Media and Integration:

Syrian Refugees in the Norwegian Society

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Summary

The civil war in Syria, the Syrian "refugee crisis", and issues regarding immigration and asylum seekers have been highly featured in the Norwegian media since migration from Syria escalated in 2015. Thousands of these Syrian refugees emigrated to Norway, and are now a significant minority group in the Norwegian society. This thesis has studied how Syrian refugees in Norway use Syrian, international – and Norwegian media platforms, and how their media use contributes to their integration processes. Material was collected by approaching ten Syrian refugees in Norway, who responded to semi-structured interviews. These ten Syrian refugees received residence permits in Norway between the years 2014 and 2016, and interviews took place between January 2018 and September 2018. Theories and findings show that use of Norwegian media platforms contribute to Syrian refugees' integration processes in terms of progress by improvement of Norwegian language skills, and increased knowledge of Norwegian society and culture. However, Norwegian media's problem-perspectives in featuring immigration and Islam was found to be a negative contributor to Syrian refugees' progress of integration.

Sammendrag

Borgerkrigen i Syria, den syriske «flyktningkrisen», og saker angående immigrasjon og asylsøkere, har blitt særlig omtalt i norske medier siden migrasjonen fra Syria eskalerte i 2015. Tusener av disse syriske flyktningene emigrerte til Norge, og disse utgjør nå en betydelig minoritetsgruppe i det norske samfunnet. Denne avhandlingen har studert hvordan syriske flyktninger i Norge bruker syriske, internasjonale – og norske medieplattformer, og hvordan mediebruken bidrar til integrasjonsprosessen deres. Materiale ble samlet ved å oppsøke ti syriske flyktninger bosatt i Norge, som responderte på semi-strukturerte intervjuer. Disse ti syriske flyktningene fikk norsk oppholdstillatelse mellom år 2014 og 2016, og intervjuene fant sted mellom januar 2018 og september 2018. Teorier og empiriske funn viser at bruk av norske medier bidrar til syriske flyktningers integrasjonsprosesser i form av forbedret forståelse av det norske språket, og kjennskap til norsk samfunn og kultur. På en annen side ble norske mediers problem-perspektiv av saker omhandlende immigrasjon og islam ansett som en negativ bidragsyter til syriske flyktningers integrasjonsprosess.

Preface

Completing this thesis has been both incredibly challenging and educational. My motivation has been tested with numerous obstacles to overcome, as well as the comprehensiveness of performing such thorough research. It has been a process of hard work, from which I have gained much insight of issues to my interest. That said, I am very happy to have reached the finish line.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Knut Lundby, for following me through this process with great help, feedback and encouragement.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Syrian Refugees in Norway, Media and Integration

The conflict in Syria begun in 2011 and developed into a civil war in 2012 (SSBa, 2018; UN, 2017). Millions of Syrians were forced to flee the country in 2015 due to the escalation of the civil war, and Norway, among many nations, became recipients of thousands of Syrian refugees (SSBb, 2018). Norwegian media heavily featured the Syrian refugee migration in comparison to the migrations of other countries, particularly in 2015 and 2016, branding it the "refugee crisis" when migration from Syria most comprehensive (SSBb, 2018). Norwegian media covered the conflict within Syria, the dramatic and chaotic situation of Syrian refugees attempting to escape and seek asylum across Europe, and societal challenges regarding Syrian refugees who have managed to flee to Norway, and their struggle in eventually receiving residence permits.

The conflict in Syria and the consequent division of the country between opposing sides has however led to extreme difficulty in reporting unbiased and reliable information from Syria (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019). Put shortly, official Syrian media promotes the regime, opposition media is published with great difficulty due to both the dangers in reporting and limited funding, and international reporting is done at high risk (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019). This results in insufficient media coverage of events from Syria.

Syrian refugees are a significant minority group in Norway (SSBb, 2018). With this in mind, this thesis aims to collect material which gives an indication as to how Norwegian-based Syrian refugees use Syrian, international – and Norwegian media platforms in terms of accessing information, using a qualitative approach. As Syrian refugees in Norway have limited access to reliable information produced directly from their country of origin, studying the media habits – and preferences of Syrian refugees in Norway will provide insight to this minority group's selective methods for obtaining information from Syria. Additionally, exploring how Syrian refugees in Norway use Norwegian media platforms might give indications as to how Norwegian media platforms disseminate information of events from Syria, as well as the Syrian refugees' interest in Norwegian language, society and culture.

Although reporting information from Syria is regarded as challenging and dangerous, the Norwegian media has, as mentioned, featured and followed the civil war in Syria. The war in Syria, the refugee debate and the Syrian refugee crisis were amongst the most highly featured news stories in Norwegian media through the year of 2016 (Retriever, 2016). Research also shows that the war in Syria was the most featured case in 2016, with 53.870 media reports, while the refugee debate and the Syrian refugee crisis had 45.802 and 34.971 media reports (Retriever, 2016).

Syrian refugees who settled in Norway in 2016 or earlier, were subject to the Norwegian media's highly featured coverage of the civil war in Syria, the consequent migration from Syria and the following immigration matters. As the conflict in Syria and its following "refugee crisis" and refugee debate was thoroughly covered in Norway during 2016, Syrian refugees who migrated to Norway from 2015-2016 at the latest, would have got an impression of how the Norwegian society perceived migration from Syria through the media. However, perceptions of the processes of becoming Norwegian residents might differ from that of a Syrian refugees' point of view to those of Norwegian media platforms' disseminations of Syrian refugees who have settled in Norway. Syrian refugees who have been Norwegian residents since 2016 or prior to 2016 – and who are at the stages of integration where they understand Norwegian media content adequately – may have different points of view when it comes to their processes of acquiring Norwegian residency and integrating into the Norwegian society, than those featured in the media.

With this in mind, one might be able to interpret interrelationships between Norwegian-based Syrian refugees' media habits and their sense of belonging to the Norwegian society as well as their integration processes. The question of their media habits in terms of preferring Syrian, international – or Norwegian media platforms mentioned above would be of relevance; if their media habits do include Norwegian media platforms, these would provide them with information of national matters. Such matters might be positive contributors to their integration as well as international affairs, including the conflict in Syria. On the other hand, Norwegian media platforms may hypothetically be negative contributors to Syrian refugees' integration processes. If subjected to media content regarding immigration issues due to, for instance, the Syrian "refugee crisis", Syrian refugees might find this angling of information demotivating in their process of integrating into the Norwegian society.

Accordingly, this thesis also aims to research Norwegian-based Syrian refugees' experiences of consuming Norwegian media platforms and the extent to which use of Norwegian media platforms contributes to their integration processes, using a qualitative approach. The experiences in question will include how their use of Norwegian media platforms' contributes to their integration processes in terms of language, knowledge of – and contributions to society, and understandings and perspectives of media-disseminations of both Norwegian and Muslim culture.

This thesis will include theoretical, methodological and empirical chapters before a following analysis and discussion, and conclusion in relation to issues of both Norwegian-based Syrian refugees' media habits – and preferences and Norwegian media platforms' contributions to their integration processes. Relevant theoretical aspects from other scholars will be reflected upon, methodological approach and design will be reasoned and assessed, and empirical findings will be presented. Furthermore, contexts and diversities between theoretical aspects and empirical findings will be analysed and discussed with a subsequent conclusion. Prior to these chapters, this introduction will present relevant background material of the conflict in Syria including its development and current state and statistics concerning refugee numbers in Norway with focus on Syrian refugees. Further, the thesis' research questions will be clarified and accounted for. Firstly, however, frequently used concepts will be defined according to context in relation to this thesis.

1.2 Concepts

The concepts *refugee, immigrant, emigrant* and *integration* are used frequently in this thesis. These concepts may be defined and interpreted variously, and it is therefore necessary to clarify the meaning of these concepts in relation to their context in this thesis.

Refugee

The term refugee is used when referring to Syrians who have fled from the civil war in Syria, and received residence permits in Norway. The term's definition in which relates to its meaning in this thesis, is as follows:

> A refugee is a person who has fled from their home country, and rightfully fear persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political perception or affiliation to a specific social group.
>
> (United Nations, 2017, translated from Norwegian)

Additionally, the United Nations (2017) states that a person would have to cross an international border in order to be considered a refugee.

Immigrant and Emigrant

The terms immigrant and migrant are used as alternatives to Syrian refugees, or in contexts where immigrants or emigrants are used as general terms, or where immigrants and emigrants from other nations are of relevance. An immigrant is "a person who comes to a country to take up permanent residence" (Merriam-Webster, 2019a). Emigrant, however, describes a person who have moved from a nation:

> Both these words (immigrant and emigrant) come from the Latin *migrare* ("to move from one place to another"), and both have definitions in English that hew closely to their etymological roots, but there is a definite difference between how you would see each one. *Emigrant* is used in reference to the country that has been left ("an emigrant *from* Canada"), while *immigrant* is used in reference the country that one is destined for ("an immigrant *to* Spain").
>
> (Merriam-Webster, 2019b)

As Syrian refugees (in the most frequently used context in this thesis) have emigrated from Syria and immigrated to Norway, both immigrant and emigrant are terms that can be used as alternatives to Syrian refugees.

Integration

Integration is a broad term in which may be interpreted in several ways. Definitions of the concept from the dictionary Merriam Webster (2019c) include "the act or process of integrating: such as incorporation as equals into society or an organisation of individuals of different groups (such as races)", or "coordination of mental processes into a normal effective personality or

with the environment". *Integration* may also be used to describe "the operation of finding a function whose differential is known", or as "the operation of solving a differential equation" (Merriam-Webster, 2019c).

The use of the term *integration* in this thesis specifically relates to social definitions in terms of ethnical minorities' incorporation within majority societies, such as Syrian refugees incorporating within the Norwegian society. In a such social and societal context, integration of minorities may be characterised as a political target, as the approach of integration aims for different ethnic minority groups to co-exist in a common state (Brochmann, 2017).

According to the Norwegian Department of Justice (2017), integration in this social context also evolves around community. Their main target concerning integration politics, is that immigrants and their children get to use their skills and resources as a contribution to the community. In order to reach this target, the Norwegian Department of Justice (2017) states that the key is immigrants learning the Norwegian language and participating in the employment market.

Social integration may also be described as a two-way process in which includes the immigrants and refugees who move to a new country, and the original population (Takle, 2014: 21).

> Integration is a process that includes both those who already live here, and those who move to the country. New inhabitants have to adjust to the society they have come to, and take part in the employment market and the community. Those who already live in Norway must appreciate that the population is changing and becoming more varied. The integration policy will contribute to equal opportunities, rights and duties for everyone. (Meld. St. 6 in Takle, 2014: 21, translated from Norwegian)

Henceforth, when this thesis uses the concept integration, for instance when referring to Norwegian-based Syrian refugees' integration processes – or their progress of integrating into the Norwegian society, it revolves around the social matters language, society, contributions to society, culture and sense of belonging in receiving society.

1.3 The Conflict in Syria

Refugees and immigrants normally migrate to Norway because of issues such as family, work, education or conflict in their countries of origin (SSB, 2017). When it comes to Syrians who have received residence permits in Norway, they have migrated because the civil war in Syria endangered their safety (UN, 2019). The conflict in Syria begun in 2011, after a Middle Eastern uproar known as The Arabic Spring (UN, 2019). During this uproar in Syria, the protests were considered to be peaceful and controllable, but the Assad-regime's response to the protests were brutal; according to The Daily Telegraph, sources have claimed that the Assad-regime released extreme-jihadists from imprisonment in order to transform the peaceful protests to a significantly more violent uproar, with the intention of being able to justify striking the rebels with a brutal force of power (The Daily Telegraph in UN, 2019). Further, Assad claimed that the rebels were Sunni Islamist terrorists, as he had managed to "create" such a reality by releasing the jihadists (UN, 2019). Due to this development, the conflict in Syria was officially classified as a civil war in 2012 (UN, 2019).

The civil war in Syria mainly involves armed battles over cities and regions within the country. The battles are between the regime's armies and opposition- and uproar groups (UN, 2019). In 2013, Islamist uproar groups (the Islamic State) were established, recruiting thousands of foreign warriors (NRK, 2019). While opposition groups were supported by Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United States, the armies of the Assad-regime were supported by Russia, Iran and Lebanese Hezbollah as of 2014. Following in 2014 and since, a coalition led by the United States has bombed areas held by the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (NRK, 2019). In September 2015, Russia joined the air strikes on the Assad-regime's behalf (NRK, 2019).

As of March 2019, the civil war in Syria is still at large on its 9th year. Although the Assad-regime has claimed to be approaching a victory, Syria is still struck by war-related events such as the US coalition bombing ISIS' areas, suicide bombings and minefield explosions (NRK, 2019). According to the United Nations (2019), there will be a war over the province Idlib in Northern Syria during 2019. The province is on the Turkish border, and many Syrian oppositionists and civils have fled to Idlib, which inhabits nearly three million people, whereas one million are children (UN, 2019). This province is surrounded by Turkish militias that support the opposition, and by the Assad-regime's forces, with support from Russian and Iranian forces (UN, 2019). The war of Idlib is feared to be the worst humanitarian crisis of the civil war in Syria (UN, 2019).

Another challenge within Syria in 2019, is the Kurdish-held areas in the country; if the US retreat their forces as announced by President Donald Trump, Kurdish areas are in danger of being attacked by Turkish forces in addition to the Assad-regime (UN, 2019).

The conflict in Syria has had extreme consequences for Syria's population during these nine years of war; towns and cities have been destroyed, hundreds of thousands have been killed and millions have been forced to flee from their homes (UN, 2019). Numbers show that at 370 000 individuals have lost their lives to the war, while assumptions from Syrian scientists indicate nearly 500 000 deaths (NRK, 2019). At least half the Syrian population has been forced to flee from their homes; 6.6 million Syrians are fleeing within Syria, while 4.6 million Syrians have fled across borders (UN in NRK, 2019).

1.4 Syrian Refugees in Norway

Out of the 4.6 million Syrian refugees who have fled their country since the civil war escalated, a small group of Syrians received residence permits in Norway (NRK, 2019; SSBb, 2018). However, in the perspectives of the Norwegian population being 5.3 million and the total numbers of inhabitants with refugee-backgrounds being 4.3 percent or 228 161 individuals as of June 21st 2018, Syrians equal a significant part of these figures (SSBb, 2018). Statistics show that the nationality in which amounted the largest part of the total refugee numbers in Norway as of 2016 and 2017 were Syrians, with approximately 9 500 residence permits in 2016 and 4 600 in 2017 (SSBb, 2018). As of March 2019, 30 795 Syrians have residence permits in Norway, in addition to 3 317 Norwegian-born Syrians with immigrant parents (SSB, 2019). As for immigration statistics, Syrians are the fourth largest immigration-group in Norway as of March 2019, behind Sweden, Lithuania and Poland (SSB, 2019). Refugees and emigrants normally immigrate to Norway because of issues such as family, work, education or conflict in their countries of origin (SSB, 2017). When it comes to Syrians who have received residence permits in Norway, they emigrated because the civil war in Syria endangered their safety (UN, 2019).

1.5 Research Questions

The Syrian refugees who have migrated to Norway are a minority group, a diaspora within Norway and a part of the Norwegian society (Karim, 2018). Their sense of belonging to each of these groups of communities may relate to their media habits as well as their progress of integration. Migrants' media habits – and preferences are said to reflect upon their investment of integrating into their societies of settlement (Timmermans, 2018), and one may argue that understanding- and having an affiliation to local and national media is of importance when it comes to being integrated into a receiving society.

The issues in which this thesis aims to research evolve around the interrelationship between media use and integration for Syrian refugees who have migrated to Norway. In this context, it is considered appropriate to explore the media habits of Syrian refugees based in Norway (and have been based in Norway for a year or more as of January-September 2018) with a qualitative approach. As official Syrian media platforms are considered unreliable (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019), Syrian refugees' media habits will also account for international media platforms, in addition to Syrian – and Norwegian media platforms. The following research questions will be used in terms of Syrian refugees' media use:

- How do Norwegian-based Syrian refugees use Syrian or international media platforms?
- How do Syrian refugees use different Norwegian media platforms?

Expectations behind these research questions include discovering media preferences of selected Syrian refugees, both in terms of obtaining information from Syria and interest and involvement with Norwegian language, society and culture.

With insight of as to how Syrian refugees in Norway use Syrian, international and Norwegian media platforms, one may also be able to interpret specters of their sense of belonging to a community – whether it is diasporic, Syrian or Norwegian. This again relates to integration, and a following research question:

- How do Syrian refugees' media use contribute to their integration process in the Norwegian society?

As the media is a main source of information and knowledge regarding society, culture and national – and international affairs (Street, 2011), the extent to which Syrian refugees in Norway use Norwegian media platforms may reflect upon their progress of integrating into the Norwegian society.

2. Theory

2.1 Introduction to Theoretical Aspects

This theory chapter will take base from the research questions and contain elements of theories from scholars and other theoretical sources in which are of relevance to these. In relation to the research question concerning Syrian refugees' media use and its contribution to their integration processes, scholars' theoretical aspects of diaspora will be included. This as Syrians, including Syrian refugees who have immigrated to Norway, are a group of diaspora, or a diasporic community – both within the Norwegian society and across borders (Kraidy in Timmermans, 2018: 63). Diaspora, or "the scattering of people" describes how groups of the same nationalities migrate to – and settle in foreign communities (Karim, 2018: 1). Diaspora occurs due to reasons for parts of a population to flee or move from their countries of origin such as war, conflict, natural disasters, suboptimal living conditions or educational/career interests. The millions of Syrian refugees who have settled in new societies due to the comprehensive war and conflict within Syria, are thereby a diasporic community; also as such within the Norwegian society.

