

# Towards a Differentiated Integration: What is Missing from Somali Integration in Norway?

Matilde Hekne

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the integration of Somalis in Norway, pointing out how Somalis are allegedly worse integrated than other groups of immigrants in Norway. The thesis examines why this may be and what factors affect Somali integration in Norway. The study is based on a content analysis of government documents regarding integration strategies in Norway and five podcast episodes featuring people of Somali origin. The results from the content analysis is related to the chosen theoretical approaches; Kymlicka's group-differentiated rights based on multiculturalism, Song's work on multiculturalism, and Taylor's 'Politics of Recognition'.

The major conclusion drawn from the thesis is that due to the divergences in culture, religion, language, reason for migrating, ethnicity, etc., the Somali's have not managed to be integrated as well as other immigrant groups. Therefore, the thesis suggests a focus on 'Differentiated Integration', an integration strategy that recognizes the differences amongst immigrants in order to make the integration strategy suitable for different groups.

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# Towards a Differentiated Integration: What is Missing from Somali Integration in Norway?

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Immigrant integration is a key concept to discuss in a globalizing world where borders are becoming blurred and where people are constantly on the move. Integration is vital both to the state accepting non-nationals and to the immigrants themselves. Integration is important not only because of cosmopolitan values that require that we should treat people equally regardless of what their nationality is, but also because every nation has a responsibility to look beyond citizenship in order to protect and provide rights to every citizen that lives in their territory (Erskine, 2007). Immigration also has benefits for the nation accepting the immigrants, in terms of increase and diversification of workforce and how the international community views this nation.

There are numerous challenges that are brought up when discussing the phenomenon of integration, who is the responsible party, what consequences does integration have for terrorism and right-wing extremism, what countries or regions have proven to be better at integrating immigrants and which role there is for a plethora of different actors with different stakes. As Entzinger points out, a failure to integrate immigrants into the receiving country can lead to “discrimination, social exclusion and the rise of racism and xenophobia.” (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003, p.4). With such dire consequences it is therefore puzzling what can cause integration to fail and, moreover, how different agents judge when integration has failed, that is: what criteria are applied in order to measure the success or failure of integration.

An important aspect of integration which Entzinger brings up is the fact that cultural differences between immigrants and the receiving country do not disappear during the integration process and they may even be reinforced and lead to negative consequences, such as those mentioned above (Entzinger &

Biezeveld, 2003). Therefore, it is important to take note not only of the cultural differences between the immigrants and the native population, but also of the cultural differences between all the different immigrant groups and to be aware of what measures governments take to address these differences, if any measures at all. The problem this thesis wishes to examine is how one of these different groups integrate in a different way in the same setting and how the various actors involved in the process measure the success or failure of integration.

One commonly used reference point for measuring the success of integration is employment. The OECD presented an analysis in 2005, in which the three Scandinavian countries scored lowest on immigrant employment and general economic integration (Jakobsen et al., 2019, pp.305–328). Considering how these countries generally have high standards of living, it is interesting to examine why they allegedly have not succeeded with such integration as well as the other members of OECD have (Jakobsen et al., 2019, pp.305–328). The authors of the report describe Norway's integration policy as a mixture or a middle ground between the Swedish and the Danish integration policies (Jakobsen et al., 2019, pp.305–328). Thus, Norway provides an interesting case study as it serves as a combination/representation of the Scandinavian integration policies.

The group chosen in order to examine how well integration efforts have succeeded or not in Norway are first – and second-generation refugees from Somalia. Somalis are the fifth largest immigrant group in Norway and the second largest non-western immigrant group (IMDI, 2020). This group was chosen for this research due to their size and presence in Norway and their comparatively and allegedly worse integration compared to other immigrant groups. Statistics show that Somalis in Norway struggle with work opportunities, housing, education, and economy (Husøy, et al., 2017). For example, when comparing Somalis against immigrants as a single group, or against Afghans and Iranians in Norway, Somalis score noticeably lower on employment, a commonly used measurement of integration. Whereas Afghans, Iranians, and immigrants as a whole score above 50 percent, Somalis score under 40 percent (Næsheim, 2016). Somalis also

score highest on lack of education amongst these groups (Næsheim, 2016). There are several more similar statistics, which further underline a negative record for Somalis integration in Norway.

