, such as a neighborhood, a workplace or an extended family (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital is maintained through social bonds of reciprocal obligations, though these may vary in kind and seriousness.

Cultural capital is the capital you obtain from education, books, reading, learning, art, music, language, etc. It can be embodied through your ability to use what you know and learn. It can be objectified, through material things like books, films or works of art, or it can be institutionalized, in the form of certificates or formal qualifications. Formal qualifications serve mainly to reproduce difference, notes Bourdieu, as the people who acquire them are the people who generally have embodied cultural and social capital to begin with (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47). According to Bourdieu, academic qualifications are to cultural capital what money is to economic capital (1977, p. 187).

Symbolic capital has to do with one's symbolic status in a community, honour, spirituality, etc. A religious figure might have a lot of symbolic capital, which he or she will be able to use to impact other aspects of his or her life. A beloved actor who decides to run for president might be seen as bolstered by his symbolic capital, because people are inclined to vote for him because of his symbolic place in their lives as a figure of entertainment and pleasure.

## Capital and Social Identity Theory

If social identity theory posits that you identify with your group, and you place other people in other groups, labeling them as different based on social comparison, then it is vital that the other people accept this. An issue might arise if a person sees him- or herself as part of a group, while non-members of the group do not perceive of them as such. A person might identify as a researcher, and be accepted by their in-group as such, but could still experience discrimination from non-members based on the colour of their skin or their religion, being seen as different from how they identify based on perceived markers of difference.

Similarly, a person might have a certain level of education, and experience that does not travel with them to their new country. Social capital, as well, does not always translate in a new setting, and a person with ample social contacts and an esteemed place in local society might experience a total loss of status, or social capital, when leaving their home country and entering another.

A conflict of roles might arise when different people or groups are in disagreement over the value of a person's social or cultural capital.

A person's life course and biographical continuity, hitherto provided and guaranteed by the social structures and institutions of the origin country, becomes fragile or even disintegrated by migration. She has to "re-frame" her life and biography as an agentic, self-monitored actor yet under conditions of fundamental uncertainty due to the unknown societal structures and institutional regime of the destination country. (Wingens et al., 2011, p. 6)

Burke writes that much of the meaningful activity within a role that is governed by an identity revolves around the control of resources (Burke, 1997, p. 225). This, again, mirrors both Barth and Anderson, though they wrote more about the meso- and macro levels of society, and Burke is referring to the individual's responsibility within the group. One creates groups, and group identities, and even countries, to control resources, to keep a finite amount of resources for

oneself and one's own group. If one is conscious of this, then it is central to limit the group, that is, to keep some people in and some people out.

## Cultural Hegemony

Cultural hegemony was conceived as a theoretical concept by the Italian marxist/anarchist Antonio Gramsci. Later, the concept of cultural hegemony would inspire the development of critical pedagogy (see Freire, 1968). Cultural hegemony can be found where the values of the dominant class, or group, is imposed on the subordinate groups to the point where these values are internalized, and the subordinate groups accept them as their own. This leads to self-policing of the subordinate groups, as well as the justification of difference and stratification (Gramsci, 1971). Gramsci notes how cultural hegemony is perpetuated because the working classes concern themselves with their day- to day lives, and are kept unaware of the possibility of social change, whilst the people with greater capital are also more aware of the potential for change and opportunity. Thus the rich and educated get richer and better educated, whilst the poor and uneducated are stuck in the status quo.

[...] the relations between social groups in the society is perceived as characterized by marked stratification making it impossible or very difficult for individuals, as individuals, to divest themselves of an unsatisfactory, underprivileged or stigmatized group membership.” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 35)

Marianne Gullestad uses the term hegemony frequently in her book about Norwegian issues of racism, cultural identity and nationalism, *Plausible Prejudice* (2006). She uses hegemony to describe the power struggle present in majority-minority relations (Gullestad, 2006, p. 25). Like Gullestad, I find hegemony a useful and relevant term to use when looking at Norwegian treatment of immigrants and refugees. “...Deprived groups are not always ethnocentric in the simple meaning of the term, they may, in fact, be positively oriented towards the depriving out-group.” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 37)

Tajfel and Turner expand on identity construction and problematic aspects for the subordinate groups in a society. "... the status relations between dominant and subordinate groups determine the latter's identity problems. Subordinate groups often tend to internalize a wider social evaluation of themselves as "inferior" or "second class", and this consensual inferiority is reproduced as relative self-derogation on a number of indices that have been used in various studies" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 37). This echoes the concept of cultural hegemony. The effectiveness of cultural hegemony lies in that the power structures that are in place become invisible, removing the need for physical violence, instating, instead, a sort of symbolic violence, re-enacted by the subordinate groups themselves, and consecrated in the framework of the law (Bourdieu, 1977).

Talking about integration, Gullestad notes that "There is an underlying power relationship when the members of the majority are the ones constantly deciding when someone is sufficiently integrated" (Gullestad, 2002, p. 20). As can be seen with the shifting demands for citizenship, residency, requirements for employment, and what constitutes "integrated enough" being in near constant flux, hegemonic violence is being enacted by the majority society on the minority, under the guise of legal qualifications, using the law as a tool to perpetuate difference.

The belief system of "social mobility" is based on the general assumption that the society in which the individuals live is a flexible and permeable one, so if they are not satisfied, for whatever reason, with the conditions imposed upon their lives by membership in a particular social group or social category to which they belong, it is possible for them (be it through talent, hard work, good luck, or whatever other means) to move individually into another group which suits them better. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 35)

The combination of factors which lead to both the belief in social mobility, and to the practical difficulty people face when trying to divest themselves of an undesired identity or role, can lead to conflict. As will be discussed in the findings, many of the participants of this study found themselves struggling to gain access to the social groups they felt they belonged to, and to claim

the social identity they felt comfortable with. Many of the participants of the study experienced that majority society gatekeepers, both official and unofficial, made it difficult for them to claim what they felt was their natural place in society.

The values and behaviours seen as good/right in a society are most likely to be those associated with the dominant social groups (Brah, 1996, p. 19). Other values/beliefs/behaviours will still exist in any society, but any culture needs to construct itself against something that is “outside” in order to build an inside. Because of this dynamic it is necessary to discuss culture within the context of the power relations between groups (Brah, 1996).

When compared to “the developed West”, people of diasporic origin are often treated as part of a homogenous group (Hall, 2000, p. 227). This quote is central to the issues of this thesis. Through hegemonic societal structures, members of the diaspora group are treated as “the same” by Norwegian majority society.

Much has been written about how identity is created in relation to the “other” (Barth, 1969; Brah, 1996; Butler, 1993; Fanon, 1990; Hall, 1994, 1996). In the same vein, national identity is constructed and imagined through difference (Anderson, 1983). The “sameness” of individual members of the same nation state is exaggerated and emphasised against the “difference” of non-members. Since, as Anderson points out, it is impossible for all members of even the smallest nation state to know and have a relationship to one another, a nation state relies on a shared idea of what the nation state is. Gullestad describes how *the place one is from* as a central category is used to express being a Norwegian national (Gullestad, 2006). Diasporic collectivities figure at the heart of the debate about national identity. These collectivities might be demonified as a threat to the integrity of the “nation” (Brah, 1996, p. 243). The need to define the national identity in any particular way does not arise as a natural impulse without any outside stimuli. Identities, writes Hall (1996), are constructed through difference.

When members of diasporic communities are treated as all “the same”, they are really being held up in a dichotomy with Norwegian majority society. Norwegian national identity is being constructed and reformed constantly against a background of “difference”. If the diasporic community was not treated as a single group, the dichotomy would fall apart. Norwegian majority society exists as *opposed* to the diasporic community, which is different from that. This belief leads a majority of Norwegian society to believe that assimilation is the best method of integration (Brekke & Mohn, 2018), because the diasporic society is seen as a single unit of difference from the Norwegian. When participants in this study struggle to maintain their status and capital as well-educated, experienced individuals, they are in reality struggling against a dichotomy which requires them to either accept the role they are given by Norwegian majority society, or reject any and all markers of difference and assimilate into the Norwegian majority society completely.