An immigrant's sense of belonging to a diasporic group are found to be psychologic rather than physical; diasporic groups "(…) feel a sense of community with each other, although they may never meet." (Cohen, 1997; Anderson in Timmermans, 2018: 63). Furthermore, diasporic communities have been interpreted as "imaginary" (Karim, 2018: 9), as they are more based on a sense of belonging rather than being a physical community. Bhabha (1994 in Karim, 2018: 9) also categorises diasporic communities as a "third space" constituted by "cultural borders between the country of origin and country of residence". Theories of diaspora are highly relevant in terms of studying Norwegian-based Syrian refugees' integration processes, as these refugees' sense of belonging within a community is of importance in terms of integration – whether it is with a diasporic Syrian community, or a physical community within the Norwegian society. Further theories regarding diaspora will therefore be elaborated upon in this chapter, with relevance to Norwegian-based Syrian refugees and issues of integration.

Further, theories concerning Western societies' media dissemination of terrorism and Islam will be discussed in terms of how Syrian refugees in Norway perceive the Norwegian media's coverage and angling of matters such as Syrian immigration in Norway, Islamist-related

terrorism and Muslims. In addition to how Western media conveys terrorism and Islam, theories will also include how the Norwegian media conveys such issues, with focus on frequency of featuring and angling, and possible effects of these factors.

Furthermore, as Norwegian media platforms and Syrian media platforms are of relevance to the research questions, theories regarding the characteristics of the Norwegian media system will be included, in addition to theories concerning the complicated media situation in Syria.

Firstly, however, this chapter will enclose scholars' theories of media and use of the media. Digital or online media consists of more genres and platforms than traditional mainstream media. How one uses different media platforms is therefore highly varied, due to the comprehensiveness of the media. Discovering contexts or diversities of as to how Syrian refugees use Syrian, international and Norwegian media platforms is therefore very complex. Nevertheless, the media landscape of which Syrian refugees who have been Norwegian residents since the year 2016 or before have been situated within, is relevant when it comes to matters of how Syrian refugees use Syrian, international – and Norwegian media platforms. Thereby, theories of the general media landscape in the Western world will be included, mainly focusing on digital media platforms and consumption of those.

2.2 Media and Media Use

The traditional mainstream media forms such as broadcast television, radio and printed press have been supplemented with digital media platforms, also recognised as digital or online media. Digital or online media, which has increased the mediascape's diversity in terms of production and content, consists of more formats and genres than the mainstream media (Carpentier et al., 2014: 7). Such formats include digital newspapers and magazines, digital radio, digital television, streaming services and social media. Additionally, media content is also published on digital platforms such as applications for tablets and smartphones. These distribution channels "represents new bottlenecks in the chain of news delivery", as technological devices has changed the market for information and communication (Enli et al., 2014: 66).

As such, digital or online media changed the media drastically during the 21st century. This has influenced both how the media conveys information to its audiences, and how the media's audiences use media content – and communication platforms. This is of relevance when it comes to how Syrian refugees in Norway use different media platforms; both Syrian/international and Norwegian. As technology has progressed and Internet-based media platforms emerged, emigrants' connecting with their countries of origin has become effortless; it was much more challenging to uphold a network with friends and family across borders prior to these technologies (Karim, 2018: 13). Migrants no longer have to depend on physically moving from their country of settlement to maintain contact with relations, due to "the wide-spread possibilities offered by ICT resources, acquiring new dimensions and intensities including the possibility of various 'modes of mobility: physical, imaginary and virtual.'" (Peile, 2018: 128; Diminescu, 2008: 570)

Digitalisation is one of the factors that have contributed to the evolvement of digital media platforms. According to Enli et al. (2014: 27), digitalisation has resulted in comprehensive changes within the media landscape. An example is how digital newspapers, in difference to print newspapers, are connected to other digital media platforms; "online newspaper sites are becoming more interlinked with other web services, whether external or internal blog platforms, news aggregators, or different and changing social-networking sites." (Enli et al., 2014: 64) Carlsson (2018: 14) also argues that digitalisation has changed how the public receives information from the media; technology has made the circulation of information, knowledge, applications and commercials incredibly wide-spread.

Henceforth, in addition to changing the media itself, digitalisation and digital media platforms has also changed the public's affiliation to the media. These changes involve terms of communication, consumerism and use, as the media has become both convergent and, as mentioned, divergent (Enli et al., 2014: 28). Meikle and Young (in Enli et al., 2014: 28) describes convergent media as "content, industries, technologies and practices that are both digital and networked", while Storsul and Stuedahl (in Enli et al., 2014: 28) state that "content and use have become more diversified", as digitalisation has effected the media in terms of information and communication technologies, devices, contents and formats.

As such, digitalisation and online media has led to changes within the media's audiences' role (Carpentier et al., 2014: 4). An audience to the traditional media such as television, radio and

printed newspapers, would simply consume its content by watching, listening and reading. Due to digitalisation and the evolvement of new media during the 21st century, media audiences now consume and *use* the media (Carpentier et al, 2014: 4).

> There is an uncertainty over how to label people in terms of their relationship with new media. The term audience, which was and to some extent still is satisfactory for mass media research, fits poorly within the domain of new media. In a number of important ways, audiences are becoming "users". The term user better covers this variety of modes of engagement.
> (Carpentier et al., 2014: 5)

Digital media platforms engage users not only by consumerism, but also by active participation; the term *using* the media "emphasises online audience activity." (Carpentier et al., 2014: 5). Das et al. (in Carpentier et al., 2014: 30) also argue that new media technologies and its diversity when it comes to communication forms and genres has led to user elements within the mass media audience. Further, Street (2011: 261) states that communication has changed due to new use of the traditional media; the internet has enabled citizens to become more involved in media coverage, and also create their own coverage by using digital media platforms.

According to Sandvik et al. (2016: 12), cross-media communication is highly relevant in terms of how recipients use digital media content. Cross-media communication, or "an intellectual property, service, story or experience that is distributed across multiple media platforms using a variety of media forms", is an indication of how media users choose to combine different content, platforms and levels of engagement (Ibrus and Scolari 2012: 12). Carpentier et al. (2014: 15) also state that "one of the most obvious characteristics of the contemporary mediascape is the increasing relevance of cross-media phenomena."

Media audiences communicate by greater capacity due to individualisation, democratisation and globalisation (Carpentier et al. 2014: 15). Further, it is stated that the evolvement of digital media platforms has led to an increased saturation of everyday life; the media is more available, and "each medium specialises in fulfilling certain types of needs for its consumer." (Carpentier et al., 2014: 15) Digital media continuously adapts to its users when it comes to needs, interests, efficiency and availability, which again leads to more comprehensive levels of communication.

The logic of individualisation (fed by the need for self-realisation, self-expression, self-representation and self-reflexivity), also in interaction with the process of globalisation, complicates societal notions of togetherness and collectivity. The result is social structures that are constituted by many different overlapping groups, communities, affiliations, belongings, identities and lifestyles. This logic also impacts on the media use of audiences, which consists of multiple cross-sections of, for instance, generations, classes and ethnicities.

(Carpentier et al., 2014: 7)

In relevance to Syrian refugees' media use, Carpentier et al.'s (2014: 7) "logic of individualisation" relates to aspects of how their personal interests influences their media habits, as well as their sense of belonging and affiliations. In addition to personal interests, digitalisation, globalisation and individualisation may be contributing factors to whether Syrian refugees who have settled in Norway prefer Syrian, international or Norwegian media platforms.

2.3 Use and Characteristics of Norwegian Media

Digitalised media and its consequent factors have also effected the Norwegian media's consumerism and characteristics. Traditionally, Norway has been known to have a high circulation of printed newspapers (Enli et. al, 2014). Due to the evolvement of digital newspapers, however, the circulation of printed press has become significantly reduced. The development of digital newspapers in Norway begun in the year 2000, but less comprehensively; less than 25 percent of newspapers with online content were updated on a daily basis in late 2000. In 2010, however, 89 percent of Norwegian newspapers that had an online presence offered digital news on a daily basis (Rasmussen 2006; Høst 2011 in Enli et al., 2014: 62). Since then, the Norwegian population's use of online newspapers has increased, while the circulation of print newspapers has decreased (Enli et al., 2014: 63).

Enli et al. (2014: 63-64) exemplifies the decreasing interest for printed newspapers- and increasing interest for digital newspapers with the digital development of the Norwegian national newspaper VG; already in 2008, the tabloid's online version had nearly 1.5 million daily readers. In 2012, the number increased to 1.8 million, while the mobile platform had 775 000 readers on a daily basis; more than the print version. As of April 2018, only 32 percent

of the Norwegian population read print newspapers on an average day (SSB, 2018b). Further, statistics show that the media platform most frequently used by Norwegians (age 9-79), is the Internet; an average of 90 percent use the Internet on a daily basis, streaming services included (SSB, 2018b). This shows that the Norwegian public statistically prefers use of digital media platforms, rather than traditional media.

In addition to the Norwegian public's typical media use, the construction of the Norwegian media system is relevant when it comes to both how Syrian refugees use Norwegian media platforms, and how their media use contributes to their integration processes. This as a specific media system influences both how the media produces content to the public and the public's perception of media-produced content. For instance, one of the main characteristics of the Norwegian media system, is journalistic professionalism, explained by Hallin and Mancini (2004: 145) as "a high degree of consensus on professional standards of conduct, a notion of commitment to a common public interest, and a high level of autonomy from other social powers." Hence, media-users in Norway consume reliable content, in difference to users of Syrian media, whereas international press is banned, and mainstream information manipulated by parties involved in the conflict (CFI, 2015).

Within the Norwegian mass-media, there is a public service broadcaster (NRK) in which publishes content on multiple platforms; television, digital streaming services, digital radio and digital newspapers/information sites. NRK is the most comprehensive media-disseminator in Norway (MedieNorge, 2019). Additionally, there are commercial broadcasting channels that publish content on television, streaming services and on digital information sites. The largest commercial broadcaster in Norway is the channel TV2, and other commercial broadcasters are TV3 and TV Norge (MedieNorge, 2019).

The Norwegian media system is recognised by many additional factors; one of these being that the Norwegian media system goes within the term Nordic Media. The concept of Nordic Media has been researched and discussed by numerous scholars, and has been included in Hallin and Mancini's (2004; 2016) Democratic Corporatist Model, and Enli et al.'s (2014) Media Welfare State.

The Democratic Corporatist Model and the Media Welfare State

As mentioned, there are other factors in addition to professionalisation in which places the Norwegian media system within Hallin and Mancini's Democratic Corporatist Model (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 144). The Democratic Corporatist Model has several characteristics that separates the media model from other media systems; the Liberal Model (Great Britain, Canada and the United States) and the Polarized Pluralist Model (Mediterranean countries), and Hallin and Mancini (in Nord, 2008: 98) have listed these features as the most common:

- newspaper industry: early development of a mass-circulation press and a high relative circulation of newspapers,
- political role: historically a strong party-press thus providing external pluralism, a shift towards neutral commercial press and broadcasting relative autonomy in political issues,
- professionalism: strong professionalism and institutionalised self-regulation,
- role of the state: strong state-intervention at a structural level, press-subsidies, strong public service broadcasting.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) included the media system in Norway within these characteristics, and while some may still be relevant, the evolvement of the Nordic Media and the media system in Norway during the last decade, has caused for some of these points to be less relevant. In a more recent publication by Hallin and Mancini (2016: 4), it is stated that professionalisation, or "the internal structure of the media system", is still strong within the Nordic countries. They elaborate further by describing professionalisation in Nordic media systems as "autonomy of journalism, consensus on ethics and standards of practice, an ideology of public service – as well as various institutional manifestations, like the strength of press councils and of unions of professional associations." (Hallin and Mancini, 2016: 4)

As for the role of the state and regulation within the Democratic Corporatist Model, Rolland (2008 in Hallin and Mancini, 2016: 2) mentions Norway's media system specifically. He argues that "the state has pushed back against the tendency for media to exercise increasing influence over the political system, increasing its role as a regulator of media in significant ways." (Rolland, 2008 in Hallin and Mancini, 2016: 2) Further, it is stated that the state's role in the Nordic media systems that were analysed within the Democratic Corporatist Model in 2004, was underestimated in terms of the state acting with intentions of preserving its institutional

power, leading to the regulation of media in Nordic countries becoming "less technocratic and more politicised." (Rolland, 2008 in Hallin and Mancini, 2016: 2) Thus, Rolland argues that politicians have a greater influence on the media and the society than technical experts in the Nordic countries, contradicting the Democratic Corporatist Model's point regarding the media's political role; "neutral commercial press and broadcasting relative autonomy in political issues" (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, in Nord, 2008: 98).

Brüggemann (2014, in Hallin and Mancini 2016: 6) also claims that there are differences in relation to role of the state within the original Democratic Corporatist Model and Northern countries; he measured the role of the state by looking at the factors of a strong public service broadcaster, press subsidies and ownership regulation, and found that the Northern media systems have "strong press subsidies, but little ownership regulation." However, Brüggemann also argues that the media systems in the Nordic countries are close to the ideal Democratic Corporatist Model, and in a more recent publication, he created a new model for the Northern media systems due to the strong press within the Nordic countries; the Press-Oriented System (Brüggemann et al., 2016, in Hallin and Mancini, 2016: 6).

Although Brüggemann (2016) claims media systems in the Nordic countries to be highly compatible with Hallin and Mancini's (2004) Democratic Corporatist Model, developments within these media systems may suggest a drift towards the Liberal Model.

> We noted that this process of change could be seen as representing a convergence toward the Liberal Model, in the sense that it involved an increasing role of commercial media; the adoption of professional conventions similar to those of the Liberal countries – informational, political non-aligned, dramatized; and shifts in political communication toward a more personalised, marketing-oriented forms of political communication. (Hallin and Mancini, 2016: 8)

Strømbäck and Nord (2008, in Hallin and Mancini, 2016: 8) exemplifies with the "depoliticization" of the Nordic media compared to when the party press was strong in the 1970's, while Rolland (2009: 274) uses the takeover of a Norwegian newspaper by the British company Mecom as an example of commercialisation and professionalisation in Nordic media that is to be associated with the Liberal Model. In the case of Norwegian media, its public service broadcaster is still regarded as strong. However, its strength within an increasingly

competitive media market is indeed challenged by the development of commercialisation and digitalisation (Lundby et al., 2018: 87). As mentioned before, Norwegian commercial media offers a high diversity in both content and platforms; multiple customised television channels in addition to digital applications and streaming services provide a high range of both information and entertainment.

With this in mind, one may argue that the Norwegian media system has characteristics in which are compatible with Hallin and Mancini's Democratic Corporatist – and Liberal Model (Hallin and Mancini, 2016). Norwegian-produced media content is still relevant in terms of the pillar of professionalism in the Democratic Corporatist Model, as the journalistic dissemination of information on all channels and platforms is considered to be reliable. Also, the Norwegian media system still has a strong public service broadcaster and press subsidies, although the public service broadcaster is challenged by commercial media channels (Nord, 2008: 98). The formerly strong party-press in Norway has shifted towards neutral commercial coverage of politics, a factor in which is associated with the Liberal Model. Additionally, the mass circulation of print newspapers has decreased due to digitalisation and evolvement of online newspapers and news applications (Enli et al., 2014). As high circulation of printed press is a pillar of the Democratic Corporatist Model (Hallin and Mancini, 2004), this decrease might contribute to the Norwegian media system's said compatibility with the Liberal Model, which has a pillar of medium newspaper circulation (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

Despite the evolvement of media systems within Hallin and Mancini's (2004) Democratic Corporatist Model, scholars argue that the Nordic countries have principles and characteristics in which have remained through the digitalisation of the media (Enli et al., 2014). According to Enli et al., the distinctiveness of the Nordic media systems is a factor recognised by several scholars:

> We argue that the organization of media and communications in the Nordic countries rest on a combination of four principles or pillars, all of which continue to be present in the 21st century. These principles (…) are *universal services*, *editorial freedom*, *a cultural policy for the media;* and last, but not least, a tendency *to choose policy solutions that are consensual and durable, based on consultation with both public and private stakeholders*. We argue that these organizational principles support institutions and user patterns that

bear resemblance to the socioeconomic and political institutions that usually define the Nordic welfare states. We call this the *Media Welfare State.*

(Enli et al., 2014: 2).

The concept of the Media Welfare State includes the Nordic countries Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland and Finland. Although there are diversities between the media systems within Nordic media, the principles above are found in all these five countries' media systems (Enli et al., 2014: 2). The four main principles, or pillars of the Media Welfare State are further elaborated upon by Enli et al.:

1) An organisation of vital communication services that underscores their character as public goods, with extensive cross-subsidies and obligations toward universality.

2) A range of measures used to institutionalise freedom from editorial interference and self-governance in day-to-day operations.

3) A cultural policy that extends to the media in the form of content obligations and support schemes that aim to secure diversity and quality.

4) A preference for consensual solutions that are durable and involve cooperation between main stakeholders: the state, media and communication industries and the public.

(Enli et al., 2014: 17)

These principles describe a media system whereas links between the media and the state result in a sustainable media model for the public. In relevance to this thesis and Syrian refugees' use of Norwegian media platforms, and the questioning of how their media use contributes to their integration processes, the concept of the Media Welfare State relates to an understanding of the connection between the Norwegian society and the Norwegian media system. As the Norwegian media system is included in the Media Welfare State, the construction of the Norwegian society and the Norwegian media system are connected in terms of press freedom, subsidies and production of diverse quality media content. Thereby, the Norwegian media system is highly central when it comes to understanding the Norwegian society- and welfare state; one may argue that "(…) an understanding of public communications and the role played by media is crucial for grasping how the welfare state, or any other societal model for that matter, is constructed, interpreted, and sustained." (Enli et al., 2014: 3)

2.4 Media within Syria

In difference to Norwegian media, where the access to trustworthy information is available on a constant basis through multiple platforms, national Syrian mainstream media is embossed by censorship and partial information. National media have a tendency to "reflect the policy of their own government" (Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2014: 30), which relates to the Norwegian democracy with press freedom and the Syrian dictatorship with state interference, press selectivity and censorship. Syrian media was in fact ranked as number 173rd out of 178 in Reporters Without Borders' press freedom index of 2010 (Reporters Without Borders in Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 3).