While the evidence show Somalis are less integrated than other immigrant groups, there is also another interesting aspect of Somali integration in Norway. Somalis report to be the most satisfied group in respect to their lives and living situations despite the abovementioned negative statistics (Husøy et al., 2017). Despite a possible bias in self-reporting, this paradox points to a neglected challenge, namely how integration or satisfaction is understood and evaluated across different cultural, religious, and ethnic groups/communities. Thus, the inspiration for this thesis is drawn from a dissonance between measured integration by state agencies and perceived integration by the immigrants themselves.

The research question thus becomes:

*What factors influence the integration of Somali immigrants in Norway?*

In other words, I wish to answer how integration is conceptualized and measured and who is considered responsible for it according to the perspective of, on one hand, - the state and, on the other, Somalis themselves. First and foremost, though, the thesis sets out to explore what factors may help to understand why Somalis reportedly are worse integrated than other immigrant groups in Norway. These issues have been chosen as there is a gap in the research on integration in terms how immigrant groups perceive of and comply with official integration goals, including the differences between various groups of immigrants in this respect.

### 1.1.Literature review and theory

To tackle the research question, I examine some of the substantial research on integration and the central theoretical approaches to the integration of various immigrant groups. One crucial challenge to address is the conceptualization of ‘successful’ versus ‘unsuccessful’ integration. To do this, I examine how previous

literature has conceptualized integration and, in particular, how it has proposed to measure it.

The thesis takes issue with classical assimilation theory, which assumes a linear integration process, and adopts specific views of where the responsibility of integration should fall (Lee, 2009, pp.730–744). Integration can arguably not be discussed without reference to assimilation theories, as this has continuously been the mainstream approach. In Schneider and Crul’s wording assimilation means the “referent to which immigrants and/or their offspring can become *similar*.” (Schneider & Crul, 2010, p.1144). One example related to assimilation is evident in the relevance of language for integration, in as much as language acquisition is continuously brought up as one of the key factors of ‘successful’ integration (Hamberger, 2009, pp.2–21). Therefore, the element of language will be a focus in the analysis of the chosen material and I will explore whether language acquisition has been a factor in the integration of Somalis in Norway.

The school that opposes assimilation theories, points at cultural distinctiveness as a parameter of integration and involves theories of multiculturalism, identity politics, and the politics of recognition (Song, 2020). Multiculturalism is essential when discussing integration as it deals with the cultural aspects of integration, namely "how to understand and respond to the challenges associated with religious and cultural diversity" (Song, 2018). It highlights that there are challenges to integration due to different cultural, political, racial, language, economic, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. With integration policies based on the logic of multiculturalism, the cultural and religious diversities between the minorities and majorities are handled in such a way that the groups do not lose these diversities yet can still be integrated in a satisfactory and mutually beneficial manner. Moreover, also important to this thesis is Kymlicka's concept of 'group-differentiated rights', which sheds light on the importance of recognizing and accommodating the diversities of different minority groups and not placing all minority groups in the same box (Song, 2020). Some multicultural theorists propose that; “mere toleration of group differences falls short of treating members

of minority groups as equals; what is required is recognition and positive accommodation of minority group practices through group-differentiated rights.” (Song, 2020). Therefore, identity politics, the politics of difference and the politics of recognition play a central role for this thesis which is focused on the impact of culture on immigrant integration.

Sarah Song’s research on immigration, trust and collective self-determination is also central here as it examines the challenges of trust between the state and the individuals being integrated in the state (Song, 2018). Song offers a useful analysis of how to balance the ethic of membership with the ethic of universalism. Moreover, she introduces the concept of associative obligations which is useful in the discussion of integration as it raises questions over what responsibilities we have towards other members of the group (Song, 2018). The concept opens a debate on whether the individual has been properly integrated in a way that she/he has obligations towards others and that others have obligations towards the individual. Additionally, Song makes the claim that the agent of collective self-determination is “a people” unlike traditional nationalists who would claim the agent is the nation (Song, 2018). The idea of collective self-determination enriches the discussion on integration because it highlights who are considered members of “a people” and therefore encompass the rights involved in governing the state and being a member of that group.