## Reasoning Behind Theoretical Selection

The theories used in this thesis were selected on the basis of usefulness to conducting the data analysis. I began initial analysis as soon as the first data was gathered, and added and eliminated theories and concepts as they were either aligned or irrelevant to my overall purpose. I attempted to find theoretical frameworks and concepts to explain or interpret the concerns expressed by the participants of the study. I have developed a framework that is “good to think with” (Lévi-Strauss, 1962) for me, and to the best of my abilities describes the issues raised by my informants. Another reason for the theoretical selection is that the theories overlap, and do not necessarily conflict with each other. When used together, they offer a more thorough, saturated analysis of the data.

The data has to a large extent shaped the theoretical framework, not the other way around. If the theory does not fit, it should be made to fit, not the data made to fit the theory. In this sense, I also find the inductive method to be more democratic. The answers of the participants will shape the theory used. In this way I have tried to give voice to the participants of the study.

## Summary

In this chapter I have presented the theoretical concepts that have been used to explain the findings in this thesis. I identify all the participants of this study as members of the diaspora, people who are living elsewhere than their country of origin. In order to explore the issues facing the participants of this study as members of the diaspora, I have looked at different facets of identity theory, both social identification theory and cultural identity, cultural and social capital, as well as cultural hegemony. These theoretical concepts have provided a useful lense into the multi-faceted nature of identity and identity construction.

In the following chapter I will discuss my findings, as well as provide brief life histories for the participants in this study. I will attempt to illustrate what being a member of the diaspora means, and document how the participants experience language education, work placements, and navigating Norwegian society. Focus will be placed on issues of cultural hegemony, and the issues participants face with keeping their previous cultural capital after moving to a new country.



# Chapter 6: Findings and Discussion

In this chapter I will present my findings. I conducted nine long, semi-structured interviews. When analyzing the interviews I divided the text into selected themes and experiences that stood out as central to several of the participants. The chapter will introduce the participants, explore their experiences of arriving in Norway, schooling, work placements and employment. It will also briefly discuss cultural identity and hegemony. My research purpose was to explore how newly arrived adult immigrants and refugees experience attending majority language education and work placements in Norway.

I developed two research questions to help guide the research:

1: What role does language education and work placements have in identity formation in the diaspora?

2: How do social and cultural issues influence the experience of language education and work placements?

In order to properly explore the answers to my research question, I have divided the findings into sections based on the aspects of the diasporic experience that were seen as important to the participants in this study. The goal of this chapter is to present a broad outlook on the lived experience of the participants in this study, and how the different aspects of their lives all inform each other.

First, I will briefly present the life histories of my participants in order to avoid confusion when they are mentioned by name later, though I will keep each biography fairly brief. I had nine participants, and during our interviews the amount of details each offered differed. I did not press for personal information that was not offered. Consequently the life stories presented here differ in length. What the participants have in common is that they have been granted residency.

Permanent residency requires passing a “residency test” in Norwegian. Some of the participants

had taken and passed this test. Others were not yet proficient enough in Norwegian to take the test, and therefore did not have permanent residency.

## The Participants

### Dunya

Dunya had come to Norway from Lebanon in 2015 as a Syrian refugee. She had studied finance and accounting in Syria, and achieved a master's degree. After the war broke out she had lived for some time in Lebanon, where she had worked as a chef. Dunya was in her mid-thirties, and had a partner she had met in Norway and a child on the way. She was passionate about dancing and acting, something she had done semi-professionally in Syria and Lebanon, and which had lead to several opportunities for travelling around the world. Dunya saw herself as a “global citizen” (her words). She spoke several languages, and had attended language classes in Norway for about a year and a half, and achieved decent results. She had held several work placements, mainly working with the preparing and serving of food, though these did not lead to further employment. She now had part-time work at a youth center, a job she had found on her own. Dunya had a sister in Norway.

### Omar

Omar had come to Norway from Syrian Kurdistan as a refugee in 2014. He had no prior education, apart from a few years of primary school, and was in his early forties. His wife and son had arrived after he did; they now also had a daughter who had been born in Norway. Omar had two cousins in Norway, though not in Oslo, where he lived. Upon arrival he had worked hard to find work, and volunteered in cafes. He had attended language classes for some time, and achieved a decent level of Norwegian. He was given a work placement as a handyman in Oslo, and was subsequently offered a “trial employment”. Omar worked as a handyman in Syria, and was very happy with the job he had found now, as well as with how fairly he was treated. In general, Omar expressed a lot of appreciation because he felt that Norwegian society was “fair”,

something he, as a Syrian Kurd, said he had not experienced previously. He spoke Kurdish and Arabic before arriving in Norway.

### Khalil

Khalil had arrived in Norway in 2016 as a refugee from Syria. He was in his early twenties. He had studied law in Damascus, but had not completed his degree. In addition he had worked as a taxi driver. He now attended language classes, had had no work placements, and did not have a job. His prior education had not been approved by the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT). In Syria he had a wife, but no children. His level of Norwegian was very low, he had only attended language classes for a short time, and spoke no other languages besides Arabic.

### Hussain

Hussain had arrived from the Sudan in 2013 as a political refugee. He was in his mid-to late-forties. He had lived in two different asylum centers for almost two years before he was allowed to move into his own apartment. He had a master's degree in mechanical engineering from the Sudan. Hussain had had several work placements, in a school, in two different shops, and in a cafe, but none of these had led to employment. Hussain now had a job at a construction company as a building technician, and was happy, he said, to be working at all. He knew no one in Norway upon arrival, and still knew no majority population Norwegians. Hussain spoke many languages, among them Arabic, French, English and several of the numerous languages spoken in the Sudan. His Norwegian language level was fair, though he was more comfortable in English.

### Maya

Maya had arrived in Norway from Nepal in 2016, on family reunification grounds, to be reunited with her Nepalese husband. Maya was in her early thirties. She had a master's degree in social science from Germany, and a Bachelor's degree from Nepal. She had had one work placement at a consulting firm, which she had worked hard to get, but it did not lead to further employment.

Besides the work placement, Maya had had several short term contracts with different research facilities, one of which she was currently at. She hoped to continue her education in Norway, and to gain a PhD in social science. Her level of Norwegian was good, though she preferred to speak English. She had attended classes at the University of Oslo, and achieved a high level of language competency quickly.

### Osman

Osman had arrived in Norway in 2015 from Syria. He had no education apart from a few years of primary school. In Syria he worked with his father as a car mechanic for several years, despite being only in his early twenties now. Osman was married but had no children, and his wife was still in Syria. He attended language classes, and worked part time as a mechanic. He spoke almost no Norwegian. He had a brother in Norway who arrived some time before him.

### Daniel

Daniel had arrived in Norway in 2016 from Syria. He had begun studying engineering before he left Syria and had finished his first two years. He was in his mid-twenties, married with no children. His wife was still in Syria. Before arriving in Norway he knew Osman and his brother. In Syria he had worked part-time as a baker. Now he had no work, and attended language school full-time. He spoke very little Norwegian. Daniel would like to study something in Norway in order to get a good job. He would like to become an electrician.

### Clara

Clara had come to Norway in 2016, from Malaysia, on family reunification grounds. She was in her late twenties. Her husband had a well-paid job in the energy sector in Norway. She had a Bachelor's degree in marketing from an English university in Malaysia. She had attended Norwegian classes for about a year, and then quit, but was planning to resume language classes again. Her Norwegian level was fair, but she preferred speaking English. Clara had had a job in a consulting firm, but was let go just after our interview. She was active in an international church in Oslo, and was pregnant with her first child.

## Rabab

Rabab came to Norway in 2015, together with her husband and three young children. She was in her mid-thirties, and spoke fairly little Norwegian. Rabab was Iraqi, and had a Bachelor's degree in Biology from Baghdad. After the war in Iraq broke out, she had fled to Syria, where she had met her husband. They were forced to leave Syria due to the war, and ended up in Norway, where Rabab had a sister. In Iraq, Rabab worked as a private tutor. Now she had a work placement at a clinic, something she hoped would lead to permanent employment. One of her children had a medical condition, which required a fair amount of treatment. As such, the move to Norway had been fortuitous, as they were able to receive free medical aid and help with care. Rabab saw herself as a liberal Muslim, and was focused on her children gaining an understanding of other religions and cultures. The children all attended different grades in a Norwegian primary school and had different hobbies, such as gymnastics and football. She had attended language classes but was currently on a sabbatical. She would return to her class in the next semester.