Syrian media is also highly effected by the ongoing conflict, which leads to a current difficulty in characterising Syrian media as one media landscape (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 1). Characteristics found in overall Syrian media, however, includes political affiliations and unreliability (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 1; Media Support, 2018). Such media tendencies within Syria has led to challenges for Syrian-based residents – and refugees when it comes to learning accurate information of events from Syria. As a consequence, Syrians who seek information from their country have to turn to unofficial independent information sources (Media Support, 2018; Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2). Theories of Syrian media will include characteristics of the official Syrian media institutions, the struggles of reporting reliable information from Syria and alternative information sources for Syrian refugees.

Syrian Media

Prior to the Syrian civil war, Syrian media was controlled by the state on all platforms. The government's intention with media control was to uphold the Syrian public's approval of the regime:

> For instance, in governmental Syria, since the Baath coup of 1963, the function of the mass media has been conceived to be that of "guiding public opinion" and "consolidating the gains of Arab nationalism." Institutions in general - and also those involved in publishing and broadcasting - would actually support the government's activity, rather than monitor it. The first 'media revolution' took place in 1995 with the introduction of satellites, which opened a window to the external world for Syrians. The first private media institutions were permitted, but they were actually placed under a total state

control. Moreover, only well-entrenched insiders with privileged positions were able to gain access to the sector. The second major change was the arrival of the Internet. But once again, service providers are companies run by or affiliated to the government. Numerous websites are blocked, Internet use is monitored and the correspondence is tracked, so Syrians wishing to access uncensored information have been forced to get around censorship by using proxy servers.

(Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 3)

Hence, the state controlled all media consumed and used by the Syrian population.

The war in Syria has however led to a division of the country with three separate areas: the government held areas (where media is still controlled by the regime), the opposition-controlled territories and the Kurdish-majority zones (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2). The division has also split official Syrian media publishing and reporting; these three areas use both digital and traditional media platforms to promote their points of view when it comes to the conflict in Syria, by publishing selective and politically biased information to each part's favour and advantage (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 3).

Political and sectarian fragmentation and polarisation in the different areas of Syria have an immediate effect on the structure of the media landscape, not only at a local, but also national level. Politics through its partisan and armed structures has a direct influence over media production.

(Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 3)

As for characteristics of the three separate "Syrian medias", media published by the Assad-regime is under strict control and supervision by the state (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 3). Media publishing in this area singlehandedly contains pro-government news sources, and as media digitalisation has evolved, existing print outlets have been developed onto digital platforms (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2). As for the opposition-held areas, independent media outside the state's control has been developed with the help of funding from foreign organisations (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2). This funding is though limited, and the publications of independent media outlets also as such. The Kurdish-held areas however, is strongly funded. This area is also divided, by supporters of the Democratic Union Party (PYD) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 3). Both sides do however receive

substantial amounts of funding for publishing independent media outlets, as product for their political affiliations; this has resulted in high newspaper circulations and the establishment of television broadcast channels on both sides (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 3).

Using media publishing and broadcasting to their advantages as such has formed a propaganda war within Syrian media (Ottosen and Øvrebø in Orgeret and Tayeebwa, 2016: 63-64; Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2). The different parties in which take part of this propaganda war aim to manipulate public opinion through media strategies, such as excluding controversial issues from the media (Ottosen and Øvrebø in Orgeret and Tayeebwa, 2016: 63-64).

As digital media has evolved during the conflict in Syria, the conflicting parties have invested more resources on war propaganda, as content reaches consumers to a greater extent on multiple platforms (Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2010: 28). As such, the propaganda war in Syria is comprehensive. In addition to the parties of the separate areas in Syria, NATO and the US, and the Islamic State are also parts of the propaganda war, driven by propaganda strategies and psychological operations (Nohrstedt and Ottosen in Orgeret and Tayeebwa, 2016: 64; Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2). Ottosen and Øvrebø (in Orgeret and Tayeebwa, 2016: 64) refers to Taylor (1992) and Ottosen (2013) when stating that these three parties operate by drawing "attention away from its own wrongdoing, placing the blame on the other side through enemy images, selective use of information and – in some cases – disinformation."

Disseminating Information within and from Syria

Reporting unbiased and objective news from conflict areas such as Syria is both challenging and dangerous; both due to the conflict itself and to censorship instated by the regime. According to the organisation Reporters Without Borders (in Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2), Syria is the most dangerous country in the world for journalists, and numbers published by The Syrian Network for Human Rights show that 615 media activists were killed between March 2011 and March 2017 (The Syrian Network for Human Rights in Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2).

Such dangers of reporting from war and conflict areas may lead to insufficient coverage of on-time news and difficulty - or failure to provide accurate information to national and international audiences and users. According to Aidan White (2010), Western mass-media has deprioritised funds that would lead to a more comprehensive and accurate coverage of conflict zones:

> Media employers are investing less in safety training and support for freelance staff and stringers in the field. Newsroom budgets are being cut. There is less investment in investigative journalism and foreign coverage.
> (White in Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2014: 11)

This trend is regarded as a "looming threat to citizens' rights to information" by Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2014: 11). In relation to this statement, the Syrian population's access to independent and reliable media is indeed highly limited due to the complexity of the conflict in the country, and impartial media's difficulty entering the country and war areas without endangering themselves (CFI, 2015). However, White's (2010) and Nohrstedt and Ottosen's (2014) criticising of Western Mass media's deprioritising of disseminating from war- and conflict zones, may not be relevant in the case of Syria due to the severity of the country's state. Recent research shows that conduction of field interviews, collection of valid data and up-to-date information from Syria is done at extreme personal risk for the reporter, and with great difficulty (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 2).

Avoiding these parties' media control and reporting reliable and impartial information from Syria is done at great risk, both on an international and national basis. Supporters of the Assad-regime – and the opposition are, as mentioned, known to target journalists. (CFI, 2015; Reporters Without Borders in Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2014: 11). In attempt to overcome the obstacles caused by conflict and propaganda war, and to disseminate unbiased information from Syria, citizen journalists and bloggers publish news content on digital media platforms (CFI, 2015). Although such citizen journalists and bloggers provide reliable information, their publishing bear marks of challenges and insufficiency:

> Despite their brave determination, these journalists struggle to deliver reliable, high-quality information. Many do not have basic journalism training and had, at the beginning of the crisis in 2011, limited technical resources to produce or disseminate content. The

biggest problem they face is the difficulty in travelling around the country to verify their information and bypassing censorship (power cuts, Internet control, FM signals under surveillance).

(CFI, 2015)

Although access to technological resources were limited at the start of the Syrian civil war, scholars state that social media platforms still were able to outmanoeuvre the regime's censorship and control of the media during the Arab Spring, which was the commencing escalation of the conflict in Syria (Dunn, 2010 in Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2014: 35). Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2014: 35) also consider the use of digital media platforms in reporting from war and conflict to provide alternative perspectives of events, while Christensen (2010, in Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2014: 35) uses citizen journalism on YouTube as an example of how digital media platforms convey the reality of war zones to audiences. In order for reporters (both citizen and official) to disseminate reliable news from war areas such as Syria on all media platforms, a strategy to overcome the regime and censorship would be to "seek out events and interview sources outside the control of the authorities." (Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2014: 28)

Despite these challenges and dangers in reporting news from Syria, several international organisations aim to create reliable media platforms in order to disseminate accurate information both within Syria and across borders. One of these organisations is Syria Deeply, "an independent digital media project led by journalists and technologists that explore a new model of storytelling around a global crisis." (Syria Deeply, 2019) Syria Deeply is part of the new media – and social enterprise Media Deeply, which intent is to "advance foreign policy literacy through public service journalism." (Syria Deeply, 2019)

Such media outlets publishing information from Syria are emerging with an increasing level of autonomy, as international NGOs (non-governmental organisations) have funded and supported the concept's development since 2012 (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 4). However, the extent of coverage from Syria is still limited, as many of the media outlets are based in Turkey due to safety reasons, and lack reality-insight of the Syrian conflict zones (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019: 4). An example is "Syria in Depth", a project run from Turkey in which publishes reliable investigative journalism from Syria (Alasaad, 2018). This project is led by International Media Support (IMS) and The Guardian foundation, in collaboration with Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (ARIJ) (Alasaad, 2018). Despite the safety-issues within Syria, this

project trained 15 professional Syrian journalists in verifying sources and producing in-depth material (Alasaad, 2018).

> Syria in Depth gave the participating journalists the opportunity to learn more about international standards of professional journalism, to acquire the skills of professional trainers and to employ them to produce in-depth stories despite the war conditions in the country.
>
> (Omar in Alasaad, 2018)

Such projects provide Syrian refugees with the opportunity to follow validated reports and information from their country of origin. As such, indications and statements of Syrian media being unreliable, biased and influenced by propaganda wars amongst the opposing parts (Assad-regime, opposition, ISIS and the Kurdish areas), does not apply for all content published by Syrian media.

2.5 Media and Integration

Syrian refugees who have emigrated to Norway are likely to have different media habits in terms of using Syrian, international – and/or Norwegian media platforms. Their media habits and their media platforms of preference might be a contributor – or non-contributor to their integration processes. As mentioned earlier, Norwegian media's dissemination of issues concerning immigration, Islamist terrorism and Muslims may be relevant in terms of Norwegian-based Syrian refugees' integration processes. How the Norwegian media conveys these issues might influence Syrian refugees' impression of how the Norwegian public and society perceive their supplement to the Norwegian society, as well as their culture and ethnicity. Therefore, theories of how the media conveys immigration, terrorism and Islam will be included. Firstly, however, the concept of diaspora will be elaborated up on and discussed with theoretical aspects. This as a Syrian refugee's sense of belonging to a diasporic, Syrian – or Norwegian community is highly relevant when it comes to integration.

Diaspora

The extent as to how a refugee or immigrant is part of a diasporic community has several variables in which depend on the migrant's associations with country of origin versus country of residence.

> Complex historical, social and cultural dynamics within specific groups and their relationships with others in the lands of settlement have shaped multifarious identities within diasporas. Immigrant groups are layered by three main factors: period of arrival, the extent of integration into receiving societies and the maintenance of links with the land of origin as well as with other parts of the diaspora. This layering has resulted in the wide variations of connections and attachments that such worldwide communities have with each other.
>
> (Karim, 2018: 9)

According to Karim (2018: 9), an immigrant's sense of belonging within a diasporic community is recognised by several factors. Particularly "the degree of communication between various parts of the transnational group" is highly relevant, in addition to the immigrant's traditional customs, religion, language and marriage patterns, and to which extent these factors are practiced or withheld (Karim, 2018: 9), in addition to the immigrant's extent of integration into their receiving society.

Diaspora, Multiculturalism and Integration

The withholding or practising of the factors mentioned above and a refugee or immigrant's sense of belonging to a diasporic community, reflects upon their integration into their receiving societies. However, immigrants may be successfully integrated into their receiving societies while maintaining their sense of belonging to diasporic communities and to their their cultural traditions. Karim (2018: 12) argues that "a core idea underlying multiculturalism is integrating immigrants into the receiving society while allowing them the freedom to maintain aspects of their ancestral cultures." Hence, immigrants should indeed integrate into the societies in which they settle in and adapt to new cultures and societal expectations, but also be granted the option to obtain their cultural customs and traditions to the extent of their personal preferences. Migrants who still relate to their countries of origin after settling in new societies may also

actively seek forms of attachments to their receiving countries, and thereby integrate (Karim, 2018: 10).

According to Cola et al. (in Carpentier et al., 2014: 82), it is "a relatively recent development that governmental and programmatic ideas of "multiculturalism", "diversity" and "integration" have become articulated and positioned as prominent ways of conceptualising, addressing and managing social, ethnic and cultural difference within European Nation-States." Nevertheless, Western societies' managing and acceptance of multiculturalism and diversity is found to be varied in terms of cultural backgrounds. Leurs (2018: 26) states that diversity within Europe is biased when it comes to the idea of "Unity in Diversity" (Ponzanesi and Colpani, 2015: 5 in Leurs, 2018: 26). He exemplifies with the fact that Western migrants with higher educations are sought and welcomed to their new societies, while asylum seekers "are often unwelcome and othered". Chin (2017, in Karim 2018: 11) also found aspects of multiculturalism within Europe to be failed by the early 2000's.

Western societies' insufficient managing of multiculturalism may cause social challenges for, for instance, Syrian refugees who have settled in European societies and increase their sense of belonging within their diaspora rather than within their receiving societies. Syrians, or immigrants with Muslim backgrounds "(…) seeking to find their place in Europe have to negotiate public suspicions resulting from recent claims about the failure of multiculturalism, anti-immigration sentiments, Islamophobia, fears over rape by refugees, and urban unrest and riots that are sweeping across Europe." (Leurs, 2018: 26) According to Karim (2018: 12), such societal discrimination and prejudice towards migrants may decrease their integration processes, as "some of them turn in an insular manner towards their own communities." Hence, the immigrant's perception of the receiving society might affect their motivation and willingness to integrate (Timmermans, 2018: 68).

Diaspora, Media Use and Integration
Immigrants' extent of belonging to their diasporic communities versus their physical communities may be affected by their media – and communication habits. Immigrants may choose to use and follow their receiving society's media content and thereby develop a more comprehensive insight of their societies and its culture, customs and norms, and their local communities. On the other hand, immigrants may choose to distant themselves from local

media and rather follow media content in which is more familiar according to ethnic origin and diaspora – or combine following and using media content published by both their country of origin and country of settlement. As for social media platforms, they may be used by immigrants to maintain contact with their diasporic communities both within and across borders, to interact with members of their physical communities and to approach new networks and information within their receiving societies.

> Modernism's tendency to view the world in binary modes of mutual exclusion hampers the understanding of the plural allegiances that people have to their families, their neighbourhoods, their institutions, their ethnic and religious communities, their (old and new) countries, to their diasporas and to the human race.
> (Karim, 2018: 11)

Hence, immigrants having diverse interests when it comes to media habits and other traditional customs of both their own and their receiving society's culture does not necessarily mean a lack of motivation to integrate.

Recent research of Syrian refugees' media use in their new countries of residence indicates that Syrians mostly rely upon – and use Syrian or Arabic media platforms, and that they do not use Swedish media to progress their integration into Swedish society (Timmermans, 2018: 60). Michelle Timmermans (2018) studied Syrians' media use in Stockholm, Sweden, by conducting interviews with ten Syrian refugees based in Stockholm. Her research questions, with relevance to this thesis, were as follows:

- How do Syrian immigrants in Stockholm use traditional and new media to follow up the ongoing conflict in Syria?
- In what way does the media use by the respondent reflect images of the home country and the receiving nation? How do the specific media used by groups play into their personal identity as Syrian or Swedish?
- How do the media choices of respondents reflect the integration and acculturation of this group?
(Timmermans, 2018: 57)

As these research question bear similarities to this thesis' research questions, Timmermans' findings are highly relevant as a theoretical aspect. Findings taken into account will include Syrians' use of Swedish and Arabic/international media platforms, and how their media use has contributed to their integration processes.

As mentioned above, Timmermans (2018: 60) found that the respondents of her study had a high consumption of Arabic media platforms, and broadcast channels in particular; Al-Jazeera (Qatar), Al-Mayadeen (Syria) and Al-Arabiya (UAE). The great frequency of Arabic media use was due to an alleged lack of coverage regarding the conflict in Syria within Swedish media platforms, in addition to a lack of reliability of the news in which were published (Timmermans, 2018: 59). These issues were found both in regards to print newspapers and broadcast television.

> There was a resounding negative view among interviewees of print media with regards to reporting on Syria. They were seldom used as their content was viewed to be out-of-date and unreliable. Of ten interviewees, only two reported reading local print media in Swedish and only one reported doing so regularly. Respondents said that the few times newspapers did report on Syria, the stories were viewed as being accurate or reliable in terms of the political affiliation of the newspapers. The remaining 80 % of respondents justified their choices of avoiding print media, claiming that broadcast media and Internet news websites were able to produce more up-to-date stories; the respondents had a resoundingly negative view of the accuracy of print newspapers. They also stated that these media could be too sensationalistic; but by far the strongest criticism of the update on the Syrian Civil War in Swedish newspapers was that there simply were not enough of them, nor did they have reliable information.
> (Timmermans, 2018: 59)

Although Swedish broadcast news were said to feature more up-to-date stories on Syria than printed newspapers, eight respondents who were consumers of broadcast news on a regular basis stated that they also found this source of information to be unreliable, mainly due to insufficient coverage of the conflict in Syria (Timmermans, 2018: 59). Furthermore, all of Timmermans' respondents stated that their "primary motivation behind their media use" was to find updates on the conflict in Syria (2018: 59). As they found Swedish media platforms to fail to produce sufficient news on this subject, these Syrians rather turned to information on the

Internet and social media platforms; both as mainstream information sources and direct communication with friends or family based in Syria (Timmermans, 2018: 60). These were the sources of information found to be most reliable, whereas Arabic broadcasting channels and Swedish media were used as supplements for information regarding the conflict in Syria (Timmermans, 2018: 60).

As for media use and integration, Timmermans focused on her respondents' sense of belonging in the Swedish community and found that two respondents felt Syrian-Swedish, while the remaining eight "reported feeling first and foremost Syrian" (2018: 64). Timmermans stated that these Syrians' sense of identity "was strongly tied to their Syrian roots, which was not disturbed even when placed in a new culture." (2018: 64)

> During the interviews, respondents reflected on their personal cultural maintenance, through the extent to which they upheld Syrian values and followed developments in Syria through the use of media. (…) This mainly reflected a group that had collectively adopted an integration strategy of acculturation through separation from media-based Swedish culture, by consuming Syrian and Arabic media, and communicating with fellow nationals through social media such as Facebook, thereby allowing the individuals to maintain their cultural heritage and uphold their mother-tongue.
> (Timmermans, 2018: 66)

This in supplement to Karim's (2018: 13) theory of how one's early socialisation remains for life; a migrant's cultural values and traditions may be modified by a new society and adaptions to new cultures, but usually not erased.