Also strongly associated to multiculturalism and identity politics is the politics of recognition. The politics of recognition is important when examining integration, since it deals with identity formations and how individuals or groups must recognize others’ identities to be able to recognize their own. (Taylor, 1994). Taylor states there is both a need and a demand for a politics of recognition: the need arises from the fact that nationalist movements have become “one of the driving forces in politics”, and the demand focuses on the cultural claims of minority groups (1994, p.25). This thesis will focus on the ‘need’ for a politics of recognition – since we are dealing with an integration policy led by a right-wing

government, – and the ‘demand’ for recognition raised by a minority group with very distinct cultural traits compared to the host country (Somalis in Norway).

### 1.2. Methodology and Material

To approach the issues at hand, an approach that includes both qualitative and quantitative features has been chosen. Firstly, I apply content analysis to the main government documents regarding integration in Norway. Analysing the relevant government documents will be conducted in order to draw out the most important elements and norms animating state integration policies, and to offer a measure of comparison to the Somali perspectives on integration. The part examining the government documents will examine the state’s conceptualization and means of measuring integration in hopes of extracting their main goals and considerations. The three documents that will be analysed are; the government’s integration plan for 2019-2022 (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2018), a report on the introduction programme (Bråten et al., 2017), and a statement to the parliament (deposit report) titled “from asylum-camp to working life – an efficient integration politics” (Det Kongelige Justis – og Beredskapsdepartementet, 2016). These policies and reports include the key principles and focus of the Norwegian integration strategy.

Furthermore, I will categorize and analyse a podcast series consisting of five episodes where Somali immigrants talk about their experiences of integration in Norway (Jahr, 2019). The series of podcast episodes were recorded in December 2019 and was produced by NRK, the largest broadcasting service in Norway. The podcasts are a way to get a deeper view into integration from a Somali perspective. It allows for an examination of the actual experiences and narratives from Somalis and thus a major part of the research objective. The sampling of the podcasts appears to be very inclusive including guests that differ in terms of gender, employment status, and age. The host of the podcast series is a second-generation Somali immigrant woman, thus there is most likely a level of trust established on the side of the guests, as the host has faced herself similar experiences as the ones discussed by the guests. This is proven by the fact that she

anonymously interviewed a subject from a group of Somali drug dealers that had not previously agreed to give any interviews. Having the host of the podcast series being an individual who has faced many of the same challenges as the guests may be beneficial thing, especially considering the apparent scepticism of Somalis towards authorities in Norway (Spjeldnes, et al., 2020).

### 1.3.Preliminary analysis

By analysing the results of the content analysis of the government documents and the podcasts, I expect to find some suggestions as to how the state and the Somalis conceptualize integration and how they measure it. Hopefully, this will allow for a comparison between these two perspectives and an indication of what the main challenges and inconsistencies are. Furthermore, again, by comparing and contrasting the results of the content analysis of the government documents and the podcasts, I hope to be able to make some inferences about how the two sides view the responsibility of integration. Theories of integration and multiculturalism will be important when discussing these challenges and questions. By analysing the government documents, I anticipate that I will find that there is a “one-size-fits-all” approach to integration in Norwegian integration efforts, which may be a leading factor that inhibits the success of integration strategy.

I also hope my analysis will help to gain an insight into how much knowledge Somalis have over the integration strategies they have been targeted with. I believe the podcasts may provide insights into many aspects regarding how Somalis in Norway relate to the Norwegian culture and their own culture, how they view their identity as opposed to ethnic Norwegians and other immigrant groups, and how they recognize themselves and their understandings of themselves in a new society. These insights will hopefully help to begin to understand what is missing from state integration policy and how to adjust the latter to different groups of immigrants.

Hence, the preliminary hypothesis of this thesis is that Somali integration is comparatively worse than other immigrant groups because it does not address the special cultural needs of Somalis, the cultural differences between Somalis and

the Norwegian society, and the cultural differences between Somalis and other immigrant groups in Norway. It follows that an integration strategy that takes the different cultures, histories, religions, languages, ethnicities, economies, political views, and reasonings for immigrating into consideration may look more promising in this respect.