## Arriving in Norway

The participants in this study had arrived in Norway through different routes and from different starting points. Several had arrived as refugees on humanitarian grounds, escaping war. Some mentioned waiting in refugee camps for the UN to send them to Europe. One participant had come as a political refugee. Two of the participants had come on the grounds of family reunification. Some of the participants had extended family in Norway, others had known nothing of Norway at all upon arrival. When first arriving, several participants were placed in asylum centers (mottak), some, like Dunya, were placed directly into their own apartments, and others again moved in with family already in the country. For several of the people interviewed, their initial arrival had been marked by transience, movement between counties, between centres, and from temporary to permanent housing. This transience would follow them as they moved from one work placement to another, in and out of school and temporary work contracts.

The first impressions of Norway were varied amongst the participants. Several focused on the weather, especially those who had arrived during winter or fall. The surprising cold, the dark, and the beautiful colours. Several of the participants had not wanted to come to Norway. They would rather have, as some said, gone to Europe. Great Britain was mentioned, because of the language, and several respondents mentioned Germany. When asked why Germany would have been preferable, it was said that it is more international, bigger, and some mentioned that there was a larger diasporic community there.

## Norwegian Language Education

All of the participants in this study had attended language classes in Norway. Due to their different immigration status and levels of previous education, the types of classes they had attended were varied. Another reason for the variation was that several participants had attended language classes in different municipalities, some in more than just one. Private alternatives do exist, but language classes are generally administered by the municipality. There will therefore be variations in level differentiation, teacher-student ratios, ethnic diversity, etc, depending on which municipality/city you are attending classes in, how many students a municipality has, and how much money is allocated to the school. In theory, classes are divided into three tiers (spor), depending on the prior education of the participant. Tier one is for those with little or no prior education, and includes illiterate students. Tier two is for students with some prior education, and tier three is for those students who have completed some high school or university education.

Some of the participants had found it difficult having to begin language classes just a few weeks after arrival. In our interview, Hussain noted how, when he first came to Norway as a political refugee, he had had a difficult time adjusting to life in Norway, and not been able to focus on language learning. He further noted, when asked about how he perceived the language course, that the element of force, that you *had* to go, made it a negative experience. Hussain was multilingual, and was by now fairly competent in Norwegian. It had taken him a long time,

however, and he had several notes on how the programme had not been adjusted to fit his situation, noting that the accent taught in his Norwegian class was standard Norwegian (bokmål), and the municipality he was living in spoke a very different dialect, closer to “New Norwegian (nynorsk)”.

Dunya, too, though she had enjoyed going to school at first, felt that she had been made to start school too soon after arrival. She did not have time to get her bearings before she had to begin attending classes, and suggested that the start date of the introduction programme should be more flexible. Khalil said that it was difficult to focus on learning a new language because he was thinking a lot about his family back home. These concerns illustrate the point made by Nina Reksten (Reksten, 2010) about how the introduction law does not contain specific structural elements addressing the needs of the individual participant.

The participants were asked how they felt about the other students in their classes. The answers varied widely, in many cases both positive and negative aspects were brought up by a single participant. Several respondents made a point of distancing themselves from what they perceived as “bad students”. What made a “bad student” differed among the participants. What the participants focused on seemed to mirror whatever qualities they themselves felt they had, and the “bad students” were those who lacked these. There was a certain amount of anger directed at other students from some of the participants. In most cases, this was due to a perception that the other students were hindering individual progress, whether intentional or not.

These perceptions were shared by Dunya and Rabab who both felt like they were fast learners, and that the slow learners in their classes were holding them back. Omar felt like he was a hard worker, and that the people in his class who did not work hard were holding the class back. Clara felt like she had a higher level of education than the people in her class, and that these students were hindering her from progressing. Being in Norway through family reunification, she was the only one who specifically complained that there were a lot of refugees and asylum seekers in her class, who, she felt, were not interested in being part of class discussions or in pushing

themselves. Clara had first begun attending classes in the municipality where she lived with her husband. Her municipality did not differentiate between educational levels. This, Clara felt, was why she had been unable to learn proper Norwegian. It was as if she had wasted a year. She was now going to attend classes in a different municipality, where the school was big enough to offer level based division on grounds of prior education.

All of the participants mentioned above said they wished the classes had been divided into multiple sections, and that this would have allowed for them to perform better. It was generally suggested that this divide should be based on whichever quality the respondents saw as the difference between themselves and the other students.

Despite this, several of the respondents reported having friends in class, and that many people were nice. Hussain, Maya, Clara and Dunya all said that they had fun with other students, and that they had made friends during their studies. In Clara's case especially, this was somewhat surprising, as she seemed negative about both her general experience, and the class she was placed in. It became clear, however, that though Clara expressed her dissatisfaction in general terms, she, like the other participants, simply wished for her class to be divided into sections, and had several friends in her class whom she considered "more like herself".

Teachers were mostly talked about positively, though, without prompting, were hardly talked about at all. Some participants complained that their teachers were old, some said their teacher had been unable to control the classroom environment, and some said they had experience with teachers who were bad and mean. On the whole, though, the teachers were most commonly described as "nice". Most of the respondents had very little to say about their teachers. None of them spoke about their teachers for more than a sentence or two. It is possible that negative feelings surrounding their teachers were not brought up partially because the participants were worried about offending me, after learning that I worked as a teacher myself. One critique of the teachers raised by a couple of participants was that the teachers were old and old-fashioned in their teaching.



Most of the participants said that what they were taught in class was mainly language related. Some participants mentioned that they were also taught about Norwegian culture. The topics of Norwegian culture that were mentioned were, among others; the national day, the national costume, hot dogs, ice cream, waffles, brown cheese, skiing, hiking and cabin trips. In addition to this, topics that might be considered more normative were also taught, such as gender equality, how Norwegian people greeted each other, and some pointers as to what you should and should not do in Norwegian society. Some of my respondents, like Dunya, felt like this was humiliating:

J: Did you like going to school? And having Norwegian classes?

D: No. it is the worst. Worst. I like Norwegian classes. But I don't like how they do it, and in the introduction programme

J: Is it like social science? Or history, culture...?

D: It is about how you raise your kids and such, how you shake a Norwegian man's hand, and things like this, you know.

J: Yeah. Is this taught in Norwegian, or...?

D: Norwegian.

J: Ok.

D: And it is taught by some teachers, some teachers are good, really good, even if the subject is like, literally a piece of shit, they will make it fun. But some teachers are... They literally have no idea about like, the other people, or who those people are, who they are teaching. They have no background, and they are teaching us totally... They don't know who we are, so they actually treat us like a five-year old child who maybe, or two years old child who is big and can talk, but he has never seen anything in his life, like, literally we have been in a box and they just opened it for us.

According to the Norwegian Bureau of Statistics, the number of people who believe that immigrants contribute positively to Norwegian culture has decreased, and the number of people who believe that immigrants should attempt to assimilate to majority society has increased, by

five and seven per cent respectively. More than fifty percent of Norwegians agree with the statement that immigrants should strive to be as similar to the majority society as possible. Thirty five percent of Norwegians disagree with this statement, and twelve percent are neutral. This is the lowest number of people disagreeing with this statement ever recorded (Blom, 2016). Dunya was frustrated with this attitude towards new arrivals in the country. She felt like the school and the government were asking too much:

D: Just because you come here to Norway does not mean that you have to be a Norwegian, it does not mean that you have to work all your mannerisms, all your life, because we did not choose to come here, we came here because we don't have a place that's safe. We are very grateful that the doors are open for us, but they cannot ask us to change who we are, we are happy people, we like to talk loud and hug and kiss and laugh and dance in the street!