These Syrians' media use reflected upon their choosing to uphold their cultural traditions, as eight mainly used Arabic or transnational media channels – and platforms, due to search for first-source information of Syria and "distrust of western media outlets", which to them felt foreign (Timmermans, 2018: 65).

Nevertheless, 90 % of Timmermans' respondents stated that they aimed to be highly integrated in the Swedish society (2018: 67). They did however not use Swedish media to accomplish these levels of integration, but rather valued and prioritised activities such as Swedish language courses and interaction with Swedes within their communities – or "offline" activities

(Timmermans, 2018: 67). This relates to theories mentioned earlier; migrants should be entitled to uphold their traditions, such as preference of Syrian or Arabic media, as their personal cultural relations does not necessarily inflict upon their integration processes (Karim, 2018). Furthermore, eight out of Timmermans' ten respondents "reflected both high cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty to both their nation of origin and the receiving nation, making them clear examples of immigrants in between two cultures." (2018: 68)

Immigration in the Norwegian Media

When it comes to the Norwegian media's dissemination of immigration, reports show that negative angling has been a tendency (IMDi, 2009; Retriever, 2017). IMDi's annual report from 2008 focused on media and integration in Norway. The report showed that news and articles concerning immigration and integration often features problems and challenges, rather than positive societal aspects such as resources for the Norwegian labour market (IMDi, 2009). Such negative angling of immigration might have contributed to challenges for minority groups in Norway, in terms of integration.

> The media is – and should be – concerned with problems. As for other players in the integration field, such as researchers and authorities, it is journalists' job to shed light on the challenges facing integration, and to generate debate about important social issues. There may be relevant journalistic arguments for why individual cases are reported from a particular angle, but what will the consequences be if the cumulative effect of all stories about immigration and integration is to paint a picture of immigrants as a problem and integration as unsuccessful? (IMDi, 2009: 3, author's translation)

IMDi's report of 2008 (2009) showed that the Norwegian media frequently focused on negative aspects in terms of immigration from 1999 to 2008, particularly in relation to Somalis. "Crime", "cultural practices" and "lack of integration" are examples of issues that were especially highlighted (IMDi, 2009: 4). "These issues function as explanations for each other, yet the relationship between these factors has never been systematically investigated or precisely defined." (IMDi, 2009: 4) This indicates that the Norwegian news coverage of Somalis in 2008 generalised the minority group as a liability for the Norwegian society, as its focus mainly lay on disadvantages, rather than on positive outcomes such as successfully integrated Somalis.

IMDi's report (2009) also mentioned that the Norwegian media has a tendency to focus on certain nationalities when it comes to immigration, and often with negative or critical angling. As mentioned, the minority group in which received the most negative attention in Norwegian media in 2008, were Somalis. Other examples of such nationalities are the Sami, Romanians (IMDi, 2009), and, since 2015, Syrians (Retriever, 2016).

IMDi and Retriever have also conducted more recent reports concerning how issues of immigration and integration are disseminated in Norwegian media, in addition to how immigrants are represented in Norwegian print – and digital newspapers. As mentioned in the introduction-chapter, one of these reports found that Syrian refugees and the "refugee-crisis" has been greatly featured within the Norwegian media since the refuge from Syria became extreme in 2015 (Retriever, 2016; SSB, 2018a). Another report from 2017, however, analyses how immigrants, asylum-seekers, refugees and individuals with minority background are featured in Norwegian media (Retriever, 2017: 4). The analysis is based on both qualitative and quantitative material. The qualitative analysis is based on newspaper articles from seven Norwegian print newspapers and six Norwegian digital newspapers, regarding issues of immigration, refugees or minority groups, with the intention of discovering how – and to what extent immigration and integration is represented in the Norwegian media sphere of 2017 (Retriever, 2017: 5). As Syrian refugees who have been Norwegian residents since 2016 or before were subject to Retriever's findings, this analysis is highly relevant to this thesis.

Retriever's (2017) analysis found that immigrants have been increasingly represented in Norwegian media since the amount of immigrants and asylum seekers in Norway escalated in 2015, due to the conflict in Syria (SSB, 2018). However, in material published by relevant newspapers, it was found that individuals with immigrant backgrounds were referred to as sources in one out of six articles regarding issues of immigration (Retriever, 2017: 4). In material of 11.988 newspaper articles, immigrants were used as sources or interview subjects in two percent of the material, featured without references in six percent of the material, and not featured or represented in 92 percent of the material (Retriever, 2017: 7).

The use of individuals with immigrant backgrounds as sources or interview subjects is equivalent in printed- and online newspapers. This is a change from the coverage of 2011 and 2014, where individuals with immigrant backgrounds were more frequently directly referred to in digital newspapers, in comparison to printed newspapers.

(Retriever, 2017: 7, author's translation)

Based on Retriever's findings, one may claim that immigrants, refugees and ethnic minority groups are underrepresented in content concerning immigration issues, although the featuring of immigration issues is constant (Retriever, 2017: 7).

In comparison to previous reports done by Retriever (2011 and 2016), issues regarding immigration in 2017 were diverse in terms of content. In 2017, it was found that the majority of newspaper articles related to immigration featured asylum seekers, refugees and immigration politics (Retriever, 2017). In Retriever's analysis, 520 articles of the total collected material concerns immigration-related issues, whereas 30 percent is categorised under asylum seekers and refugees (Retriever, 2017: 10). Other issues include religion (17 percent), crime (11 percent), immigration debate (11 percent), integration (nine percent), labour market (six percent), discrimination and racism (five percent), terrorism (three percent), violence and social control (three percent) and other featuring (five percent) (Retriever, 2017: 10).

The most evident content diversities in comparison to previous reports regard an increased featuring asylum seekers and refugees, and a decreased featuring of immigrant-related crime (Retriever, 2017: 10). In this material, it was found that immigrants are referred to as sources or interview subjects more frequently than in the total material of the study; individuals with immigrant backgrounds are quoted directly in in 16 percent of these 520 articles, and mostly in content featuring asylum seekers and refugees (Retriever, 2017: 10). Henceforth, this indicates that Syrian refugees were – to some extent - represented in the Norwegian media sphere of 2017, and not only featured with lack of direct representation.

Compared to analyses conducted in 2014, there was an increased coverage of societal problems related to immigration, and a decrease in newspaper articles with aspects of immigration as a resource (Retriever, 2017: 4). Asylum seekers, refugees and immigration politics – and debates are the categories that are most frequently linked to these societal problems (Retriever, 2017: 12).

Approximately two out of three articles concerning asylum seekers and refugees are conveyed with a problem-angle. The high occurrence of problem-focused featuring are linked to disagreement within the government's politics. *The refugee crisis is not over, although it is less noticeable*, is a typical argument that reoccurs in the critical featuring. Further, the government's suggested state budget for 2018 is met with criticism, as it contains a reduced amount of quota-refugees, to be levelled with the quotas prior to 2015. (Retriever, 2017: 12)

Another problem related to asylum seekers and refugees to be frequently featured in Norwegian media in 2017, is the withdrawal of refugees' Norwegian citizenships (Retriever, 2017: 12). Cases of refugees who have claimed false identities in order to gain Norwegian citizenships and the following withdrawal of those citizenships were given comprehensive media attention in 2017 (Retriever, 2017: 12). In these cases, the immigrants in question represented themselves in the media to a great extent through quotations and interviews, which gave media audiences insights to the immigrant's perspectives. Retriever exemplifies with the case of Mahad Mahamud, who lost his lawsuit against the Norwegian state and had his citizenship withdrawn (Retriever, 2017: 12).

Retriever's findings concerning Norwegian media coverage of immigrants in 2017 show that much material is related to problems, and, as found in IMDi's report from 2008, negative angling is persistent (Retriever, 2017; IMDi, 2009). Coverage relating immigration to crime had decreased in 2017, but problems regarding the category asylum seekers and refugees were found to be comprehensive (Retriever, 2017). Focus on immigration as a resource for the Norwegian society had also decreased, while material featuring asylum seekers and refugees were most reoccurring (Retriever, 2017). As Syrians were dominant nationality of the total amount of asylum seekers and refugees in Norway in said time period, one may claim a context between the broad media coverage of asylum seekers and refugees and the Syrian "refugee crisis". Henceforth, Syrian refugees in Norway were featured on a constant basis in 2017, but underrepresented in terms of direct quotations and interviews (Retriever, 2017).

Islam in Norwegian Media

According to IMDi's report (2009), the Norwegian media's coverage of immigration and integration focused on nationalities from Muslim countries, such as Somalia and Pakistan. A case study showed that a third of all media coverage regarding immigration featured Muslim immigrants (Retriever in IMDi, 2009), which indicates that immigrants from Muslim countries and the religion Islam received a moderate amount of attention through the Norwegian media in 2008. A more recent and relevant research report from Retriever (2016) shows that Islam and Muslims still receive attention in the Norwegian media; Islam and Muslims were mentioned or featured 54.895 times in Norwegian print/online newspapers or on broadcast television. This means that Islam is still highly featured in Norwegian media.

Retriever's study (2016) shows that nearly half of the news articles concerning Islam and Muslims that are found in Norwegian national- and regional newspapers involves around international relations.

> More than 60 % of the international material features Muslim terror, ISIS, foreign fighters and radical Islam, and in total, the words Islamist and Islamism are used explicitly in 56 % of all articles included in the international material.
> (Retriever, 2016: 4)

16 percent of the news material concerning Islam and Muslims in a Norwegian context, is critical towards Islam, and 11 percent of the collected data show negativism towards Islam and Muslims (Retriever, 2016). Editors in Norwegian newspapers have been found to typically publish material regarding Muslims and Islam in contexts of conflict (Lunde, 2013 in Lundby and Gresaker, 2015: 83). This claim is coherent in terms of Retriever's (2016) report: the most recurrent features regarding Islam published in Norwegian media in 2016 were found to be terrorism and ISIS (35 percent) (Retriever, 2016). Following categories include religious practicing and traditions (12 percent), criticism towards Islam (nine percent), radicalism (eight percent), anti-Islamic groups (seven percent), Islamic debates (six percent), Islamic communities (five percent), international relations (five percent), immigration (four percent). violence and crime (three percent), perceptions towards Muslims (three percent) and integration and equality (two percent) (Retriever, 2016). Some of these categories, particularly criticism towards Islam and violence and crime, are negative.

Media and Islamist Terrorism

Western media's coverage of terrorism is comprehensive. This is due to terrorist attacks newsworthiness, or how "terrorism provides a particularly potent story for the media as it has all the perfect ingredients - violence, drama, fear and so on - to make great news." (Lewis in Freedman and Thussu, 2012: 257) The media's extensive coverage of terrorism includes terrorism executed by Islamist organisations or individuals, or Islamist terrorism. Media coverage of Islamist terrorism has been found to be a contributor to prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims and Islam within Western societies (Kaiter, 2016; Freedman and Thussu, 2012; Kavoori and Fraley, 2006). Media outlets' tendency to relate terrorism to the religion Islam and to portray immigration from Muslim countries in negative angles may also be accounted as contributing factors in this matter, as media content has an undeniable effect on consumers:

> The mass media's growing influence in modern societies can no longer be denied. Both theoretical analyses and empirical evidence show that, over time, newspapers, television and even television programs devoted primarily to entertainment, effectively play a significant role in how the public comes to define and perceive major aspects of political and social reality.
> (Kaiter, 2016: 428)

Thereby, audiences and users who are subject to mass media's angling of Muslims may be effected by the media's negative, positive or objective perspectives. Muslim immigrants, Syrian refugees included, who settle in Western societies may therefore be subject to prejudice and discrimination from the original population, which again may inflict upon their motivation to create a network within their communities and integrate into the society. Henceforth, theories of Western media's dissemination of Islamist terrorism and of how it influences recipients of the information are of relevance.

The concept *terrorism* is comprehensive and complicated in terms of definition, as acts of terrorism manifest in various forms and due to different ideologies and beliefs (Freedman and Thussu, 2012; 7). An act of terrorism may however be defined as illegally and purposely inflicted death or personal injury – or severe damage to public or private property such as state buildings, public transport or infrastructure (UN, 2013). In the case of Islamist terrorism, such

acts are done with the intention of "advocating the reordering of government and society in accordance with laws prescribed by Islam." (Merriam-Webster, 2019c) Terrorism is also violent acts implemented to spread fear within nations, societies and organisations, with the purpose of gaining attention for a cause, conveying religious or political opinions, or of redeeming specific requirements (UN, 2013). Islamist terrorism in Western societies to gain broad media coverage include the attacks in Nice 2016 (ISIS), Berlin 2016 (ISIS), London 2005 (Al-Qaeda) and New York and Washington 2001 (Al-Qaeda).

The broad media coverage of Islam and terrorism in Western societies, including Norway, begun after Osama bin Landen and Al-Qaeda's terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon on September 11th 2001 (Kaiter, 2015: 429; Lewis in Freedman and Thussu, 2012: 258; Lundby and Gresaker, 2015: 83). Ever since, following Islamist terrorist acts performed by Islamists or Islamist organisations such as Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State have been broadly – and to some extent exceedingly covered on multiple platforms by media within Western societies (Lewis in Freedman and Thussu, 2012). As terrorism acts aim to achieve attention and spread fear, one may argue that the media to some extent favours terrorists – in the case of Islamists terrorism, the media may even contribute to prejudice and fear of Muslims and their culture. As Lewis (in Freedman and Thussu, 2012: 258) states:

> The power and shape of the terrorism news story is also formed by its political context, such that some forms of terrorism become more newsworthy than others. This context has created a coherent – yet misleading – narrative, in which the roots of terrorism is firmly inscribed with the culture and practices of Islam.

From Lewis' statement, one may interpret coverage of Islamist terrorism as more newsworthy or popular amongst the media, than coverage of terrorism acts executed by organisations or individuals of other ideologies or beliefs. This again may lead to assumed associations between Muslims and terrorism amongst Western societies, which may cause prejudice towards practising of the religion Islam. As Islam is the main religion in Syria, Syrians who have fled to Norway might have perceptions of how the Norwegian media disseminates Islamist terrorism and how this dissemination effects their personal integration processes.

Relevance to Material

These theories of how Norwegian media's dissemination of issues regarding immigration, Islam and terrorism are of high relevance to this thesis' research questions. The extent to which Syrian refugees in Norway have used Norwegian media platforms in the time period of 2016 to 2017, is however crucial in terms of finding compliances with the most relevant theoretical content; Retriever's research reports. This as Retriever's research reports on the featuring of issues regarding immigration and Islam in Norwegian print – and online newspapers are based on a collection of newspaper articles from 2016 and 2017. Henceforth, this thesis' respondents period of arrival in the Norwegian society varies from 2015 to 2016. It was expected that the Syrian respondents would have affiliations to Norwegian media platforms from 2016 and 2017, when, as Retriever found, Norwegian media's featuring of immigration, asylum seekers and Islam escalated (Retriever, 2016; Retriever, 2017). Syrian respondents' perceptions of Norwegian media's dissemination of these issues, in addition to featuring of Islamist terrorism will as such be considered in context or diversity to the theories presented in this chapter. Firstly, however, methodological approach and design will be accounted for in the following chapter.

3. Methodology and Material

Researching Norwegian-based Syrian refugees' media habits when it comes to use of Syrian, international and/or Norwegian media platforms, following how Syrian refugees' media use contribute to their integration processes is highly complex. The collecting of relevant material in relation to this thesis' research questions relies on individual responses and opinions of respondents, as Syrian refugees cannot be generalised in this context. Accordingly, this chapter will clarify deficiencies and strengths in terms of the collected material's reliability, validity and generalisability, following a clarification of the methodological design, including approach and selection of respondents and the interview guide. As the research method of this thesis is qualitative, ethical issues concerning storage of personal data and privacy arose and will be elaborated upon accordingly. Firstly, however, this chapter will argue for the appropriate use of a qualitative research method in relation to this thesis and its research questions.

3.1 Research Method

The method used to collect relevant data in relation to the research question is qualitative in-depth interviews with Syrian refugees who have settled in the Norwegian society. In order to gain substantial information regarding how Syrian refugees use Norwegian media platforms and how their media use contribute to their integration processes, using a qualitative approach rather than a quantitative approach was considered appropriate. This as a quantitative approach would not provide sufficient material to answer the research questions. This thesis' research questions require reasoned responses and comparable perspectives from participants in order to find discussable assumptions in analysed material (Timmermans, 2018: 58). Henceforth, semi-structured interviews were chosen as a research method.

As a comparative example, Timmermans (2018) similar research of Syrians' media use and integration in Sweden also used a qualitative methodological approach. Reasoning for choice of the qualitative approach and semi-structured interviews included "advantages when dealing with sensitive subjects such as the respondent's personal views of the Syrian Civil War (Daymon and Holloway 2011, in Timmermans 2018: 57). Although personal views of the civil war in Syria is not directly questioned in the interview guide, sensitive issues such as progress of integration, media preferences and perceptions of Norwegian media's dissemination of immigration and Islam are included. Therefore, Timmermans' (2018: 57) reasoning for choice

of research method applies to this thesis' choice of a qualitative approach with semi-structured interviews.

3.2 Interview Subjects

A total of ten interviews were conducted in a time period between January 2018 and September 2018. During this time period, the civil war in Syria is still ongoing, and as such theories regarding media dissemination of the conflict in Syria in addition to are still relevant. Ten respondents were considered appropriate for collecting a reasonable amount of data. As the qualitative method has limitations in relation to drawing conclusions, more than ten interviews were regarded as an excess of information and material for a master thesis, while less than ten interviews would not suffice in order to draw comparisons and find contexts or differences.