A differentiated integration policy, i.e., a policy that takes into account the cultural differences of different immigrant groups, could make the integration of Somalis better. After having examined the data I hope to be able to discuss specific ways in which the Norwegian integration policy could be improved and moved towards a more differentiated perspective. The fifth chapter will attempt to integrate the results gained from the content analysis of the three government documents and the five podcasts, and through applying the approaches of multiculturalism, identity theory and the politics of recognition, be able to extract the main challenges to the integration of Somalis in Norway and ways in which this can be improved. My overall aim is to contribute to the discussion of integration in the Norwegian context by highlighting the benefits of a more differentiated integration policy.

There are several challenges to the view of an integration strategy based on differentiation, such as arguments for the equal treatment of every individual. From this perspective, a differentiated integration policy would perhaps clash with principles of equality and non-discrimination as it purposely separates groups and their needs in relation to integration based on cultural characteristics such as religion and country of origin. At the very least, my thesis will highlight such tensions and underline that more research on the different groups of immigrants being integrated may provide valuable lessons on how to strategize integration.

In the next chapter, I review some of the most relevant and influential theories and ideas on immigrant integration, ranging from classical assimilation to group-differentiated rights. The third chapter will outline the method and data used in this thesis, a qualitative content analysis of three government documents and a popular podcast series of five episodes regarding integration. Next, the fourth

chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part presents the results of the data analysis. The second part discusses these results in more depth and connects them to the theories presented in the second chapter. Finally, the conclusion will attempt to summarize the findings, add final thoughts, and recommend what needs further examining.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Theories of Integration

As mentioned in the introduction of this text, it is crucial to begin a discussion of existing research on integration by defining the concept of integration. Already here, a problem with previous literature on integration arises, namely the lack of scholarly definitions of integration. In the majority of the research examined below, a scholarly definition of integration is not offered. As Entzinger and Biezeveld mention, integration as a concept is often not explicitly defined, which creates obvious problems in terms of how it is interpreted by different agents (2003). From a sociological perspective, Entzinger and Biezeveld describe integration as follows: "The more a society is integrated, the more closely and the more intensely its constituent parts (groups or individuals) relate to one another." (2003, p.4). This way of describing integration portrays the need to examine concepts such as Song's discussion of associative obligations, Kymlicka's concept of group-differentiated rights and the politics of recognition, which all discuss how groups or individuals relate to one another.

Another definition of integration that is explanatory, helpful, and simple is Aden's, who considers integration to take place "when immigrants and Norwegian-born people have equal use and joy of each other." (2009, p.7). This quote, although quite simplified, points to the basic foundations of integration, i.e., to create an environment in which the 'new' and the 'old' can not only co-exist, but also find use in each other's presence. One important aspect of integration this definition does not point to, however, is the aim of not losing the cultural character and identity of either groups, which is why multicultural theories offer a more nuanced account of integration.

Despite the lack of definitions of integration, a useful description of immigrant integration is provided by the United Nations International Organization for Migration (IOM). In expressing its goals, IOM, is said to focus on "the development of strategies that help migrants better integrate into new communities as well as assisting receiving communities to recognize the positive

contributions that migrants can make.” (IOM, 2020). This approach highlights the fact that integration is a two-way process, which, if conducted successfully, will be beneficial for both parties. Hellgren describes such a two-way process as a process in which; “both ethnic minorities and the autochthonous majority are expected to adapt to each other and create a new, intercultural basis for mutual identification and solidarity” (2016, p. 4). Hellgren emphasizes an important trait of integration, which is the fact that disregarding the role of the ethnic majority in the integration process can cause disadvantageous effects to society as a whole. By applying a definition of integration focused on the two-way process and the cultural distinctiveness between the actors, integration can be interpreted less as a singular path to homogenization and more as a process of incorporation or blending.

Before introducing some of the most frequently applied approaches to integration, such as classical assimilation theory and multiculturalism, this section will address Sarah Song’s research on collective self-determination and why this is important in the debate over integration. In the first sentence of her book, Song emphasises “the role that political theory can play in public debate about immigration” (2018, p.1). As will be examined in the policy analysis, there is not a great deal of incorporation of the resulting arguments of the theoretical debates in the practice of integration policies, especially when considering theories on identity, multiculturalism and the politics of recognition. Song addresses the crucial topic of how a serious political theory on immigration is needed, one specifically centred around policies and procedures following a process of migration. Although there is already a great deal of theoretical debate on the reasons for migration, there is arguably a need for more research on the specifics of what happens after migrating, specifically, integration. However, it is necessary to also consider migration policies (i.e., policies that precede integration) in order to get a clear view of where the foundations of the integration policies stem from.