My respondents differed in their opinions about attending school as adults. Some participants, like Maya, thought it was fun. Some, like Hussain, Daniel, Khalil and Clara, thought it was boring. In the middle were those who had enjoyed it, or still did, but felt that the programme either lasted too long, or that the theoretical language learning took up too much time in the introduction programme. Both Omar and Rabab liked school, and wanted to improve their Norwegian. However, they both believed that more focus on learning by doing would improve the introduction programme.

Rabab was currently in a work placement that she loved, and felt she was learning a lot from. She wanted to be allotted more time there, and less time in the classroom. Omar, who was no longer in school and now had a job, felt that the programme could help people better if it offered more of a practical education. He suggested an alternative programme, where people could be taught a profession and gain language proficiency as well as a useful skill set. He suggested that the schools could educate mechanics and plumbers, teaching them Norwegian and offering the services of their students at a slightly lower rate to the general population.

The main issue my participants had with attending school as adults was that they would rather be working. Having a job was the focus for most respondents, and language education was seen as a necessary step towards that future goal. Some, like Khalil and Daniel, needed to learn Norwegian because they wanted to use it for further studies, either at the university, or through a vocational high school. Although learning Norwegian was described by both Khalil and Daniel as boring, it was also described as being very difficult.

In general, being an adult student was seen as both nice, for a time, and dull, after a while. Some of the participants described school as dull because it was difficult, others as it being dull because it was too easy. The introduction programme now lasts for two years, and is supposed to fill the same amount of time as a full-time job, at 37.5 hours a week (Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet, 2016b). Learning a language for so many hours each day is highly demanding, regardless of educational background, and the system was described by several of the participants as old-fashioned and too theoretically heavy.

Since the participants in the study were all adults, most of them had been to school previously, and had ideas about how they best learn. Possibly due to differences in learning methods or cultural differences, the responses to how to best learn Norwegian was very varied. In contrast the complaint that school was too theoretically focused, some felt that the classes were not focusing enough on grammar. On the other hand, Omar said the best thing for learning a new language was dictation. Having worked with adult language learners for many years, I am aware of the pervasive fondness for this particular exercise. Several of the respondents said that it was important to speak Norwegian to fluent speakers outside of school, but this was also mentioned by many as being difficult to achieve because of lack of access to fluent Norwegian speakers.

## Cultural Identity

Almost none of the respondents had any Norwegian friends. The ones who did still said that they were unable to see them as often as they would like. Several participants had signed up for voluntary programmes with different NGOs, such as the Red Cross in order to meet Norwegians. Though they had been paired with Norwegians through these organisations, the Norwegian participants would see them once or twice a month, which was not felt as enough by my respondents. Omar said that “If you have a friend, every day, you just go to a cafe and talk and stuff. You become good [at Norwegian].”

Finding a Norwegian person who wants to go to a cafe every day just to chat, regardless of who they are chatting to, might be difficult for most. Khalil and Daniel, who also tried to engage with Norwegians through the Red Cross language cafe programmes, talked about the same problem. They felt like the programme and the people they met there were too rarely available to them, and two weeks often went by between each time they interacted with Norwegians outside of a school setting.

Several of the participants in the study felt that they were being asked to assimilate, in order to be part of Norwegian society. Maya had been told in school that she should learn how to ski, if she wanted to make Norwegian friends. She compared this to asking people not native to Nepal to go mountain climbing with her, if they wanted to be a part of Nepalese society. This was said as a joke, but jokes aside, Maya later articulated that she felt Norwegian society demanded a certain degree of assimilation from immigrants and refugees, something which was repeated by several of the other participants. Maya, when asked about her thoughts on integration in Norway, answered this “Yeah, I think integration in Norway is not- more like, ok, they say it is integration, but like, uh, practice-wise it is assimilation.” According to the most recent poll on immigration carried out by the Directorate of Integration and Diversity, a clear majority of the Norwegian population thinks that immigrants should be assimilated completely into Norwegian society (Brekke & Mohn, 2018).

When asked what she believes to be the ideal immigrant, Dunya answered with a laugh “I think I’m the ideal immigrant.” Elaborating on this, Dunya went on to describe how she wore the same clothes as Norwegian people, she was having a baby without being married, and that she was very Westernized (her own term). “I am not different,” she said, “I am the same.”

According to Engebrigtsen, a desirable immigrant is precisely one which resembles the indigenous population closely (Engebrigtsen, 2009). Dunya was one of the participants most vocal about how Norwegian society aimed for assimilation, rather than integration. Though Dunya categorized herself as “the same”, it is not a given that she would be categorized as such by majority society. Dunya had higher education that she is not able to utilize in Norway, she had hobbies and passions that she was not able to enjoy in the same way she used to, and, though she had a network here, it was smaller than she would have liked. Dunya used to be part of a dance troupe, and she had not been able to find an equivalent after moving to Norway. Social and outgoing, Dunya felt isolated and struggled to build a similar life to the one she had led prior to coming to Norway. Her imagined social identity differed from the identity she was able to assume in Norway. After arriving in Norway, she felt unable to live the kind of life suited to her personality and background. Dunya described herself as a “world citizen”, and felt indignant that she was being asked to learn about Norwegian cultural norms without any apparent reciprocal interest in hers.

Omar, on the other hand, identified with aspects of Norwegian society, which he recognized from the social group he identified with in Syria. Being Kurdish, he mentioned how he and his family had struggled in Syria because their value-definitions differed from that of the majority society of Syrians. Omar described Syria as corrupt, and explained how people (like himself) who refused to use bribes and trickery to get ahead, struggled to make ends meet. It was very important to Omar that he now identified with the values of Norwegian majority society, not because he had changed, but because he had always held similar values. Omar used his personal history to explain how his cultural identity was compatible with the larger segment of Norwegian

society. Norwegian society was described by Omar as “fair”. He said that in Norway you get back what you put in, something he felt was different from how it had been in Syria. In Omar’s opinion, everyone was equal in Norway, everyone had the same rights as everyone else, and you could put your trust in the system.

Some of the respondents felt uncomfortable with being lumped together in one homogenous group. Clara did not like sharing a classroom with asylum seekers and refugees. She felt they were not interested in being part of class discussions. When she found out that other schools divided their students based on their prior education, she decided this was why she had not been making as much progress in class as she would have liked.

Khalil and Daniel both felt that they were stared at in public, and imagined that this was because people in Norway associated Syrians with war. Maya and Dunya both had to argue with their caseworkers to get anything other than blue collar work or work placements. Hussain, with an engineering degree, had not been able to find work until recently, when he got a job as a building technician. He agreed that Norwegian society was looking for assimilation, not integration. “When in Rome, do as the Romans do,” he put it.

## Work Placements

Most immigrants or refugees who arrive in Norway will have one or more work placements during their language education. Familiarizing participants with the Norwegian labour market is part of the introduction programme. This can involve work placements, which are normally arranged through NAV. Most work placements run for three months, though they can be extended for up to a year (Arbeids- og velferdsetaten, 2018a). When participating in a work placement, you receive money from NAV, though far less than what you would have received if you worked as a regular employee. The business where you have your placement is responsible for instructing you in your work duties, but does not pay any wages. Two thirds of the respondents had participated in work placements. Rabab was the only participant currently in a

placement. Apart from Omar, none of the other participants had been offered a permanent position after their work placements ended.

Dunya had had a work placement in a kitchen, and managed to get a job as a shift worker in the same kitchen when the work placement ended. Soon after this, she injured herself and had to stay at home for two weeks. After she had recovered, the hotel where her kitchen was located stopped calling and offering her shifts, having instead got help from new work placement participants. Since the hotel had access to unlimited free labour, there was little incentive to hire new people on a permanent basis. To her, the work placement programme did not work in accordance with its aims, instead, it hindered people in finding work by saturating the labour market.

When we first spoke, Omar had just gotten a job. He was very happy about it. The job was in construction, which he had experience with from Syria. At present the work was probationary, meaning that during the first six months his contract could be terminated. After these six months, he hoped to get a permanent contract. The main difference between a probationary contract and a work placement is that, instead of NAV, the company you work for pays your wages. This means that the financial difference in moving from a probationary contract to a permanent one is much less significant than moving from a work placement contract to a permanent contract. The wages are higher than those you would get if you were supported through NAV. Omar had first done a work placement at his current place of employment. He was the only one of my participants who had achieved employment as a direct result of a placement. Omar was an excellent example of how important it could be to have contacts. He first got his work placement thanks to being recommended for the job by a Norwegian acquaintance. Unlike most of the participants, he had been able to establish social capital in the majority population, which led to advantages.