The criteria for the Syrian interview subjects was that they must had been inhabitants in Norway for a minimum time period of one year, as it was considered essential that they had an understanding of the Norwegian language and a perception of the Norwegian media; this in order to provide relevant answers in relation to the research questions and theoretical material. All ten respondents were young adults or adults, as these aged groups have opportunities of integrating in terms of contributing to the Norwegian society through employment or education – this with relevance to how use of Norwegian platforms contribute to Syrian refugees' integration processes.

Approaching interview subjects was first done by networking. Three respondents were found through a contact person who further-disseminated the research of this thesis to acquaintances, who again offered to participate as respondents. Further, it was necessary to contact organisations who work closely with immigrants and refugees. This was a challenging process, and finding the remaining respondents was done with great difficulty. Organisations that were contacted failed to respond, and those who did respond suggested contacting Syrians who also failed to respond or did not wish to participate. Timmermans (2018) also accounted for difficulties in approaching Syrian interviewees who were willing to participate in her research.

> When selecting interviewees, the first challenge was reaching the group. Secondly, after managing to make contact with individuals, most people simply did not reply, did not want to participate, or participated with great hesitation. This is because news reporting

on Syria since February 2014 has included stories of some individuals with Syrian roots living in Sweden who are going back to Syria to partake in the war; this has been viewed as a serious social problem and these individuals have been described as a 'terror threat' to Sweden. Therefore, potential respondents are fearful of being labelled as or associated with 'jihadists' or terrorists.

(Hansson, 2014 in Timmermans, 2018: 57-58; Timmermans, 2018: 57-58)

Although such cases have not been accounted for in Norway, it is possible that the difficulty in finding Syrian refugees willing to participate in this research was due to similar reasons.

Eventually, two interview subjects were found with the help of a contact person approached by e-mail, and three interview subjects were found by contacting administrators of Facebook-groups for immigrants and Syrians in Norway, while the last two interviewees were approached with the help of a previous respondent.

The interviewees live in different Norwegian cities; seven of the respondents are young adults from the same small town, two are late teenagers from a larger city and one is an adult from a different small town. All respondents were presented with the same interview guide, which is presented in the below section.

3.3 Interview Guide

The interview guide was designed with the purpose of gaining insight of Syrian refugees' media habits in terms of how they use both Norwegian and Syrian/international media platforms. Further purpose was to receive fulfilled responses of Syrian refugees' perception of positive and negative aspects of Norwegian media platforms when it comes to their personal integration processes. The interview guide contained the following questions:

- How long have you been living in Norway?
- How familiar are you with the different Norwegian media platforms (e.g. print/online newspapers, television, radio)?
- How frequently do you use these different media platforms (several times per day, daily, weekly, monthly)?

- Do you use international/Syrian media platforms and if so, which and why?

- As a Syrian refugee living in Norway, how would you describe the Norwegian media's dissemination of the so-called "refugee crisis"?

- When you use Norwegian media platforms, how would you say they influence your process of integrating into the Norwegian society?

- What factors within the Norwegian media would you evaluate as beneficial when it comes to integration?

- And what factors within the Norwegian media would you evaluate as negative when it comes to integration?

- Would you say that Norwegian media channels can be used as tools in order to increase the efficiency of integration processes?

- Why/why not?

- If so, how do you personally use specific Norwegian media channels as integration tools?

3.4 Interviews

Out of the total of ten interviews, eight were recorded interviews. During these interviews, the respondents were given an informative document at the meeting place, in which they consented to by signature, in addition to the interview guide. The remaining two interviewees were unable to schedule a meeting time, which resulted in written interviews. The written interviewees were sent the informative document and the questions electronically, to which they gave their consent and responded by e-mail correspondence. During the interviews that were recorded, the interview subjects were not given access to the questions prior to the interviews, which may have influenced their answers to be more spontaneous than the written answers, as these interviewees had more time to process and evaluate the questions before formulating their response. The recorded interviews also gave more of an opportunity for follow-up questions and floating conversation, which might have given more of an insight to the interview subjects' use of Norwegian, international and Syrian media platforms, and their perception of these platforms in relation to their integration processes.

3.5 Ethical Challenges

When collecting material with in-depth interviews as a research method, ethical challenges arise and must be accounted for. Protection – and withholding of personal data is one of these challenges. As interviews were conducted, recorded and transcribed, no information that might identify the ten respondents was to be stored on saved documents or files. Accordingly, respondents are referred to as interviews 1-10 in the chapters "Empirical Findings", "Analyses and Discussion" and "Conclusion", and no data is stored that may link these numbers to the respondents' names.

Additionally, it was considered as crucial that no personal data or other sensitive information was to be published in this thesis. This according to issues of privacy. Therefore, the following chapters do not contain any information that may identify the respondents. Such information would include names, places of residence, contact information, workplaces, or educational institutions. For extra caution in relation to privacy, respondents were not questioned about their age. When referring to respondents' age groups, the terms "young adult" or "adult" are used, where "young adult" indicates an age under 25 years, and "adult" indicates an age over 25 years. This measure was made as specific age was considered irrelevant in the context of this thesis and its research questions.

In order for these ten interviews to be legally conducted, this thesis had to be reported to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). The report included the thesis' theme and title (Media and Integration), research questions, methodical approach, and an informative document to which respondents had to give their consent. The informative document contained clarifications of intended collection of data – and data to be used in published material. It was specified that only information in relation to respondents' media habits, their perception of Norwegian, international and Syrian media platforms, and their integration processes would be included in this thesis' findings. In addition, information regarding the process of saving, storage – and deleting personal data or data that could identify respondents. It was clarified that no such saving or storage of personal information would take place, and that identities under no circumstances could be revealed. It was also stated that transcripts, written interviews and recordings would be deleted as analyses of data were completed. NSD consented to this thesis' research methods in 2017, with presumption of the conditions listed to be held. The attached approval of this research and its methods from NSD (Attachment 1) states the research as

completed in May 2018. The research was however still ongoing in 2018 due to extended deadlines, and was completed in May 2019.

3.6 Material

The process of obtaining substantial findings using a qualitative approach includes interviewing, as accounted for, transcribing and analysing material (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015: 23). As such, the eight recorded interviews were transcribed. These transcriptions, together with the two written interviews make for the material of this thesis. The interview subjects answered questions in relation to their personal media habits, specifically how they use Norwegian and/or Syrian and international media platforms in terms of interests, information, entertainment and integration.

Analysing the material was done by evaluating the transcribed and written responses in relation to theories and research questions, and thereby discovering findings that would be included in the coming chapters with empirical findings and analysis and discussion. The research of these Syrian refugees' media habits included how often they use different Norwegian media platforms and how often they use Syrian and/or international media platforms. Discovering how the interviewees use different media platforms may give indications of as to how the Norwegian media contributes to their integration processes. Analysing this material also provided the opportunity to compare results as the ten Syrian individuals were expected to have both similarities and diversities in terms of their media habits as well as their perception of their media habits' contribution to their integration processes. With this in mind, the interview subjects responded to whether- and how they use Norwegian media platforms for personal integration purposes.

Reliability, Validity, and Generalisability

The methodological approach of this thesis has both strengths and limitations. Material and findings based on interviews with ten Syrian refugees provide reliable and valid information in terms of these ten Syrian refugees' media habits and perceptions. According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015: 281), reliability can be measured in terms of observing trustworthiness in the interview subjects, and no factors that would question reliability of the respondents were observed during the in-person interviews.

A limitation when it comes to reliability of material, is the two written interviews opposed to the in-person interviews. The two Syrian refugees who responded in writing had time to prepare and dwell on – and possibly change their responses. In comparison, the eight interviews conducted in person provided spontaneous responses, and may therefore be considered as more reliable than the written responses.

Nevertheless, material and findings based on both written and in-person interviews may be considered as valid in relation to this thesis' research questions. This as ten Syrian refugees have provided material which contains elaborated responses to the research questions. Thus, findings in regard to how Syrian refugees use Syrian, international – and Norwegian media platforms and how their media use contributes to their integration processes, are considered valid in terms of these ten Syrian refugees.

There is, however, a lack of ability to generalise findings in this thesis' material. Although ten respondents were considered appropriate and sufficient in terms of a qualitative research approach, there is a shortage when it comes to generalisation. The term "Syrian refugees" found in the following chapters only refers to the ten Syrian refugees of whom material is based on, as one would require a more comprehensive number of respondents in order to generalise Syrian refugees' media use and progress of integration process in relation to media use. Henceforth, following findings, analyses, discussions and conclusions are based singlehandedly on interviews with ten Syrian refugees with supplemented compliance to theoretical aspects.

4. Empirical Findings

The empirical findings are based on material collected and analysed from interviews with ten different Syrian refugees who have lived in Norway in for nearly two – and up to nearly four years at the time of their interviews, not including their time in Norwegian reception centres. The material includes different aspects as of how the respondents of this research use Syrian – and international media platforms compared to Norwegian media platforms, how they use Norwegian media platforms and their perceptions of the Norwegian media's contribution to their integration processes. The purpose of this study is to find an indication as to how Syrian refugees who live in the Norwegian society use Norwegian media platforms and how their media use contributes to their integration processes – both in terms of context and diversity. However, as the study is based on limited qualitative methods, no final conclusions are expected to be drawn, and further research is encouraged.

The material will present the specific media habits of the ten participants, their personal affiliation with Norwegian media platforms, and their opinions of positive and/or negative aspects in terms of how the Norwegian media contributes to their integration processes. As nine out of the ten participants preferred to do the interviews in Norwegian instead of English, direct citations from material collected in Norwegian will not be translated to English. Direct citations from the transcriptions in both Norwegian and English have been corrected due to occasional grammatical errors in the original material.

4.1 How Syrian Refugees use Syrian or International Media Platforms

All ten participants state that they do not use official national Syrian media platforms, as Syrian media is controlled by the Assad-regime on all channels (Interviews 1-10, 2018). This means that official national Syrian media platforms are regarded as corrupt and untrustworthy, as the regime modifies all information published on the Internet, radio, printed press and television channels in addition to monitoring the FM networks (Interview 2, 2018). One participant states that Syrian media channels disseminate "fake news";

> Jeg stoler ikke på nyheter fra nasjonal syrisk TV fordi det er regimet som styrer alt, og 99.99 prosent av det er falske nyheter som ingen burde stole på. (Interview 6, 2018)

However, as unofficial and reliable Syrian media channels have been established, findings show that eight of the respondents use such media channels on several platforms in order to follow up on the situation in Syria. One participant mentions a Syrian television channel broadcasted from Turkey in which he uses frequently (Interview 6, 2018):

> I det siste har det kommet noen private kanaler og nettsider som er drevet av folk som har vært i mot diktatoren Bashar Al-Assad siden revolusjonen startet. Dette er folk jeg stoler på, siden de deler ekte nyheter. Et eksempel er *Syria TV*, som er en offentlig informasjonstjeneste. *Syria TV* sendes for tiden fra Tyrkia, men de håper å kunne flytte til Syria. Denne kanalen bruker nye og tradisjonelle kommunikasjonsmidler for å besvare spørsmål for syrere i inn- og utland. Gjennom arbeidet sitt forsvarer *Syria TV* verdiene til den syriske revolusjonen når det gjelder styrking av prinsippene borgerlig statsborgerskap i det nye Syria, avvisning av diktaturet og den religiøse ekstremismen, og understreking av enheten mellom folket og landet. (Interview 6, 2018)

This channel is amongst several Syrian information sources that are not censored by the Assad-regime, in which two of the participants use on a weekly basis (Interviews 6-7, 2018).

Other unofficial Syrian media platforms that were mentioned, include unspecified online sources such as websites and information-pages on Facebook in which publish trustworthy information concerning the situation in Syria (Interview 1, 2018; Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 8-10, 2018). According to two of the Syrian refugees who use these sources, the online sites and pages in question continuously update users and followers on incidents that occur in Syria, such as bombings and other war-related disturbances (Interviews 9-10, 2018). Another participant states that he only follows one Syrian page on Facebook in which he considers to be reliable:

> Jeg følger en syrisk kanal på Facebook, men bortsett fra det bruker jeg bare norske medier nå. Man kan ikke stole på de fleste mediene i Syria. (Interview 8, 2018)

He follows up with explaining that his understanding of the Norwegian language is good enough for him to comprehend the Norwegian media's coverage of incidents in – and regarding Syria (Interview 8, 2018).

On the other hand, two Syrians who participated in this study are in earlier stages in terms of learning the Norwegian language, and they find it challenging to fully understand Norwegian media platforms – broadcast news in particular (Interviews 9-10, 2018). As these two still have family who live in Syria, access to updated information from Syria without language barriers is highly essential for them, and they use digital Syrian information sources on a daily basis (Interviews 9-10, 2018).

> Jeg følger med på syriske nyheter på Facebook hver dag fordi vi fortsatt har familie i Syria, så vi må vite hva som skjer der. (Interview 9, 2018)

As for international media platforms, eight of the Syrian refugees who participated in this study use Arabic media channels in addition to unofficial Syrian media platforms (Interviews 2-5, 2018; Interview 7, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018). Five of these state that they use Arabic media platforms due to language barriers and difficulty with fully understanding Norwegian media; especially broadcast news and radio (Interview 2, 2018; Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018). Two of these Syrians use Arabic media platforms on a daily basis, and they only follow Arabic media in addition to Syrian media platforms, as they are still in the early stages of learning the Norwegian language (Interviews 4-5, 2018). As for the other three, two state that they use Arabic television on a daily basis to watch news and movies (Interviews 9-10, 2018), while one follows the Arabic television channel Aljazeera on a weekly basis (Interview 2, 2018).

The remaining three Syrians who use international/Arabic media platforms explain that they enjoy watching and reading media content in their first language in addition to Norwegian media platforms (Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interview 7, 2018). One of these three states that he only uses online Arabic platforms on a weekly basis, where he watches programs he finds interesting and broadcast news (Interview 3, 2018). He adds that Norwegian media platforms normally suffice, as his Norwegian language skills are good enough for him to understand media content on all Norwegian platforms (Interview 3, 2018). The other two Syrians also use Arabic media platforms on a weekly basis, mainly to watch news and films (Interview 6, 2018; Interview 7, 2018).

However, two out of the eight Syrians who use international media platforms state that the Norwegian media's coverage of the war in Syria and Syrian refugees could be more

comprehensive (Interview 6, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). One of these uses international television every day, in order to follow information regarding the situation in Syria to a greater extent (Interview 9, 2018), while the other is critical towards the Norwegian media's current coverage of Syria and Syrian refugees (Interview 6, 2018).

> Det var mye fokus på syriske flyktninger i norske medier fra 2015-2016, som var da mange av oss kom til Norge, men hvordan går det med oss nå? (Interview 6, 2018)

He elaborates by stating that, in his opinion, the Norwegian media covered the so-called "refugee crisis" well in 2015-2016 both by focusing on positive aspects when it comes to immigration and by disseminating information regarding the war in Syria and Syrian refugees. From 2017-2018 however, he believes that the Norwegian media should expand its coverage of Syrian refugees by including information about how they have settled in the Norwegian society (Interview 6, 2018).

The fact that eight out of ten Norwegian-based Syrian refugees in this study use Syrian and international media platforms may indicate that the Norwegian media could improve its coverage of multicultural interests, particularly as, based on these findings, Syrian refugees follow international media platforms in order to find information that concerns their interests; in this case events from Syria and news concerning Syrian refugees.

4.2 How Syrian Refugees Use Norwegian Media Platforms

The collected material showed that all of the Syrian refugees who participated in this study use Norwegian media platforms. The media platforms mentioned by the participants included broadcast television, digital television, radio, podcasts, print newspapers, digital newspapers, social media and other digital media platforms such as Norwegian content on YouTube. However, there was a diversity in terms of which Norwegian media platforms in relation to the frequency of their media-use. Citations from the transcriptions in both Norwegian and English have been corrected due to occasional grammatical errors in the original material.

Newspapers

Out of the ten Syrian refugees who participated in this study, six read newspapers (print or digital) on a regular basis. Five state that they read Norwegian newspapers several times per week on average, while one reads either printed or online Norwegian newspapers on a daily basis (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-8, 2018). The four participants who do not read newspapers on a regular basis are only familiar with Norwegian newspapers through Norwegian-classes at their schools, and they all state that their comprehension of the Norwegian language needs to improve in order for them to understand what is written in Norwegian newspaper articles (Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018).

The six participants who read newspapers regularly all state that they were first introduced to Norwegian newspapers in Norwegian-classes, as teachers would use newspaper articles as learning material in order to increase the refugees' understanding of both the Norwegian language and of the Norwegian culture and society. These Syrians now read print or online newspapers in their own time, with the purpose of following up on different interests in addition to their language-skills and knowledge of the Norwegian society; one participant states that the local newspaper is a good source for information in relation to the community and culture, such as concerts and other events (Interview 1, 2018). Another participant particularly follows news stories about the war in Syria and refugees in Norwegian newspapers with great interest, while one considers Norwegian newspapers to be a part of their every-day routine (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 3, 2018).

Television

Norwegian television is frequently used by five of the Syrian refugees who participated in this study; two use different channels daily, and three often use different channels daily, but at least several times per week (Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 6-9, 2018). The channels in which these five Syrians use include the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK, and commercial channels with content such as films and series with Norwegian subtitles, and programs for children (Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 6-9, 2018). One of the Syrians who uses Norwegian television on a daily basis emphasises that he is very fond of NRK, and that he follows most of the channel's content, particularly documentaries and series (Interview 6, 2018), while another has a great interest for environmental programs and news (Interview 9, 2018).

The other five participants who do not use Norwegian television, state that it accounts for their own time, as Norwegian television is used as learning material in their Norwegian-lessons on the same basis as newspapers (Interviews 1-2, 2018; Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interview 10). One of these five Syrians describes how his Norwegian-class watches Norwegian broadcast news each Monday, with a following discussion of the content and words in which they find challenging to understand (Interview 10, 2018).