Song brings up the crucial concept of an ethic of universalism in order to later argue for an ethic of membership (2018). Ethic of universalism brings up

questions of why people may not have the freedoms to cross borders and be accepted as citizens across these borders, whilst ethic of membership focuses on the obligations we have towards others, so called associative obligations (Song, 2018). In terms of integration, this concept of associative obligations is key as it allows us to understand how being a member of a group lays out norms of what type of obligations and perks comes with membership in a political community. However, the question in terms of integration related to associative obligations is when an individual is not just officially a member of the group, but also has been integrated in such a way that the individual feels as a part of the group and experiences a true sense of obligation towards other members and that other members have obligations towards that individual. The next sub-chapter will be a relatively sharp change from Song's idea of obligations and collective self-determination and in contrast to also Entzinger and Biezeveld's view of how integration can create strong relations between the agents of the society.

#### 2.1.1. Assimilation Theories

Arguably, the most commonly discussed and critiqued theory regarding integration is the classical assimilation theory, which argues that the best way to introduce new members into a society is by assimilation (Lee, 2009). However, the terms integration and assimilation can be argued to plainly contradict one another. Morawska defines the assimilation model as “a vision of society increasingly unified in the course of gradual boundary reduction between group participants” (1994). Contrary to the idea that integration involves gaining both an official and a more psychological membership of a new society, assimilation entails changing one's identity and cultural belonging in order to become a member of a new society, a process of homogenization.

Hampshire describes gaining membership from a nationalist view as such; “citizenship is essentially derivative of nationhood, and access to the former should be preceded by a demonstration of assimilation to the latter.” (2010, p. 74). Although partly true due to the fact that becoming integrated into a society and becoming a citizen does entail some incorporation of the traits of the nationality of the host-country, this view is arguably too simplistic and mono-directional, and

the use of the term assimilation makes it problematic for it does not inherently recognize the necessity of cultural and contextual differences; instead, it suggests that individuals must entirely change in order to be incorporated into a new society.

As clear-cut as unification and reduction of boundaries seems, it may not be the most viable foundation for a successful integration. This suggested by Entzinger's description – presented in Chapter one - of how cultural differences do not disappear and may even be reinforced with different types of integration strategies. Needless to say, the new member of a group will benefit from being involved in a new culture and learning its language and norms; however, the ideal end-goal should not be that the new member should lose their own cultural identity. Rather, a strategy of integration could perhaps benefit from acknowledging that cultural differences will remain to some degree, and therefore adapt the strategy to this fact.

Entzinger and Biezeveld recognize a flaw of assimilation theories, which is that cultural differences persist (2003). Meaning that integration must take into account that the objective is not to make the new members of the group exactly the same, but rather to integrate them in a way that allows them to have their differences at the same time as existing in the same society in a mutually beneficial way. A quote that exemplifies this idea comes from Miller:

Most citizens want neither straightforward assimilation, where immigrant minorities effectively disappear as they blend into the existing culture, nor 'parallel societies', where cultural groups coexist side-by-side without adapting to one another's norms and values, but integration, where this involves acquiring common citizenship and the national identity that goes along with it, as well as maintaining certain group-specific cultural traits (Miller, 2006, p. 332).

This idea moves the debate from integration focused on assimilation to integration focused on multiculturalism. It also rejects the opposite idea of assimilation, that

cultural differences remain, and the agents live in the same society, but do not interact as such in an integrated society. This means that integration should entail neither a complete transformation into the exact formula of the typical citizen of the host-country, nor a complete segregation between the majority and the minority. Instead, it should be focused on a collective citizenship and identity that still allows for cultural divergences.

Nevertheless, classical assimilation theory has been developed into several newer assimilation theories on integration, one of which being *segmented assimilation* (Lee, 2009). This branch of assimilation theories provides some valuable arguments regarding integration as it recognizes the cultural diversities of different groups. Moreover, this theory acknowledges and examines the different assimilation of first-generation immigrants versus second-immigration immigrants. However, the problem remains that the end goal of segmented assimilation is still assimilation, not integration.