Hussain, who also works in construction, had been hired just a couple of months before our interview. Like Omar, he had done several work placements, but unlike Omar he had not found his current position through a work placement. He had found his current job through NAV,

because it was related to his previous experience and education. Though over-qualified for the position, Hussain was relieved to have a job after five years of doing work placements and being unemployed.

Rabab was currently in a work placement, and was hopeful that it would lead to permanent employment once the work placement finished. She believed that it was difficult for immigrants and refugees to find employment in Norway. When asked to speculate as to why she thought this was the case, she responded that in order to work in Norway, you were dependent on a large network of Norwegian people, Norwegian contacts that could help you get a job. It was also important to know Norwegian if you had a job where you interacted with other people. Rabab knew the woman who had hired her for a work placement, and she believed that despite general difficulties in finding employment for immigrants and refugees, she would herself be hired after her work placement ended.

## Cultural Capital

Your cultural capital can only retain its value if you move to a place that acknowledges the validity of your qualifications. If the country you move to refuses to acknowledge certificates from your country of origin, you stand to drastically lose social standing. The right retained by nation states to approve or reject certificates distributed by other nation states allows for social regulation removed from personal bias, a kind of symbolic violence. A state has the power to decide what educational achievements can be translated when a person moves, and if what counts as a Master's degree in Engineering in Egypt will count as an identical degree in Norway.

As Bourdieu writes:

[...] Academic qualifications are to cultural capital what money is to economical capital. By giving the same value to all holders of the same certificate, so any one of them can take the place of any other, the educational system minimizes the obstacles to the free circulation of cultural capital which result from it being incorporated in individual persons. It makes it possible to relate all qualification-holders (and also, negatively, all



unqualified individuals) to a single standard, thereby setting up a single market for all cultural capacities and guaranteeing the convertibility of cultural capital into money, at a determinate cost in labour and time. (Bourdieu, 1977, p.187)

If your qualifications are not approved by the state to which you move, your cultural capital will drastically drop in value. If you do not obtain the certificate you need, you will not be able to compete on the level to which you are accustomed.

There was a wide variation in the cultural capital of the participants in this study. Many of them had experienced the disruption of their everyday lives due to war, which had changed their circumstances even before arriving in Norway. Dunya, for example, had originally been an educated accountant in Syria, but had later been working as a chef in Lebanon, for which she had no professional qualifications. Rabab had been working as a teacher in Iraq, but after the war in 2003 she had moved to Syria and stayed at home with the children. Hussain had been working as an engineer in the Sudan, Omar had not been officially employed in any occupation, though he was working, doing a bit of everything related to construction, carpentry, bricklaying, demolition, etc. Osman had been a mechanic, and the four others, Clara, Maya, Daniel and Khalil, had all been students, though both Khalil and Daniel had done some part-time work in their country of origin.

Cultural and social capital does not travel well. The participants in this study all lost a portion of their capital in transit. The participants with higher education from their countries of origin have, in most cases, lost all or part of the value of that education. Some of the participants had parts of their education approved by NOKUT, though most of them had not. Of all the participants, only two (Clara and Maya) had their previous education approved. Dunya and Rabab had some of their education approved, but not enough of it to leave them with an actual degree in any subject. Rabab, who had a bachelor's degree from Iraq, had one year of it approved out of three. The participants with the least notable experience of capital loss were probably Omar and Osman, as they had no formal education, and less cultural capital to lose.

Omar and Hussain were the only two participants who were working full-time at the time of the interview. Three participants had part-time or contract work. Omar and Maya were both working within fields in which they were qualified, Maya as a consultant, and Omar as a construction worker. Dunya worked in a cafe. Her educational background was in economics. Hussain was working as a building technician, and was an educated engineer. Osman, who had worked as a mechanic in Syria, now had part-time work as a mechanic in Norway. Clara had a background in marketing, and did some work which was relevant to that education, though she was underpaid, and later let go. McGown, in her extensive study of Somali diaspora in London and Toronto studied issues connected to establishing oneself in a new country. She noted how “Barriers include temporary difficulties such as language, and lack of recognition of former education and professional qualifications” (McGown, 1999, p.231). In almost all the interviews conducted, one or all of these barriers were mentioned by the respondents.

Many immigrants and refugees struggle to find work in Norway after they finish attending Norwegian language school and work placements. Statistically, the unemployment numbers for immigrants are at 6.1% (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2018a), compared to the total population at 4.0% (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2018b). These numbers are lower than they have been in the past, though there is still a marked difference. When talking about why it was difficult to find work, the participants brought up several of the same points. It was difficult when you did not speak the language. Even if you spoke English, you needed Norwegian fluency for almost all positions. If you did not know any Norwegians, which almost none of the participants did, it was difficult to get anyone to give you a reference. This was paramount, according to Hussain. You need to work in order to get a reference, and you need a reference in order to get work. A Catch 22 for some of the respondents.

Another problem is the seemingly exclusionary practice of assuming immigrants and refugees are all looking for blue collar work. Despite the educational background of many of the participants, all of them reported having been pushed towards menial jobs. Dunya tried without

success to gain a work placement with an accounting office. She was instead assigned to a kitchen, after being offered a placement at a hotel as a maid. She ended up in the kitchen, she said, because she did not get the placement she asked for, and would rather be a cook than a maid, so she talked to the kitchen at the same hotel herself. Hussain was given work placements in shops, where he was never offered any kind of permanent employment. He is working now as a building technician. He is happy with the work because it is a permanent position, and not a work placement. It has been several years since his arrival in Norway, during which time he has not been able to get his education approved by The Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT). These experiences mirror those described in *Cartographies of Diaspora* by Brah (1996), where Brah is told by a respondent that they (members of the diaspora) were pushed towards factory work, “Almost as if we weren’t good for anything else” (Brah, 1996, p. 62). They had wanted and looked for white collar work, but were asked to do menial work instead. Unemployment remained high with Brah’s respondents, despite the fact that they were working towards, or already had university degrees (Brah, 1996, p. 63).

Maya was pressured by her case worker to accept work as a waitress, but she refused and had to find her own placement. She eventually managed to get a work placement as a consultant. Maya has a lot of cultural capital, she has a husband in Norway who can help her, she has studied in Europe previously, and she is very aware of her rights and wants. Out of all the participants, she was probably the one who was able to navigate the Norwegian system the best. She was also able to attend expensive language classes at the University of Oslo, which one can do, if one pays a substantial fee, and one has an academic background. This most likely sped up her Norwegian language trajectory substantially. Her advantage might be that she had social capital upon arrival through her husband who was affiliated with the University of Oslo, as well as cultural capital that was translatable into Norwegian. Her Master's degree had been completed in Europe, at a university with a similar academic system to that found in Norway. As such, it had been approved as equivalent to a Norwegian Master’s degree.

## Economic Factors

Gaining permanent employment was something mentioned by ALL the participants. The ones who had jobs spoke about how they got them and how it had been before they did, like Hussain, who had tried for years to find work, and now finally had gotten a full-time job. He described how he had applied for hundreds of different positions, and never heard back from any of them (his many work placements had not led to any kind of permanent work either). Now, with his job in construction, Hussain was relieved and happy to be working. Omar, too, was adamant that he had never taken a handout in his life, not in Norway and not in Kurdistan, and was seemingly very happy with his job. Whether they were working or not, all the participants were concerned with either getting work, keeping their jobs, moving from work placements to permanent employment, or completing education in order to get work.

Work placements pay far less than regular work. It is therefore not desirable to remain in work placement programmes for any extended period of time. For the employers, on the other hand, work placements are free labour, as they pay nothing to the people participating in them. When one person leaves a work placement, another person can replace them. Therefore, there is a possible conflict of interest between the business and the participant. Some people are hired after a work placement ends, but in general, the participants in this study were not overly optimistic about the possibility of that outcome.