Radio and Podcasts

Four out of the ten Syrians who participated in this study listen to Norwegian radio channels on a daily basis (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interview 8, 2018). One of these Syrians explains how he listens to Norwegian radio channels for large parts of his days; for instance when he drives his car and when he is at home (Interview 1, 2018), while another states that he listens to Norwegian radio channels when he is at work (Interview 3, 2018). These Syrians both enjoy listening to Norwegian radio, as they consider it to be a helpful tool in relation to expanding their understanding of the Norwegian language, culture and societal events (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018). One out of the four Syrians who use Norwegian radio also listens to different podcasts from the public service radio channel NRKP3 several times per week (Interview 8, 2018). He states that listening to Norwegians interacting on podcasts are beneficial for him in terms of gaining knowledge of Norwegian culture, in addition to him finding the contents interesting and entertaining (Interview 8, 2018).

Other Digital Media Platforms

All ten Syrians who provided material for this research use social media platforms and applications such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube on a daily basis (Interviews 1-10, 2018). Out of these ten Syrians, eight do not actively follow Norwegian content on such social media platforms (Interviews 1-8, 2018). However, two Syrians follow Norwegian content on YouTube several times per week (Interviews 9-10, 2018). One explains how he watches different videos of other immigrants who live in Norway and speak Norwegian (Interview 9, 2018).

Jeg ser på andre flyktninger og innvandrere som snakker norsk på YouTube fordi det er lettere å forstå dem, siden de ikke snakker like fort som nordmenn. (Interview 9, 2018)

He explains further that he finds it difficult to understand Norwegians when they speak on media platforms such as television and radio, as he has trouble following what they are disseminating; particularly due to Norwegians' tendency to talk fast and in different dialects. Watching other refugees and immigrants talk Norwegian on YouTube also helps him develop his understanding of the Norwegian language (Interview 9, 2018).

The other Syrian who follows Norwegian content on YouTube mainly watches educational videos in which help him improve his Norwegian (Interview 10, 2018). He explains that these videos are aimed for people who are learning Norwegian, and they contain explanations of for instance spelling and grammar (Interview 10, 2018).

4.3 Media Use and Integration

The mass media is a main source of both information and knowledge (Street, 2011). Therefore, understanding – and usage of the mass media, including all media platforms, is important when it comes to integration. The Norwegian media provides its audiences and users with information and knowledge regarding national- and international affairs, in addition to culture and entertainment. Based on findings presented above, eight out of ten Syrian refugees use Norwegian media platforms on a regular basis; daily or several times per week (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). These Syrians' use of Norwegian media platforms has contributed positively to their integration processes in terms of language and knowledge of the Norwegian society and culture, but the Norwegian media's dissemination of Syrian refugees and Muslims has also given occasional motivational challenges when it comes to their integration into the Norwegian society (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). This chapter will elaborate upon how the media use of these ten Syrian refugees has contributed to their integration processes in three different contexts; language, society and culture.

Media Use and Language

As mentioned earlier, nine out of the ten Syrian refugees who participated in this study preferred to conduct the interviews in Norwegian, rather than English. This indicates that the nine Syrians in question are fairly integrated, as one of the most important factors when it comes to integration is learning the language. However, based on the collected material, there may be a

connection between these Syrians' media use and language skills. Some of the Syrians who have lived in Norway for a shorter amount of time, but use Norwegian media platforms on a more frequent basis, speak Norwegian very well. On the other hand, Syrians who have lived in Norway for a longer period of time, but do not use Norwegian media platforms as frequently, have more limited skills when it comes to the Norwegian language. Those who had most limited understanding of the Norwegian language stated that they did not comprehend English, and therefore chose interviews in Norwegian (Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018).

In the overview below, all ten Syrian refugees are considered by three different factors; how long they have been residents in Norway (not including their time in reception centres), the level of their Norwegian language skills based on the conversations during the interviews, and how frequently they use different Norwegian media platforms. Their language skills are divided into three levels; very limited, limited and advanced. Very limited indicates a lack of understanding of basic words and formulations in addition to difficulties with constructing comprehensible sentences. Limited indicates a fair understanding of the Norwegian language and the ability to lead a conversation, but with regular interruptions due to a lack of understanding of certain words, whereas advanced indicates a comprehensive understanding of the Norwegian language and the ability to lead and follow conversations with ease.

In terms of the category frequency of media use, the Syrians' use of Norwegian media platforms is also measured in three different levels. Hardly ever describes a use of Norwegian media platforms on very rare occasions; once per month or less. Weekly means use of Norwegian media platforms several times per week, and daily means a use of at least one Norwegian media platform once or several times per day. Use of Norwegian media platforms in this context does not include watching, reading or discussing media content in their Norwegian language courses; only how frequently they use Norwegian media platforms in their own time, as five of these Syrian refugees attend Norwegian courses and thus use Norwegian media platforms on a weekly basis (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 4-5, 2018; Interview 9-10, 2018). Therefore, only including media use in their own time, might give a clearer connection between Norwegian language skills and frequency of Norwegian media usage.

Number One

Norwegian residency: Two years

Language skills: Advanced

Frequency of media use: Daily

(Interview 1, 2018)

Number Two

Norwegian residency: Two years

Language skills: Very limited

Frequency of media use: Weekly

(Interview 2, 2018)

Number Three

Norwegian residency: Two years

Language skills: Advanced

Frequency of media use: Daily

(Interview 3, 2018)

Number Four

Norwegian residency: Three years

Language skills: Very limited

Frequency of media use: Hardly ever

(Interview 4, 2018)

Number Five

Norwegian residency: Two years

Language skills: Very limited

Frequency of media use: Hardly ever

(Interview 5, 2018)

Number Six

Norwegian residency: Two years

Language skills: Advanced

Frequency of media use: Daily

(Interview 6, 2018)

Number Seven

Norwegian residency: Three years

Language skills: Advanced

Frequency of media use: Daily

(Interview 7, 2018)

Number Eight

Norwegian residency: Two years

Language skills: Advanced

Frequency of media use: Daily

(Interview 8, 2018)

Number Nine

Norwegian residency: Four years

Language skills: Limited

Frequency of media use: Weekly

(Interview 9, 2018)

Number Ten

Norwegian residency: Two years

Language skills: Limited

Frequency of media use: Weekly

(Interview 10, 2018)

As this overview shows, the Syrian refugees who use Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis have a better understanding of the Norwegian language than those who use Norwegian media platforms on a weekly or monthly basis. For instance, Number Nine had lived in Norway for four years, used Norwegian media platforms on a weekly basis, but had limited knowledge

when it comes to the Norwegian language. In comparison, Number Six, who only had lived in Norway for one year, used Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis and spoke Norwegian fluently. Furthermore, Number Six used several Norwegian media platforms; most frequently radio, television and newspapers, while Number Nine only used television on occasion and followed Norwegian content on YouTube (Interview 6, 2018; Interview 9, 2018).

Another example of noticeable diversities between time of Norwegian residency, language skills and frequency of using Norwegian media platforms, is the differences between Number Four and Number Eight. As shown, Number Four had lived in Norway for three years, and had a very limited Norwegian vocabulary. Number Eight, however, had lived in Norway for two years and spoke Norwegian fluently. Number Four had most knowledge of Norwegian media platforms through Norwegian language courses, and used Norwegian media platforms once per month or less. As for Number Eight, he used several Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis and stated that Norwegian media has become a part of his every-day life. These platforms include television, radio, podcasts, newspapers and Norwegian content on social media platforms. He particularly singled out Norwegian television channels as great tools to learn the Norwegian language.

> Noe av det første jeg sa til faren min da vi flyttet hit, var at vi måtte se på norsk TV, så det kunne bli lettere for oss å lære norsk. Andre familier som jeg vet om ville fortsette med å bare se på arabisk TV selv om de bor i Norge, og det ble vanskeligere for dem å lære norsk. Å se på norsk TV har hjulpet meg masse med å lære norsk. (Interview 8, 2018)

Number Eight continued with explaining how watching English content on the television with Norwegian subtitles – or Norwegian content with English subtitles has helped him in his process of learning the Norwegian language in the earlier stages of his education (Interview 8, 2018).

Based on the collected material, it is found that the Syrian refugees who use Norwegian media platforms frequently are further developed when it comes to speaking – and understanding the Norwegian language, than those who use Norwegian media platforms on a less frequent basis (Interviews 1-10, 2018). This conclusion is however drawn from a limited collection of material, and further research is encouraged.

Media Use and Society

In addition to developing a better understanding of the Norwegian language, eight out of the ten Syrian refugees who provided material for this thesis stated that their use of Norwegian media platforms has also helped with their knowledge of – and integration into the Norwegian society (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Based on collected data, indications of the ten Syrian refugees' progresses of integrating into the Norwegian society were drawn from their status of employment and/or education with relevance to their contributions to the Norwegian society. Additionally, impressions of their insight of the Norwegian society was taken into consideration, with relevance as to how they use Norwegian media platforms as sources of comprehension. Henceforth, it was intended to find connections between use of Norwegian media platforms and integration-progress in the Norwegian society.

The five Syrian refugees who use Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis and have an advanced comprehension of the Norwegian language are also integrated in terms of contributing to the Norwegian society. Three of these Syrians had obtained full-time employment, while two attended a Norwegian upper secondary school with the intention of gaining qualifications for their career prospects within the Norwegian labour market (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018). These five Syrians all stated that they used Norwegian media platforms actively as tools to develop their integration processes, as soon as they had a sufficient enough understanding of the Norwegian language to comprehend parts of content published on Norwegian media platforms (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018). As their Norwegian language skills progressed to advanced levels, they stated that they continued to use Norwegian media platforms in order to develop their integration processes further, in addition to following Norwegian media content for personal interests (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018).

One of the five Syrians who are integrated in terms of contributing to the Norwegian society believed Norway to have a reliable and well-functioning media system in which provides comprehensive and accessible information, particularly when it comes to national affairs (Interview 8, 2018). Further, he stated that once he had learned the Norwegian language, using and following Norwegian media platforms increased his understanding of the Norwegian society continuously, as well as understanding the contribution expected of him as an immigrant (Interview 8, 2018). This point of view was shared by another Syrian refugee, who added that

using Norwegian media platforms had a great influence on his integration process when it came to knowledge concerning the Norwegian society (Interview 7, 2018).

It was found that five Syrian refugees have used Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis in order to expedite their integration processes when it comes to knowledge of the Norwegian society (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6-8, 2018). Based on material, these Syrians' integration processes may be regarded as progressed, as they had acquired substantial knowledge of the Norwegian society. Furthermore, they were in full-time employment or education and thereby contributed to the Norwegian society (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6-8, 2018).

The integration processes of the five remaining Syrian refugees may, in this context, be regarded as less progressed. In comparison to the other Syrian respondents, their familiarity with the Norwegian society was noticeably poorer, and as for integration in terms of contribution to the society, one out of the five was in part-time employment combined with Norwegian language courses (Interview 2, 2018; Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018). These Syrians are the respondents who used Norwegian media platforms on a weekly basis or less – and had, as presented above, a limited level of Norwegian language skills (Interview 2, 2018; Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018).

Another factor taken into consideration when it comes to media use and societal integration, is the Norwegian media's influence on the respondents' motivation or demotivation of progressing their integration processes. Henceforth, Syrian refugees' use of Norwegian media platforms was found to have an impact on their personal motivation when it comes to integrating into the Norwegian society (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018). Four respondents, of whom three were in progressed stages of integration, stated that the Norwegian media's framing of non-ethnic Norwegians, immigration and refugees contributed to their integration processes in terms of motivation (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018).

One positive and multiple negative perceptions were mentioned in this context, whereas the Norwegian media's positive influence on societal integration, was profiling of refugees immigrants and Norwegians with other ethnical backgrounds (Interview 3, 2018). According to a respondent who was fairly integrated in the Norwegian society, it was highly motivating

for him as a refugee to watch or read content that included fully integrated people with multicultural backgrounds, such as politicians and other non-ethnic Norwegians who received media-attention (Interview 3, 2018).

> Det er bra at norske medier viser innvandrere og flyktninger som kom til Norge for lenge siden. og som klarer seg så bra. De har blitt forbilder for oss, og skaper motivasjon til å bli sånn som dem. (Interview 3, 2018)

This statement shows that positive profiling of non-ethnic Norwegians within Norwegian media may lead to cases of motivation for refugees or immigrants when it comes to progress of integration.

As for negative contribution factors, three respondents shared the opinion that the Norwegian media has a tendency to relate news concerning refugees and immigration to challenges and liabilities for the Norwegian society (Interview 2, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018).

> De (Norwegian media platforms) burde bli flinkere til å fokusere på flyktninger og innvandrere som faktisk har jobbet for å lære seg norsk, få seg jobb og bli integrerte, i stedet for å fokusere på problemer rundt innvandring i Norge. Det er mer motiverende for meg å lese positive ting om andre innvandrere, og det er det nok for andre også. (Interview 7, 2018)

This relates to theories of how societies have challenges to overcome in terms of viewing refugees as "guests" who live in "host" countries, rather than residents with equal rights and responsibilities to the, for instance, ethnic Norwegian population (Karim, 2018: 15). Such societal perceptions of refugees may decrease refugees' integration processes, as "the integration of migrants is difficult to achieve without simultaneously nurturing their attachment to the new country (…)" (Karim, 2018: 15).

Such challenges concerning refugees and immigrants were more specifically identified by another Syrian refugee, who also found a lack of positive featuring within the Norwegian media when it comes to refugees, immigration and integration (Interview 8, 2018).

Jeg synes det er dumt at media fokuserer mye på flyktninger og innvandrere som bare sitter hjemme, og får det til å se ut som vi bare er en belastning for det norske samfunnet. Det er jo også mange av oss som jobber hardt for å lære oss språket, få oss jobb og som vil bidra, så jeg synes at media kunne skrevet mer om oss som faktisk vil bli integrerte. (Interview 8, 2018)

One respondent who was in the earlier stages of her integration process had also taken notice of the Norwegian media's alleged negative angling through reading Norwegian newspapers in her Norwegian language course. She exemplified with mentioning an article in which read that "(…) statistics showed that the most criminal people in Norway are those with immigrants' parents." (Interview 2, 2018)

In summary, differences were found between the progresses of societal integration of the Syrian refugees who use Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis and the Syrian refugees who use Norwegian media platforms on a weekly basis or less (Interviews 1-10, 2018). The Syrian refugees who used Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis were found to be at advanced stages of integration into the Norwegian society, while the Syrian refugees who used Norwegian media platforms on a weekly basis or less were found to be earlier stages of integrating into the Norwegian society (Interviews 1-10, 2018).

As for the findings relating to Norwegian media platforms' contribution to the respondents' integration processes when it comes to angling of refugees and immigration, these do not show to have had a significant influence on the Syrians' progress of societal integration. This claim is drawn from the fact that two out of the five Syrians who were at advanced stages of societal integration mentioned demotivating factors – and one singlehandedly mentioned motivating factors, while only one of the five Syrians who were at earlier stages of societal integration mentioned demotivating factors (Interviews 2-3, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018). Based on these findings, one may argue that frequent use of Norwegian media platforms does contribute to Syrian refugees' integration processes in the Norwegian society, and that Norwegian media's coverage of non-ethnic Norwegians, refugees and immigration may cause integrational motivation - or challenges for Syrian consumers. These findings are however based on a limited collection of material, and should be researched to a greater extent.

Media Use and Culture

The ten Syrian refugees who were established in the Norwegian society were in the process of integrating in terms of adapting to – and understanding Norwegian culture, in addition to language and society (Interviews 1-10, 2018). In this context, interpretations of *culture* will factor traditions, ethnicity, religion, community and norms. In relation to use of Norwegian media platforms and integration, eight out of the ten Syrian refugees stated that Norwegian media had given them perceptions of Norwegian culture, in addition to opinions as to how Norwegian media platforms disseminate Syrian or Muslim culture (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Based on collected material from these Syrian refugees, use of Norwegian media platforms was found to have both positive and negative contributions to their personal integration processes when it comes to culture; in terms of familiarising with Norwegian culture, as well as how Norwegian media platforms portray Syrian culture (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Indications as to how Syrian refugees' use of Norwegian media platforms contributes to cultural integration processes will be drawn from perceptions and experiences found in the collected material.

Eight out of the ten Syrians who provided material for this thesis stated that using Norwegian media platforms has increased their understanding of Norwegian culture (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Three of these Syrian refugees did not elaborate further than claiming that their use of Norwegian media platforms was beneficial in terms of their cultural integration, as they found Norwegian culture to be characterised to a great extent through the Norwegian media (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 7, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). According to two other Syrians, however, reading local newspapers (both printed and digital) was particularly beneficial in terms of cultural integration (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 6, 2018). They referred to their local newspapers as helpful tools in which they used to include themselves in their communities, and they were appreciative of how the local newspapers provided information regarding culture and society (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 6, 2018).

Another aspect of using Norwegian media platforms that was considered to be particularly helpful when it came to understanding of – and adaption to Norwegian culture, was the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK (Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interview 8, 2018; Interview 10, 2018). According to four Syrian refugees, NRK broadcasts content that disseminates Norwegian culture in terms of traditions, mainstream interests and community, in which helped them form clear perceptions of Norwegian culture (Interview 3, 2018; Interview

6, 2018; Interview 8, 2018; Interview 10, 2018). In relation to NRK's contribution to integration processes, one of these four Syrians mentioned the public service broadcaster's traditional coverage of the Norwegian Constitution Day, 17th of May (Interview 10, 2018).

> Jeg har for eksempel sett på sendingen fra 17. mai på TV, og sånne programmer hjelper meg med å forstå den norske kulturen bedre. Man får se hva slags klær folk bruker, hva de spiser og sånne ting. (Interview 10, 2018)

He also referred to NRK's broadcasting of the Norwegian King and Queen's gold wedding, which he found enlightening both in terms of Norwegian traditions and the Monarchy (Interview 10, 2018). This shows that using Norwegian media content could provide positive contributions for Syrian refugees' cultural integration processes.