People participating in the introduction programme are paid twice the minimum amount of Norwegian social security payments (Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet, 2016c). The current minimum is at 96 883 NOK a year (Arbeids- og velferdsetaten, 2018b), which means a participant in the introduction programme receives just below two hundred thousand NOK a year. Compared to an average Norwegian salary, this is less than half (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2018b).

## Cultural Hegemony

An important aspect of cultural hegemony is the idea of the dual consciousness. Several of the participants shared thoughts that exhibited this duality, where they both expressed dissatisfaction with Norwegians and the Norwegian system that they were operating within, but also with the other immigrants in this system with them. This could be seen as related to the “two consciousnesses” that Gramsci describes. One consciousness is implicit in a person’s activity and reality and relates him or her to people of a common social/economical situation in the real world. The other, verbal or superficial, has been “inherited”. It is powerful in that it influences wants, desires and morals. The two conflicting consciousnesses can lead to a stalemate, a passive state where no choices are made at all (Gramsci, 1971, p. 26-27). In everyday life, and in their schooling, the participants in this study related mainly to other members of the diaspora. They tried to find work, participated in work placements, and struggled with getting to know members of the majority population. At the same time, the participants felt different from the other members of the diaspora they attended classes with, they felt that the work and the placements they were offered were beneath them, and that the lives they now led were not the lives they imagined they should lead.

Hussain’s case illustrates this point about dual consciousness. Hussain came to Norway and struggled with learning Norwegian. He described himself as having been in a “bad place” for the first period in Norway. He was a mechanical engineer, but could not get his education approved. He was placed in several work placements, but none of them were related to his previous education, and none of them led to employment. Hussain moved several times, and was unhappy. He thought the Norwegian language school system was old-fashioned, and compared learning Norwegian with learning French, claiming that he had learned French in no time at all, because the French school he had attended before coming to Norway was much more modern. After several years of being in a liminal phase, between the old and the new, unemployment and employment, Hussain found work as a building technician. He was very happy about this. It was, in his own words, “a new beginning”. Hussain, who had so much previous cultural capital, and

had struggled in the Norwegian system for a long time, seemed to have accepted that his old life held little value in Norway. He had accepted that he must begin again, that he is now on the bottom rung within a field where he used to be on the top. From this passive state, where his understanding of his own identity and the reality of what opportunities he had did not intersect, he had now moved on to a state where his imagined opportunities matched his new cultural identity.

Many participants desired to be removed from the social class of immigrants and refugees, and instead be accepted as a part of Norwegian majority society. Irregardless of this desire, the respondents were often seen as and grouped in with other immigrants and refugees by majority society. Dunya, for example, was frustrated with her classmates, who were not (she said) good learners. She was also frustrated with the programme they were in, which did not allow her to “graduate” from the language education system as quickly as she would have liked. The normative elements of her education frustrated her, and she felt like Norwegians were closed off and unwilling to understand or accept her cultural background. In addition, she was not granted access to “the Norwegian”, in that she found little time or opportunity to interact with Norwegian majority society. In this sense, Dunya ended up in the described “passive state”, in that she rejected membership both in her prescribed “in-group” and “out-group”, as she was rejected membership in one social group and was denied access to another.

The values and behaviours seen as good/right in a society are most likely to be those associated with the dominant social groups (Brah, 1996, p. 19). Other values/beliefs/behaviours will still exist in any society, as mentioned above, and any culture needs to construct itself against something that is “outside” in order to build an inside. Because of this dynamic, it is necessary to discuss culture within the context of the power relations between groups (Brah, 1996).

The same point can be argued for many of the participants mentioned in the previous section. The desire to be part of a social group where they are not granted access, or only very limited access, is combined with the rejection of the social group that they might be perceived as being

members of by the Norwegian majority society. From a Gramscian point of view, this leads to a passive state of having few options for social movement, and is in many ways the essence of cultural hegemony. The values and cultural norms of a society are guarded by an elite group who determines the terms of access. Despite this, the values and norms are adopted by all segments of society, leading some segments to reject their own social groups and strive, without success, for membership in the majority society.

## Discussion

What is the experience of attending Norwegian language classes and looking for employment? When asking my respondents to tell me about their lives in Norway, the two experiences were always tied together. Attending language classes, participating in work placements, looking for work, attempting to get Norwegian contacts, both to gain additional language practice and get references, these experiences are all part of the same diasporic reality.

Language classes for immigrants and refugees are unavoidably charged with meaning. Almost immediately upon arrival in the country, immigrants and refugees are evaluated and placed into groups with other immigrants or refugees considered, by the municipality, to be “the same” as them. From this first meeting with Norwegian majority society, a hegemonic action and a display of power is experienced. Both inside and outside of a school setting, participants complained of being lumped together with people they did not feel they belonged with. Later, many participants attempted to distance themselves from the group they had been placed in. This underlines the hegemonic aspect of Norwegian language education, because the participants acknowledged the inferiority of “their” group, the group they had been placed in. They instead attempted to identify with another group, a “better” group, though the respondents had different ideas as to what a “better” group constituted.

Schooling is infused with cultural normativism. Norwegian language teaching inevitably comes with ideas about Norwegian society and Norwegian culture. Being taught about Norwegian

culture was seen by several respondents as an attempt to assimilate them into Norwegian society. Not a single respondent mentioned the word racism during our interviews. The participants complained instead of not being recognized as well-educated due to a perceived shared status as “foreign”. This categorisation held negative connotations to the participants, who perceived themselves as being treated as ignorant and homogeneously similar to all other foreigners, regardless of background. Similar to Gilroy’s writing on post-colonial Britain (1990), racism was no longer connected to biology, at least not discursively, but rather to issues of cultural difference (Gilroy, 1990. p. 266).

Most of the participants had experienced a loss of cultural capital, in that their previous education was rarely approved in Norway. Even if their education had been approved, it was difficult to find work that corresponded to their level of education. The type of work most commonly offered to members of the diaspora was menial, blue collar work, which does not require an education. The participants also cited lack of Norwegian skills and lack of Norwegian contacts and references as significant obstructions to finding appropriate employment.

In order to gain Norwegian friends, participants were told they had to participate in Norwegian activities. They were encouraged to learn how to ski, and several participants also went to “language cafes”, where different voluntary organizations such as the Red Cross offers free language classes once a week. Despite making efforts to meet and interact with majority Norwegians, the respondents were generally unable to find people who would spare the time to get to know them. The meetings with Norwegians were brief and far between. This led to a feeling of isolation for the participants. Many reported never getting to practice their Norwegian outside of a classroom.

Obtaining stable employment was essential for all the participants in this study. Out of all the issues discussed in our hour-long interviews, this one was by far the most salient. Norwegian language schooling was seen as a means to this end. Because work, and earning a living wage, was seen as such a priority, participants expressed frustration at the sheer number of hours and



theoretical approach of the Norwegian language programme. Work placements as part of the introduction programme were sometimes seen as positive, but also as problematic because of the low hiring rate, and, when compared to a permanent job, the low pay.

Having work was mentioned as a way to improve language skills, and some, such as Maya, mentioned how her work placement had been helpful in this regard. Others, like Dunya, claimed her work placement had failed to teach her any Norwegian, since all the other staff were foreign.

Language skills are important in order to gain a job, and having a job is important in order to gain language skills. In general, these concepts were linked by the participants in the study. If you learn proper Norwegian and gain Norwegian contacts, you will have an easier time getting a job. At the same time, if you have a work placement it is possible to gain better language skills. The concept of cultural capital comes in when Maya, able to gain a work placement responding to her level of education, believed her language skills to have improved through her placement, whilst Dunya and Hussain, who had not had appropriate work placements in lieu of their former education, did not find the placements helpful in increasing their language skills.

Several participants had no language instruction during their placements, and felt they were being used as free labour, rather than being taught a skill. Because work placements differ, not all of them will be as linguistically useful as others. Working in kindergartens, for example, might teach a person more Norwegian than cleaning an office. The downside of kindergarten placements is that, in most municipalities, no one without a B1 level of Norwegian proficiency is eligible for permanent employment (Oslo Kommune, 2018, Bærum Kommune, 2013). This means that a substantial number of the people who have work placements in kindergartens are unable to gain employment there, even if the kindergarten wants to hire them.