One of the Syrian refugees who participated in this study claimed to have a clear perception of Norwegian culture, mainly thorough using NRK on a daily basis (Interview 6, 2018).

> Jeg hører på radio NRK P3 hver dag, også er jeg veldig glad i NRK's dokumentarer og serier, så jeg følger med på alt som går. (Interview 6, 2018)

He believed Norwegian media platforms – and especially NRK to have had a great contribution to his integration process when it comes to culture. However, he also regarded NRK's frequent profiling of immigrants and non-ethnic Norwegians as highly relevant in terms of his own – and other immigrants and refugees' cultural integration processes (Interview 6, 2018).

> Det er flere programmer som går på TV hvor programlederne er utenlandske menn eller kvinner, for eksempel *Faten tar valget, Flukt* og *Svart humor*, i tillegg til *SKAM* hvor Sana har hovedrollen. Jeg synes det er faktastisk at disse folkene blir inkludert i norsk media. (Interview 6, 2018)

Norwegian media's portrayal of Syrian – or similar to Syrian cultures are taken into consideration, as integration is claimed to be a two-way process: the process of an immigrant integrating into a foreign society, and a society's contribution to immigrants' integration processes (Takle, 2014). The programs mentioned in the quote above shows Syrian – or similar to Syrian cultures, which again shows Norwegian consumers traditions and values of refugees

and immigrants who have migrated to Norway – including Syrians. When presented from positive angles, media content that portrays strange cultures might contribute to familiarising the Norwegian society with Syrians and other immigrants, which may be beneficial when it comes to communal adaption both for the immigrant and the society (Interview 6, 2018).

On the other hand, some content regarding Syrian refugees, immigrants and Islam (Syria's main religion) published by Norwegian media was considered to have negative contributions to Syrian refugees' integration processes (Interview 3, 2018; Interview 7, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). When discussing possible negative factors within Norwegian media platforms when it came to integration, three Syrian refugees stated that media content with negative angling of Islam and immigration created a lack of motivation to progress their integration into the Norwegian society (Interview 3, 2018; Interview 7; Interview 9, 2018). The most demotivating factor found amongst these three Syrian refugees, was their perceptions of the Norwegian media's dissemination of Islam in relation to terrorist attacks and terrorist organisations such as the Islamic State (Interview 3, 2018; Interview 7; Interview 9, 2018).

> En negativ ting med norske medier, er måten de fremstiller muslimer på. De har en tendens til å generalisere alle muslimer, og det virker som om de glemmer at det er en forskjell på muslimer og ekstremister. Hvis jeg ser noe på nyhetene som får alle muslimer til å virke veldig strenge og til og med farlige, tenker jeg på hvor mange som sitter og hører på det samme, og da blir jeg lei meg og redd for at nordmenn skal tro at jeg er slem eller en dårlig person, bare fordi jeg er muslim. Det er ikke bare jeg som tenker sånn, og slik fremstilling av kulturen vår skaper mye fordommer. Det skaper usikkerhet, og kan gjøre ting vanskeligere når det kommer til integrering. (Interview 7, 2018)

This statement indicates that the Norwegian media might be a contributor to prejudice towards Muslims amongst the Norwegian population. Based on previous research and background (kilde), mass media has been found to broadcast terrorism and Muslim extremists to an unnecessarily great extent, which might cause fear or scepticism not only towards terrorism and the extremists, but also towards Muslims and Muslim culture. According to a Syrian refugee, more comprehensive coverage of Syrian refugees and other immigrants with focus on their backgrounds and positive aspects of their integration processes might decrease the experienced prejudice within the Norwegian population (Interview 9, 2018).

De (Norwegian media platforms) kunne dekt flere saker om flykntinger som får nordmenn til å forstå bedre hvorfor flyktninger kommer til Norge. Det virker som noen ikke skjønner at vi flykter fra krig. Mange flyktninger som kommer fra Syria hadde det veldig bra før krigen – vi er ikke fattige, men vi matte flykte fordi det ikke er trygt i Syria lenger. Det virker som om folk tror at vi bare kommer hit for å få penger, men det er ikke sånn. De (Norwegian media platforms) burde snake om hvordan vi hadde det før krigen, så nordmenn forstår hvordan vi hadde det. Det virker også som om mange tror at vi er IS (the Islamic State) fordi vi er flyktninger og muslimer, og det er ikke bra. Media burde vise at vi også er snille – at vi bare er flyktninger som kommer fra krig. Vi får hjelp her, så da vil vi hjelpe tilbake. (Interview 9, 2018)

Hence, material suggests that the Norwegian media should provide its audience and users with more information regarding Syrian refugees who are working towards integrating into the Norwegian society and their backgrounds. This in order to avoid stereotypical assumptions that associate all Muslims with terrorism amongst the Norwegian public.

Although such stereotypical ties and assumptions have caused motivational struggles when it comes to integration for three respondents, material fails to provide a context between the Norwegian media's alleged negative angling of Muslim culture that associates them with terrorism, and Syrian refugees' integration processes. Two out of the three respondents who were dissatisfied with how Norwegian media portrays Muslims when it comes to culture, were highly progressed in their integration processes, while one was at the earlier stages of his integration process, and these findings are diverse (Interview 3, 2018; Interview 7, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). One may, however, take the fact that the one respondent who was at earlier stages in his integration process had been a Norwegian resident for a longer period of time than the other two, into consideration (Interview 3, 2018; Interview 7, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). With this in mind, one may indicate that using Norwegian media platforms has had a consequently negative contribution on this one Syrians' integration process when it comes to culture (Interview 9, 2018).

5. Analysis and Discussion

This chapter will compare and discuss theories and empirical findings in relation to how Syrian refugees in Norway use Syrian, international and Norwegian media platforms, and how their media use contributes to their integration processes. It is both intended and expected to find both compliances and diversities between the theoretical and empirical material. In terms of media use and its contribution to Syrian refugees' integration processes, theories of diaspora, media and integration will be linked to compliances and diversities within the empirical findings. Additionally, theories of how the Western – and Norwegian mass media's dissemination of immigration and Islamist terrorism may lead to societal fear and prejudice towards Muslims will be linked to findings regarding respondents' perception of how the Norwegian media conveys such issues. The theoretical chapter also presented other scholars' theories regarding media use, and the Norwegian – and Syrian media systems. These theories will be taken into account when discussing how Syrian refugees in the Norwegian society use different media platforms.

5.1 Syrian Refugees' Media Use

How Syrian refugees in Norway use Syrian, international and Norwegian media platforms relate to both theoretical aspects and empirical findings. Theories of the Syrian – and Norwegian media systems will be taken into account when analysing findings of Syrian refugees' media use, as theories showed significant contrasts between the Syrian – and Norwegian media systems, especially in terms of reliability. Reliable Syrian media accounted for in the theoretical chapter, in addition to Syrian websites and social media platforms, are also included in the analysis of Syrian refugees' media use, and such media is referred to as unofficial Syrian media platforms. Additionally, due to both diversities and similarities in material, and high relevance to this thesis' research questions, Timmermans' (2018) findings of how Syrians in Sweden use Syrian – and Swedish media platforms will be emphasised.

Syrian Refugees' Media Use in Norway

It was found that five out of ten of the Syrian refugees in which this thesis' material is based on, mainly used Norwegian media platforms (Interviews 1-10, 2018). Four out of these five had a supplementing use of unofficial Syrian or international media platforms, while one only

used Norwegian media platforms (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018). Three out of ten respondents used unofficial Syrian and international media platforms with a supplementing use of Norwegian platforms (Interview 2, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018). The remaining two respondents solely used unofficial Syrian or international media platforms, and merely had affiliations to Norwegian media through Norwegian language courses (Interviews 4-5, 2018).

There are compliances with these ten Syrian refugees' media use and theoretical material regarding the Syrian– and Norwegian media. Theories stated by other scholars elaborated upon how the Syrian media system is embossed with publishing of unreliable information, propaganda wars between opposing parties and biased angling of content (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019). With this in mind, none out of the ten Syrian respondents used official Syrian media channels – or platforms (Interviews 1-10, 2018). It was emphasised by five respondents that official Syrian media is corrupt and produces invalid information with a significant lack of reliability (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018).

As for unofficial Syrian media platforms, collected material showed that eight out of ten respondents used media channels – and platforms in which publish reliable information from Syria. As accounted for in the theoretical chapter, such media platforms have been established; producing or broadcasting from Turkey or Syria to keep Syrians both within and outside Syria updated on events and disturbances in the war-embossed country (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019; Alasaad, 2018). In addition, respondents used pages on social media applications which publish information from the war in Syria (Interviews 1-10, 2018). Other international media platforms such as the Arabic channel Al-Jazeera were mentioned, as sources to Arabic content as well as sources to information from Syria (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018).

Theories present the Norwegian media system as reliable sources of information, with its press freedom and high levels of professionalisation (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hallin and Mancini, 2016; Enli et al., 2014). Norwegian media content is also to provide its audiences and users with content of quality and diversity (Enli et al., 2014). Accordingly, the respondents who had acquired advanced understandings of the Norwegian language all used Norwegian media platforms as their main sources of information and entertainment (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 6-8, 2018). Theoretical material also included the Norwegian media's

strong public service broadcaster NRK (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hallin and Mancini, 2016; Enli et al., 2014). This complies to material in empirical findings, as NRK was repeatedly mentioned by respondents (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 6-8, 2018). Particularly one respondent outlined NRK as a positive aspect of the Norwegian media, due to the channel's diversity in program content on both radio and television, and its multicultural approach (Interview 6, 2018).

Diversities and Compliances Between Syrians' Media Use in Norway and Sweden

As previously stated, five out of ten respondents of this study use Norwegian media platforms as their main sources of information and entertainment, and one out of these five respondents only uses Norwegian media platforms (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 6-8, 2018). These findings bear significant differences to Timmermans' (2018) study of how Syrians in Sweden use Syrian – and Swedish media platforms. As both Norway and Sweden are included in the Nordic media model and thereby have similar media systems, the differences between media habits of ten Syrian refugees in Norway and ten Syrians in Sweden should be accounted for (Enli et al., 2014; Timmermans, 2018).

Timmermans' (2018) ten Syrian respondents were found to use Swedish media platforms sporadically; one respondent used Swedish print media on a regular basis, and eight respondents used Swedish broadcast media on a regular basis (Timmermans, 2018: 59). Furthermore, Timmermans' (2018) respondents claimed to use Swedish media platforms with the sole purpose of accessing information from Syria. This differs to this thesis' findings, where eight out of ten Syrian refugees in Norway use Norwegian media platforms to obtain news of local, national and international affairs and entertainment as well as news from Syria (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Timmermans' (2018) respondents' media habits also differ to this thesis' respondents' media habits in terms of using official Syrian media platforms. Whereas none of the respondents of this thesis' research used official Syrian media platforms, Timmermans' respondents were as such found to use official Syrian media platforms – though with questioning of reliability (Timmermans, 2018).

Further, Timmermans' (2018) respondents were also found to question the reliability of Swedish media platforms, while none out of the ten Syrian refugees who responded to this thesis' research mentioned issues in relation to reliability within Norwegian media content (Interviews 1-10, 2018). Timmermans' (2018) Syrian respondents outlined Swedish media platforms' apparent political affiliations as a continuous problem in terms of relying on Swedish media content. Insufficient news coverage from Syria was however the most contributing factor to Timmermans' respondents limited interest in Swedish media platforms (Timmermans, 2018).

In terms of compliances between Timmermans' (2018) research on Syrians' media use in Sweden and this thesis' research on Syrian refugees' media use in Norway, the use of unofficial Syrian media platforms, websites and social media platforms were found in both research materials. As elaborated upon in the theory chapter, Timmermans (2018) Syrian respondents mainly used media platforms such as websites which publish reliable information from Syria and social media, with supplementing use of Swedish, Arabic – and official Syrian media platforms. Their use of such media included Syria-themed pages on platforms such as Facebook, in addition to use of applications to both maintain contact with friends and family in Syria and to access information about the war in Syria from direct sources (Timmermans, 2018: 60). As mentioned above, Timmermans' (2018) respondents preferred these media platforms to Swedish media platforms due to alleged insufficient coverage of news from Syria.

As for Syrian refugees' media use in Norway, eight out of ten respondents used unofficial Syrian media platforms and/or social media applications in addition to Norwegian media platforms (Interviews 1-10, 2018). As accounted for in the empirical findings chapter, two respondents listed a lack of updated information concerning the war in Syria and Syrian refugees in Norwegian media platforms as one of the reasons for using unofficial Syrian media platforms (Interview 6, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). This indicates that Syrians in both Sweden and Norway have limited access to news in regard to Syria and Syrian refugees through Swedish – and Norwegian media platforms.

Summary

Syrian refugees who have settled in the Norwegian society use Syrian, international – and Norwegian media platforms with both compliance and diversity to the theoretical aspects outlined in chapter 2 - theories show contrasts between the official Syrian – and Norwegian media systems, particularly in terms of reliability. This reflects upon collected material, where it was found that none out of ten Syrian respondents use official Syrian media platforms. Furthermore, eight out of ten respondents used Norwegian media platforms on a weekly or daily basis, in compliance to theories of the Norwegian media system's producing of accurate quality information.

Theories also showed that reliable, unofficial Syrian media platforms have been established, and Timmermans' (2018) ten respondents, as well as eight out of the ten respondents of this thesis use such media platforms. Both respondent groups used such media platforms as they found a lack of sufficient coverage from Syria within Swedish – and Norwegian media platforms. As for social media applications, Timmermans' (2018) used such applications to maintain contact with friends and family who still live in Syria, and to receive news from Syria through their personal networks. Use of social media with similar purposes was also found in this thesis' material, as multiple respondents had family and friends located in Syria (Interviews 1-10, 2018).

5.2 Syrian Refugees, Media Use and Integration

Theories elaborated upon in relation to how Syrian refugees' media use contributes to their integration processes in the Norwegian society, include theories of diaspora and media dissemination of immigration, Islam and terrorism. Henceforth, this thesis' empirical findings regarding how the ten respondents' media use contributed to their personal integration processes will be analysed with the intention of discussing contexts, compliances and diversities in terms of the theoretical aspects.

Diaspora

The concept *diaspora* was not directly accounted for when collecting material from the ten Syrian respondents, or in the empirical findings. This, as discussing these Syrian refugees' sense of belongings to diasporic, Syrian – or Norwegian communities was considered sensitive, and thereby the collected material in regard to the respondents' integration processes was based solely on their media use and their perceptions of Norwegian media platforms. Nevertheless, collected material and empirical findings showed indications of contexts with Karim's (2018) and Timmermans' (2018) theories of diaspora and integration, and these will be included in this analysis.

As elaborated upon in the theoretical chapter, diaspora – or the scattering of nationalities revolves around an immigrant's integration into a receiving society and the extent to their sense of belonging within communities (Karim, 2018). Relevant aspects of diaspora in relation to this thesis would include whether the ten Syrian respondents sensed belongings to Norwegian – or Syrian communities. Factors that may relate findings to theories of diaspora and integration include respondents' affiliation to Norwegian media platforms, progress of integrating into the Norwegian society and indications of respondents' personal networks.

In terms of Syrian refugees' media use, integration and sense of belonging in Norway, Timmermans' (2018) research of Syrians in Sweden, media use and diaspora is again relevant. As mentioned, Timmermans' (2018) ten respondents had limited interests in Swedish media platforms, whereas eight out of ten Syrian refugees in Norway use Norwegian media platforms with various interests on a weekly or daily basis (Interviews 1-10, 2018). With this in mind, Timmermans (2018) also found that only two out of her ten respondents felt Swedish-Syrian, while the remaining eight solely felt Syrian. While empirical findings of this thesis do not include whether respondents perceive themselves as Syrian or Syrian-Norwegian, findings regarding the respondents' media use and progress of integration may be of significance when it comes to their sense of belonging within the Norwegian society.

Accordingly, the fact that eight out of ten respondents use multiple Norwegian platforms on a regular basis, indicates that these eight Syrian refugees have an interest in the Norwegian society, as mass media disseminates societal matters to a great extent (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018; Street, 2011). These eight Syrian refugees use Norwegian media platforms as a tool to develop their understanding of the Norwegian language, and thereby

actively and independently learn to communicate better in Norwegian. Alongside the majority of interest in Norwegian media platforms amongst the respondents, this may indicate that these eight Syrian refugees either feel – or strive to feel a sense of belonging within the Norwegian society.

Karim's (2018: 9) theories of diaspora and "layering" of immigrants claims that the extent to which an immigrant is connected to a diasporic community depends mainly on three factors: period of arrival, progress of integration into the receiving society and the maintenance of contact with their country of origin, in addition to other parts of the diaspora. In relation to this claim, the ten Syrian refugees of which this thesis' material and findings are based on, arrived in Norway between 2014 and 2016 (Interviews 1-10, 2018). As the interviews took place between January 2018 and September 2018, these ten Syrian refugees had been Norwegian inhabitants from two and up to four years at the time material was collected.

As for the factor progress of integration, it was found that five out of the ten Syrian refugees are highly integrated into the Norwegian society in terms of employment/education and Norwegian language skills, in addition to significant affiliations to Norwegian media platforms and the Norwegian society (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 6-8, 2018). Out of these five Syrian refugees, three had entered the Norwegian labour market in terms of full-time employment, while two were attending full-time education institutions (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 6-8, 2018). These findings, in which were elaborated upon in empirical findings, may indicate that these five Syrian refugees have a sense of belonging to the Norwegian society. This, as they speak the Norwegian language and thereby can communicate with Norwegians in their communities and create networks at their places of employment or education. Additionally, as mentioned above, these five Syrian refugees' daily use of Norwegian media platforms indicates both an interest for – and knowledge of the Norwegian society.