## Summary

I posit that the experience of attending language classes and the effect this has on identity formation is a central aspect of the experience of being part of a diaspora, and that issues found in language education and work placements are issues facing the diasporic community in all avenues of life. The experiences described by the participants in this study, both in and out of school, are all parts of a larger whole, which pertains to being a member of the diaspora.

None of the respondents spoke about wanting to learn Norwegian as a goal in itself, it was a way to achieve employment or further education. When school is focused on theoretical Norwegian with little practical input, some participants feel frustrated by the amount of time spent on pure language learning. They would rather have the possibility of practical learning, or of learning a skill in addition to a language. Work placements were often not perceived to fulfill this function, because the participants felt that they were not gaining useful experience.

Language education reproduces hegemonic structures both in classroom experiences and through work placements. Students are usually placed in classes based on their prior education, but, as seen in the experiences of the participants in this study, often develop antipathies against students in their own classes. In some cases, this antipathy has direct relation to the others' status as refugees or asylum seekers. None of my participants considered this status as an attenuating factor. Other students were frequently described as lazy, disrespectful, uneducated, slow and unwilling to learn. None of the participants suggested that other students might struggle to learn due to any extraneous factors, such as old age, physical illness or trauma.

The newest poll from the Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDI) shows that the majority Norwegian population places the main responsibility for failed integration on the immigrant population itself (Brekke & Mohn, 2018). The participants in this study seem to agree with the majority population. This is a hegemonic reproduction of power relations upheld by the people benefitting the least.

Work placements tend to situate immigrants and refugees in blue collar, menial jobs, regardless of their previous experience and education. Through schooling and work placements the diasporic community is guided towards low-income, low status employment as a homogenous group. The participants in my study who were able to avoid this had to argue and struggle in order to find placements suitable to their educational and professional backgrounds. Several were unable to do so. Having Norwegian contacts could be central. Omar, who got help from a Norwegian he knew in getting his particular placement, was the only one who had been offered permanent employment after the placement ended.

# Chapter 7: Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the experiences of members of the diaspora who are or have been participating in language education and work placements. The experience of being a member of the diaspora is influenced by language education, work placements, employment, and all other aspects of public life. Looking at how identity is constructed within the context of diasporic life is important in order to understand the experience of integration and immigration.

The chapter on findings explored several issues that the participants had struggled with, both in an educational and a work setting. The findings on school-related issues illustrated how school is seen and treated as a stepping stone to something else, a necessary hurdle which one must overcome in order to “graduate” into majority society. The participants described attending Norwegian language classes not so much in terms of mastering a language, but rather in terms of completion, as if that in itself is the purpose. They acknowledged the need to complete their courses, but most wanted to get through them faster. According to a recent report financed by IMDI (the Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity), the majority of the Norwegian population believes that language and employment is key to integration (Brekke & Mohn, 2018). Thus, it seems that this is a point on which the majority population and the participants in this study agree.

The same poll on integration also finds that the majority population believes that having Norwegian friends is less important to integration. The participants in this study felt differently. To them, a central aspect of having Norwegian friends was the possibility of practicing Norwegian outside of a school setting. As such, having Norwegian friends was tied closely to language learning.

Many participants also expressed frustration with being lumped together with people they felt were different from themselves, and many blamed the “one size fits all” model for teaching as a

reason for why they had struggled with language learning. Several of the participants felt that their values and backgrounds were more compatible with those of Norwegian majority society than with those of their classmates.

The participants differed in their views on work placements. Only one participant had found work following his participation in a work placement. Some of the participants were positive about the work placement experience, though most felt that they were unlikely to be offered full-time work once the placement was complete. Some of the participants voiced concerns that the free labour afforded to businesses through work placements discouraged them from hiring full-time workers. Additionally, few of the participants were offered work placements in their desired field. If they were able to find a suitable work placement, it happened either through personal efforts or through Norwegian contacts.

When it came to employment, many participants struggled with not being able to benefit from their previous work experience or education. Almost all of the participants had experienced a great loss of cultural capital, and lacked social capital as a natural effect of moving to a different country. Many of the participants felt they had been pushed by their case workers towards blue collar jobs, regardless of their previous experience, education, and occupational aspirations.

In order to understand the issues facing members of the diaspora in Norway, it was important to read not only Norwegian literature on immigration and integration, but also about diasporic groups living elsewhere. From reading about the experiences of diasporic groups in England, it became clear that many issues experienced by diasporic communities are universal, and not specific to the Norwegian context. Many of the experiences that the participants in this study had, mirrored those of participants in studies conducted by Avatar Brah and Stuart Hall.

Looking at Norwegian literature on work placements and concerns reported by administrators and teachers engaged in these programmes contributes to a greater understanding of the issues facing integration in Norway. The Norwegian literature on both language education and work

placements was coloured by the fact that most of the research was conducted without consulting the participants in the programmes the research was concerned with. There is much quantitative research done on participants in language education, of how many people in the diaspora that are unemployed or on how many people pass Norwegian language tests, but there is a lack of qualitative research focused on the participants in Norwegian language programmes and work placements.

Identity theory was central to the interpretation of the findings in this thesis. In order to understand the experiences of the participants, it was useful to have a theoretical lens through which to view them. The concept of in-groups and out-groups, how we identify and how we are identified by others, as well as identity as a state of being and becoming, were applicable concepts to analyse the findings for this thesis.

Additionally, looking at cultural and social capital, and how the loss or gain of this affected the everyday lives of the participants, allowed for illustrating important points regarding hegemonic structures. After talking to the participants in this study, it felt central to write about cultural hegemony. The structures described as problematic by the participants and the issues they struggled with in their daily lives are closely connected to cultural hegemony, though the phrase was not used by the participants. Cultural capital and cultural hegemony is tied together, as illustrated in the findings, by how society controls cultural capital through legal regulation. Previous exams, certificates or experiences can be ascribed or denied value through state regulation.

There is a clear need for further research on the topics of capital, identity, and hegemony presented in this thesis. Research should be conducted on a larger scale, with more respondents and more time allotted for interviews. Though I believe that the research presented here is relevant to the topic of adult education in Norway, I see the study as a preliminary one, which identifies a research gap and suggests where to look in order to fill it.

It could be interesting to conduct a longitudinal study, in order to explore how the experiences of members of the diaspora changes over time. In this thesis, the participants were all fairly new in Norway. It would make for an interesting study to interview the same participants five years from now, and see how their perspectives and experiences have changed or stayed the same. Additionally, it could be useful to expand the number of participants in the study, to see if the focus and themes shift with an increased amount of participants.

## Final thoughts

In this thesis I have found that language education and work placements are a central part of the diasporic experience in Norway. Both attending language classes as an adult, and participating in work placements influence identity construction in the diaspora. These experiences, along with that of being unemployed, reproduces hegemonic societal structures, and encourage the participants to adopt and participate in these structurally unequal systems. The participants in this study experienced being on the outside of social groups they had previously been allowed access to. Most of them lost the value of their previous social position, and experienced conflict when they were unable to conflate their current social role with the social role they had occupied before they came to Norway. Many of the participants were critical of other members of the diaspora, whilst attempting to claim membership for themselves in Norwegian majority society, which they were subsequently denied. The fact that so few of the participants, even those who had been in Norway for several years, had any Norwegian friends, seemingly attests to this. There are immigrants, refugees and other members of the diaspora who live in Norway for years without connecting with any Norwegians. This is an issue that majority Norwegians need to critically engage with.

The most important finding from the research I have conducted is that members of the diaspora struggle to have their cultural capital recognized by Norwegian society, both in connection to language learning and to employment. If a goal of language education is to help immigrants and refugees become productive members of society, then recognizing cultural capital and creating

spaces where cultural exchange is possible is important. To allow for members of the diaspora to express and share their cultural backgrounds with majority society could lead to a greater sense of belonging for immigrants and refugees, as well as encouraging a more multicultural society.

The employment or work placements offered to members of the diaspora often disregards their previous cultural capital, which can lead to resentment or disillusionment as to what possibilities exist. From this preliminary study the findings on this topic was that the most successful way to gain employment was to surrender previous cultural capital, adopt a new cultural identity, or to have less cultural capital to begin with, so as to not need to give anything up to fit the mold members of the diaspora are asked to fit into.

Omar's suggestion that language education focus more on helping students develop a skill set is not a bad one. Although it might be difficult to gain the appropriate licences to teach vocational skills outside of the official Norwegian vocational schools, a mitigating suggestion might be to make sure people who come to Norway with a particular set of skills are able to make use of them. That Dunya, educated as an accountant, is not able to get a work placement in an accounting office is frustrating to her, but also an example of a lack of personalization of her educational plan. Hussain, an engineer, was given several work placements, but none of them in construction, which is where he had previously specialized and now worked. Instead, he spent years working different placements that had no relevance to his previous cultural capital, and where he did not feel like he got closer to either language mastery or employment.

If work is important as a shaper of identity, then pushing members of the diaspora towards menial labour says something about what kind of cultural identity is ascribed to this group by Norwegian majority society. In the minds of the participants in this study, Norwegian language classes were not tailored to their specific needs or skills. It is possible that they would have been able to complete language classes and find work faster if they had received a more personalized plan for their education and if their previous experience and education had been taken further into account. As having a personalized educational plan is a stated part of the introduction



programme (Lovdata, 2017a), it might bear reiterating that the lack of this was one of the most salient complaints from the participants in this study.

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## Appendix 1: Interview Guide

# Interview Guide

### Arrival

- \*How did you end up in Norway?
  - \* What did you know/had you heard about Norway before you came here?
  - \*What did you imagine life in Norway would be like?
  - \*Did you know anyone here before you arrived?
- \*Tell me about first arriving in Norway, what do you remember from your first months?
  - \*Who were the first people you had contact with, when you arrived in Norway?
  - \*Who explained to you what you needed to do, when you arrived? (Police, NAV, UDIR, transit centre personnel, etc.)
  - \*Where did you live, and who did you live with, when you first arrived?
  - \*What did you feel was the most immediate challenge, when first arriving?
- \*What did it feel like, beginning to live in Norway?
  - \*Describe a typical day in your life during your first weeks in Norway.
  - \*Was Norway how you had imagined?
- \*Do you know people who have arrived in Norway within the last three years?
- \*What kind of challenges do they have?
- \*What advice would you give new immigrants, in order to have a good life in Norway?

### School

- \*What kind of education did you have before arriving in Norway?
  - \*How have you been able to use that in Norway, if at all?
- \*Have you participated in language classes in Norway?
  - \*When and for how long did you attend class?
  - \*Tell me about when you first began attending language class, how was that experience?
  - \*What were you taught in class besides language skills?
  - \*How much do you think you learned?
  - \*Tell me about a typical day at school.
- \*How was it to be an adult and attend “school” again/for the first time?

- \*How was the class environment?
  - \*How was your relationship with the other students?
  - \*How was your relationship with your teacher?

### **Work Placements**

- \*Tell me about your experience in a work placement.
  - \*Where did you have your work placement?
  - \*How was the placement chosen, and by whom?
  - \*How do you feel like you were treated, at your place of work?
  - \*Describe a typical day in a work placement.
- \*How did you feel when the work placement ended?
  - \*Did you expect to be offered permanent employment?
  - \*How did you feel about going back to school?
- \*How did you feel about taking another work placement?
  - \*Was it different, doing another one? Did you feel differently about it?
- \*Do you think work placements are likely to lead to employment?
  - \*Why/ Why not?
- \*How much work experience did you gain through doing work placements?
  - \*How useful was it for you, to participate in a work placement programme?
  - Why do you think the Norwegian government has work placement programmes?

### **Employment**

- \*What kind of work did you have before arriving in Norway?
- \*Have you had paid work (not a placement or an internship) since arriving in Norway?
  - \*Could you tell me what and how that was?
  - \*Describe a typical day at work.
- \*Tell me of your experiences with looking for work (if you have been looking).
  - \*What do you think are the main challenges for immigrants looking for work?
  - \*Do you think it is more or less difficult to find work now, from some years back (older generation only)?
- \*What kind of work could you see yourself having?
  - \*What challenges stand in the way of you getting this kind of work?
- \*How does politics play a role, in your view, in the job market?
  - \*What responsibility does the government have, to provide jobs for people?

### **How is the notion of the “ideal immigrant” perceived by immigrants?**

- \*What do you do in order to be part of the larger Norwegian society?
- \*Which ethnic/social group do you feel like you belong in?
  - \*Do you see yourself as Norwegian, or partly Norwegian?
  - \*In what ways do you consider yourself Norwegian?
- \*How do you feel like you have changed, since arriving in Norway?
  - \*Do you behave the same when you are home as when you are at work/ in school?
- \*If you have children here, how do you think they “fit in” in Norwegian society?
- \*How many of your friends or acquaintances are ethnically Norwegian friends?
  - \*How so you behave with them compared to people from your home country?
- \*Do you feel like Norwegians want you to be “the same” as them?
  - \*Are people interested in learning about your home country and customs?
  - \*How interested are you in learning about typical Norwegian customs?
- \*How do you think most Norwegians think of immigrants?
  - \*What do you think of how Norway deals with immigration?
  - \*How do you think Norway tries to make immigrants a part of Norwegian society?
  - \*What do you think most Norwegians would call a “good immigrant”?
  - \*How would you describe a good immigrant? What is this person like?
    - \*How does a “good immigrant” interact with the larger society?
- \*What is “the good life”, for you?
  - \*How would the good life be different here, from your home country?
  - \*What is the most essential for a good life in Norway for an immigrant?
- \*How do you understand politics?
  - \*Do you follow the news?
  - \*Do you vote?
  - \*Would you have been interested in voting, if you could?
  - \*What do you think is the best political party for you?
- \*What clubs/organizations are you involved in?



## Appendix 2: Consent Form

### Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet

# ”Qualitative Study of Language, Employment and Integration for Adult Immigrants in Norway”

## Bakgrunn og formål

Formålet med denne studien er å utforske hvordan det norske samfunnet har endret seg i forhold til integrering, språk, og arbeid. Gjennom et komparativt tidsperspektiv ønskes det å øke forståelsen for hvordan integrering oppleves i Norge. Noen av problemstillingene som skal utforskes er blant annet om ideen om hva en "god" innvandrer er har endret seg, og om språk har blitt tettere knyttet både til arbeid og til innvandring enn det har vært tidligere. Prosjektet er en masterstudie ved universitetet i Oslo.

Personene som har blitt spurt om å delta i denne studien er valgt fordi de er voksne innvandrere, og fordi studiet har som formål å lære om deres erfaringer med integrasjon, arbeid og språkopplæring i Norge.

## Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

Deltagelse i studien innebærer lange, åpne intervjuer, som kan strekke seg over lengre tidsperioder, som kan avtales som det best passer deltageren. Det vil ikke bli samlet inn noen annen informasjon om deltakeren enn det han eller hun selv oppgir. Spørsmålene som blir stilt kommer til å være åpne, men vil omhandle deltakernes liv og erfaringer, da spesielt med henhold til opphold i Norge, norskopplæring og arbeidserfaring. Det blir likevel lagt vekt på at deltakerne selv skal ha mulighet til å styre samtalen, å fokusere på det som deltager mener er viktig.

Datamaterialet kommer til å registreres som lydfiler og notater.

## **Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?**

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Kun studenten kommer til å ha tilgang til dem, og koblingsnøkkel vil bli lagret adskilt fra øvrige data.

Deltakerne vil få sine personlige detaljer endret i publikasjonen for å unngå gjenkjennelse.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 20.08.18. Da vil opptak destrueres og alt datamateriale anonymiseres.

## **Frivillig deltakelse**

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli anonymisert.

Dersom du ønsker å delta eller har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Johanne F. B. Telle på telefonnummer 95730977.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS.

## **Samtykke til deltakelse i studien**

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

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(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)