When it comes to the ten Syrian refugees' maintenance of contact with a diasporic community, findings are limited. There is however material in which may indicate that a selection of these Syrian refugees have a sense of belonging to Syrian communities – both within Norway and in Syria (Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 7-10, 2018). Four respondents use unofficial Syrian – or international media platforms on a daily basis to follow the conflict in Syria, as their family and/or friends live in Syria (Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018).

They also use social media applications to maintain contact with family and friends in Syria. Out of these four respondents, two have no affiliation to Norwegian media platforms, and very limited understandings of the Norwegian language (Interviews 4-5, 2018). Based on these findings, one may indicate that these two respondents sense of belonging within Syrian communities in Norway and to diasporic communities within Syria, although no such statements were found in material to verify this indication.

As for the remaining two respondents who use unofficial Syrian media platforms and Arabic media platforms on a daily basis, they also used Norwegian media platforms on a regular basis and had a fair understanding of the Norwegian language (Interviews 9-10, 2018). These two respondents also specified that they use unofficial Syrian/Arabic media platforms and social media applications to follow the conflict in Syria to the greatest extent and to maintain contact with family in Syria (Interviews 9-10, 2018). Henceforth, these findings suggest that these Syrian refugees belong to both Norwegian communities and diasporic Syrian communities. Neither these two respondents accounted for their senses of belonging to communities, but based on their media use and their developed understanding of the Norwegian language, one may assume that their sense of belonging lie within both a Norwegian – and diasporic Syrian community.

Norwegian Media's Dissemination of Immigration, Islam and Terrorism

Out of the ten Syrian refugees of which this thesis' material and findings are based on, eight had developed understandings of the Norwegian language to which they could fully or partially comprehended content broadcasted and published on Norwegian media platforms (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Seven out of these eight respondents had perceptions of how Norwegian media platforms disseminate issues regarding immigration, Islam or integration, and how these disseminations contribute to their integration processes. As accounted for in the theoretical chapter, Norwegian media platforms have been found to convey issues of immigration and Islam from problem-perspectives (Retriever, 2017; Retriever, 2016). In compliance to these theories, respondents found negative contribution factors to their progress of integration within the Norwegian society within the Norwegian media's dissemination of immigration, Islam and terrorism (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018).

As accounted for in empirical findings, Syrian refugees found the Norwegian media's negative dissemination of immigration and Islam to be demotivating factors in terms of their integration processes (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Retriever's (2016 and 2017) findings concerning Norwegian media's coverage of immigration and Islam build upon these eight respondents' perceptions. Negative aspects within Norwegian media's coverage found by respondents included connecting immigration to crime and challenges within the Norwegian society, rather than resources (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 8, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). Accordingly, Retriever found that eleven percent of immigration coverage in Norwegian print – and digital newspapers feature crime in 2017 (Retriever, 2017: 10). In this context, eleven percent equal the third most featured immigration-related issue in Norwegian print – and digital newspapers in 2017, after asylum seekers and refugees, and religion (Retriever, 2017: 10).

When it comes to Islam, Retriever's report of Islam in Norwegian media from 2016 found that Islam was frequently covered on Norwegian media platforms, and four Syrian respondents perceived Norwegian media platforms to contribute to prejudice towards Muslims in the Norwegian society (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 7, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). The factor that was most touched upon by respondents in this context, was the Norwegian media's said frequent featuring of Islamist terrorism (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 7, 2018; Interview 9, 2018). This also complies to theories accounted for in the theoretical chapter, where it is stated that Western mass media's comprehensive coverage of Islamist terrorism result in in fear and prejudice towards Muslims (Kaiter, 2015; Freedman and Thussu, 2012). As Kaiter (2015: 431) states, the mass media are powerful in terms of "shaping images, attitudes and perceptions", and thereby media coverage of Islamist terrorism effects audiences and users' perceptions of individuals who practice Islam.

Furthermore, as cited in empirical findings, one Syrian refugee stated his concern in how the Norwegian population may generalise Muslims as extremists or terrorists when subjected to Norwegian media's printed or broadcasted coverage of Islamist terrorism (Interview 7, 2018). As such, the Norwegian media's dissemination of Islamist terrorism may be considered as a negative contributor in terms of Syrian refugees' integration process into the Norwegian society.

Summary

In terms of contexts between theoretical aspects and empirical findings of how Norwegian media platforms contribute to Syrian refugees' integration processes, it was found that respondents' use of Norwegian and Syrian media platforms may indicate whether they have a sense of belonging to Syrian, Norwegian – or diasporic communities. Respondents who use Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis suggest an interest in the Norwegian society, in addition to their having developed fair to advanced understandings of the Norwegian language. Interest in their receiving society, in addition to their active employment or education status and highly progressed integration, indicate a possible sense of belonging within a Norwegian community.

As for respondents who use unofficial Syrian media platforms on a frequent or daily basis, in addition to Norwegian media platforms on a frequent basis, one may suggest that these respondents have sense of belongings to both a diasporic Syrian community and to a Norwegian community. Respondents who have no affiliations to Norwegian media platforms however, may be regarded as feeling, as put by Timmermans (2018), "Syrian-Syrian", rather than Norwegian-Syrian. Additionally, there is a great possibility of respondents who maintain contact with networks in Syria sensing belongings to diasporic Syrian communities (Karim, 2018). Although there is no specific material in relation to diaspora, maintenance of contact with networks in country of origin and progress of integration are important factors when it comes do discussing immigrants' sense of belongings within their receiving societies (Karim, 2018). Therefore, it is assumed that respondents who were progressed in their integration processes a sense of belonging to a Norwegian community, and vice versa.

Process of integration in terms of the Norwegian media's dissemination of immigration, Islam and terrorism showed compliances between theories and findings. Theories accounted for the Norwegian media's frequent featuring of immigration and Islam in the years 2016 and 2017, where coverage of immigration often had negative angling, and where Islam was found to be related to crime and terrorism (Retriever, 2017; Retriever, 2016). Material showed that respondents had negative perceptions of content regarding issues of immigration and Islam published or broadcasted on Norwegian media platforms. It was also found that the Norwegian media's negative angling of immigration and dissemination of Islamist terrorism were contributing factors to respondents' occasional lack of motivation to integrate into the

Norwegian society. Thereby, Syrian refugees' use of Norwegian media platforms may both progress and limit their integration processes.

6. Conclusion

This chapter will attempt to draw valid conclusions based on theoretical material, empirical findings and analyses in relation to this thesis' research questions. Conclusions will consequently be drawn in terms of the three separate research questions:

- How do Norwegian-based Syrian refugees use Syrian or international media platforms?
- How do Syrian refugees in Norway use Norwegian media platforms?
- How does Syrian refugees' media use contribute to their integration processes in the Norwegian society?

Potential conclusions bear however limitations in forms of confined extensiveness in which effects reliability. As empirical findings and analyses are founded on responses from ten Norwegian-based Syrian refugees, conclusions are reliable in terms of perceptions from these ten Syrian refugees. Compliances between theoretical material and empirical findings strengthen reliability and validity of conclusions, but supplementary respondents would be acquired in order to draw final conclusions. Ability to generalise findings and conclusions is also limited due to shortage of material. Indications and assumptions to be drawn are based on the same limited research material, and are therefore up for further discussion. Thereby, any indications, assumptions – or conclusions to be drawn are encouraged for further – and more extensive and comprehensive research.

6.1 How Norwegian-Based Syrian Refugees Use Syrian or International Media Platforms

Studies show that official Syrian media platforms are considered unreliable, as printed press, FM networks, broadcast channels and digital media platforms are controlled and censored by the Assad-regime (Trombetta and Pinto, 2019; CFI, 2015). According to material and empirical findings, none out of the ten Syrian refugees who responded to this research use official Syrian media platforms (Interviews 1-10, 2018). Respondents declared their distrust in content produced by official Syrian media institutions, and reasoned their boycott with factors such as corruption, censoring and biased reporting (Interview 2, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interviews 6-8, 2018). Thereby, Syrian refugees in Norway do not use official Syrian media platforms due to unreliability, and this conclusion is drawn in compliance to theoretical material.

As for unofficial Syrian – and international media platforms, eight out of ten respondents use unofficial Syrian – and international media in forms of websites, social media and broadcast channels media either solely or as a supplement to their use of Norwegian media platforms (Interviews 2-7, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018). These Syrian refugees use unofficial Syrian media platforms in order to access reliable news coverage of the conflict in Syria, and Arabic broadcast television for both information – and entertainment purposes (Interviews 2-7, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018). Syrian refugees with friends and family remaining in Syria use social media application to maintain contact and ensure their safety (Interviews 4-5, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018).

Two respondents only use pages social media platforms with updated content from the conflict in Syria in terms of unofficial Syrian – or international media platforms (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 8, 2018). This as a supplement of information regarding the Syrian civil war in addition to the Norwegian media's news coverage of the ongoing conflict. This concludes that Syrian refugees in Norway find Norwegian media coverage of the war in Syria to be insufficient.

6.2 How Syrian Refugees in Norway Use Norwegian Media Platforms

The majority of Syrian refugees in Norway use Norwegian media platforms on a weekly or daily basis (Interviews 1-10, 2018). Three respondents use different Norwegian media platforms on a weekly basis, five on a daily basis, and two respondents do not use Norwegian media platforms (Interviews 1-10, 2018). Media platforms accounted for include print newspapers, digital newspapers, broadcast television, digital television, radio and podcasts (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Syrian refugees use these Norwegian media platforms for information, entertainment – and educational purposes (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018).

Scholars have categorised the Norwegian media system within the Democratic Corporatist Model, the Nordic Model and the Media Welfare State (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hallin and Mancini, 2016; Enli et al., 2014). These media models and the Media Welfare state have pillars including journalistic professionalisation, freedom of the press and quality – and diversity in media content (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Enli et al., 2014). Thus, one may indicate that the

majority of Syrian refugees in Norway use Norwegian media platforms frequently due to the reliability of the Norwegian media system, in addition to range and quality of media content on different platforms.

6.3 How Syrian Refugees' Media Use Contributes to their Integration Processes

There is an assumed connection between Syrian refugees' use of Norwegian media platforms and their progress of integrating into the Norwegian society. This assumption is founded on the five Syrian refugees who use Norwegian media platforms on a daily basis, as they were observed to be considerably integrated into the Norwegian society in terms of language, contribution to – and knowledge of society, and understanding of culture (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 3, 2018; Interview 6, 2018; Interviews 7-8, 2018).

The Syrian refugees who used Norwegian media platforms on a weekly basis were noticeably less progressed in their integration processes, particularly in terms of language (Interviews 2, 2018; Interviews 9-10, 2018). One out of these three respondents contributed to the Norwegian society in terms of part time employment (Interview 9, 2018), while all three Syrian refugees showed to have some insight in the Norwegian society – and culture.

The two remaining Syrian refugees who did not use Norwegian media platforms were the least progressed in terms of integration into the Norwegian society out of the total ten respondents (Interviews 4-5, 2018). This statement is built on their poor Norwegian language skills, lack of awareness of Norwegian media content on all platforms, no shown insight of Norwegian society – or culture, and possible strong attachments to diasporic – and Syrian communities (Interviews 4-5, 2018; Karim, 2018). These findings and observations provide base for assuming that Syrian refugees' use of Norwegian media platforms progresses their integration processes.

As for Syrian refugees' personal perceptions of how their media use contributes to their integration processes, assumptions, indications and conclusions are based on the eight Syrian refugees who use Norwegian media platforms with compliance to theories. All eight respondents stated that use of Norwegian media platforms was a great contributor in terms of developing their Norwegian language skills (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018).

Furthermore, these eight Syrian refugees used Norwegian media platforms actively to gain insight of Norwegian society and culture (Interviews 1-3, 2018; Interviews 6-10, 2018). Hence, Norwegian media platforms may be used by Syrian refugees as a contributor to their knowledge of the Norwegian society and culture, and thereby progress their integration processes.

Nevertheless, Norwegian media's angling of issues concerning immigration and Islam and featuring of Islamist terrorism are negative contributors to Syrian refugees' integration processes in the Norwegian society. This statement is based on perceptions from six out of the eight Syrian refugees who use Norwegian media platforms, and complying theories (Interviews 2-3, 2018; Interviews 7-10, 2018). Retriever's reports from 2016 and 2017 showed that Norwegian print – and digital newspapers frequently feature issues of immigration and Islam with negative perspectives.

Syrian refugees in Norway find such negative perspectives to be demotivating factors in terms of their personal integration processes (Interviews 2-3, 2018; Interviews 7-10, 2018). In addition to exaggerated coverage of Islamist terrorism, negative angling of immigration and Islam contribute to prejudice towards Muslims (Kaiter, 2015; Freedman and Thussu, 2012). Therefore, Syrian refugees' use of Norwegian media platforms is a negative contributor to their integration processes in this context.

6.4 Future Research

The research questions of this thesis, as well as drawn conclusions, assumptions and indications, are encouraged for further studying. Suggested future studies includes approaching a larger group of Syrian respondents, which would provide improved abilities to generalise hypothetical findings, in addition to strengthening reliability of material.

Additionally, as accounted for in previous chapters, the ten Syrian refugees who participated in this study had been Norwegian residents for time periods between two and four years when interviews were conducted. Suggested future studies therefore also includes selecting Syrian refugees who have been Norwegian inhabitants for longer periods of time as respondents. This, as their integration processes could be more progressed, and as they would be more familiar with use of Norwegian media platforms.

Finally, further research is encouraged on Syrian refugees' perceptions of Norwegian media's dissemination of issues regarding immigration. Such research is suggested to be based on material collected at a time when the war in Syria has come to an end, as immigration then might not be as central in Norwegian media. Would the majority of immigration issues featured in Norwegian media still be angled with problem-perspectives? Would Syrian refugees in Norway still be subject to this negative angling and find them to be unmotivating factors in terms of their progressing their integration processes? These questions are advised to be taken into consideration within future research prospects.

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7.2 Attachment 1: Approval of Research from NSD

NSD

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Vår dato: 18.08.2017   Vår ref: 55113 / 3 / LB   Deres dato: Deres ref:

Tilbakemelding på melding om behandling av personopplysninger

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 12.07.2017.
Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

55113	*Medier og integrering*
	Innholdet kommer til å handle om hvordan syriske innvandrere i Norge opplever/bruker norske medier som integreringsverktøy
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Universitetet i Oslo, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Knut Lundby*
Student	*Helle Svanevik*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 20.05.2018, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Dersom noe er uklart ta gjerne kontakt over telefon.

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren

                                        Lene Christine M. Brandt

Kontaktperson: Lene Christine M. Brandt tlf: 55 58 89 26 / lene.brandt@nsd.no
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Helle Svanevik, helle_svanevik@hotmail.com

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Formålet med prosjektet er å få en indikator på hvordan syriske flyktninger i Norge bruker norske medier i forhold til syriske og internasjonale medier, og hvordan deres mediebruk og oppfatning av norske medier påvirker integreringsprosessen deres.

Ved rekruttering via eget nettverk er det spesielt viktig at forespørsel rettes på en slik måte at frivilligheten ved deltagelse ivaretas. Vi anbefaler at en eventuell kontaktperson videreformidler kontakten/informasjonen om prosjektet på vegne av student, og at interesserte informanter blir bedt om å ta kontakt direkte med student. Slik legges det opp til at informantene rekrutterer seg selv. Alternativt må kontaktperson, i forkant, klarere med flyktningene at deres kontaktinformasjon kan videreformidles til student.

Utvalget informeres skriftlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet, såfremt avsnittet om publisering av personopplysninger omskrives noe da informantene skal være anonyme i publikasjoner, jf. telefonsamtale med Helle Svanevik 17.08.2017. Vi foreslår at avsnittet bare erstattes av en formulering om at ingen vil være gjenkjennbar i publikasjoner.

Det behandles sensitive personopplysninger om etnisk bakgrunn eller politisk/filosofisk/religiøs oppfatning.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger Universitetet i Oslo sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på privat pc/mobile enheter, bør opplysningene krypteres tilstrekkelig.

Forventet prosjektslutt er 20.05.2018. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres. Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å:
- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)
- slette digitale lydopptak

7. 2 Attachment 2

Participation Request for Research Project

"Media and Integration: Syrian Refugees in the Norwegian Society"

Background and Purpose

This research project is a master thesis in Media Studies at the University of Oslo, which aims to investigate the relationship between integration of Syrian refugees in Norway, and the Norwegian media. The current research question is as follows: How do Syrian refugees use the different Norwegian media channels, and how does their media use contribute to their integration process in the Norwegian society?

In order to answer this question, I plan to conduct in-depth interviews with Syrian refugees who have lived in Norway long enough to have gained an understanding of Norway's media channels.

What does the participation in this study mean?

Participation in this study means agreeing to a qualitative in-depth interview. The interview will be recorded and transcribed, and the results will be published in the master thesis.

What happens to the information about you?

All personal information will be kept confidential. Only my supervisor and I will have access to personal information, and the information will be stored as documents on the researcher's laptop.

The interview subjects will be identified by numbers when personal information is stored on the researcher's laptop, and the name list connecting names to numbers will be stored separately from the number list and other personal information.

The participants in this project will not be directly recognised from the publication of the master thesis. Only information about age, male/female and opinions/habits regarding the Norwegian media and integration will be published.

The project is planned to be finished in May 2018. When the project is finished and published, the recordings will be deleted and notes and transcriptions will be made anonymous.

Voluntary Participation

It is voluntary to participate in this project, and you can withdraw your consent at any time without presenting a reason. If you wish to withdraw, all information about you will be made anonymous.

If you wish to participate or if you have questions regarding the study, please contact Helle Svanevik (95949089).

The study is reported to Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD –Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS.

Consent to Participating in the Study

I have received information about the study, and I am willing to participate.

(Signed by project participant, date)