#### 2.1.2. Theories of Multiculturalism

Moving on, the next section of this text will examine the role of multiculturalism in the context of integration. In short, “The multicultural approach to civic citizenship requires immigrant-receiving countries to actively recognize cultural diversity and make accommodations for the needs of cultural minorities” (Bloemraad, 2007, p.320). Thus, an integration strategy built upon the foundations of multiculturalism will involve integrating the immigrant in a way that is sustainable, whilst being aware of cultural differences and the relationships between the majority and the minority. The statement by Bloemraad is supported by Kymlicka in his various works on multiculturalism in which he points to the importance of creating a fairer integration strategy allowing for different religions and cultural minorities to be included in the society in question (1996. And Song, 2020). Moreover, Kymlicka highlights the importance of recognizing that integration is not a one-way street, it requires effort and motivation from both sides, both from the state and the immigrants. This emphasis on a two-way street to integration is also highlighted in the four causes of a lacking integration process

suggested by Sükrü Bilgic. Where the first point regards the state, the second regards the native Norwegians, the third regards the immigrants, and finally the fourth points to the cultural differences between the different parties.

Koopmans makes the claim that multicultural integration policies have not produced positive results (2010). He argues that multiculturalism in a welfare-state may actually have negative consequences such as discrimination and marginalization. He even goes so far as to blame the high crime statistics of immigrants on multicultural integration policies. Arguably, this is a very problematic claim as it is difficult to determine whether the policies are in fact multicultural and what this actually entails. Looking at the principles of multiculturalism brought up by Kymlicka, which focuses on the acceptance and recognition of diversities, it is a strong claim to make that multicultural policies are to blame for marginalization, discrimination, and segregation. One argument made by Koopmans is that, by allowing cultural differences to exist, a multicultural integration policy may have unwanted effects, such as not being employable due to facial coverings (2010). Building on Koopmans' claims, Bloemraad states how "Multiculturalism is believed to encourage immigrants' self-segregation and thus impede their integration into mainstream social and economic structures" (2007, p. 317). However, such a critique of multiculturalism does not acknowledge that integration is a multidimensional process that also requires the other members of the group to allow integration to happen.

Miller responds to criticisms such as the one mentioned above regarding multiculturalism and integration (2006). Miller's main critique of the arguments concerning how multiculturalism can be destructive, circles around the idea that multiculturalism is a difficult concept to define and to make tangible (2006). He makes the argument that in order to judge the relevance of multiculturalism, the concept must be divided into multiculturalism as ideology or as policy. By making this distinction, Miller concludes that there is no tangible evidence that a multicultural policy has negative effects on a welfare system.

A term which is used throughout this thesis is *differentiated integration*. This a term I decided to apply in this thesis in regard to immigrant integration. The main idea is that of an integration strategy based on the differences, not only between the immigrants and the receiving country, but also the differences amongst the immigration groups. The term is very much influenced by Kymlicka's work on multiculturalism and group-differentiated rights where there is a heavy focus on cultural and religious differences. The term *differentiated integration* is also inspired by Taylor's 'politics of recognition'. Thus, a *differentiated integration* policy must focus not only on the immigrants and the different groups of immigrants, but also on the original members of the state in which the immigrants is being integrated in. This thesis will argue that a multicultural approach can indeed be a valuable method of shaping integration policies in ways that manage cultural diversities. Thus, in order for multiculturalism to inspire a successful integration policy, there should perhaps be a focus on the responsibilities allocated to all agents of the group.

### 2.1.3. Politics of Identity and Recognition

Closely linked to multiculturalism is identity politics, which also ties into the debate over an integration based on assimilation or multiculturalism. Importantly, as Martiny et al. (2020) point out, there is not much knowledge about the relationship between immigrants' social identity and their feelings of integration. A wide range of identity theories can be applied to examine the challenges of Norwegian integration policies with a particular focus on Somalis. *Social identity theory*, for example, is valuable when studying integration as it deals with the intricate formations of identity in a globalizing world (Huddy, 2001). Social identity theory addresses why individuals conform to groups and how the 'other' group is categorized. Huddy emphasizes how identity formations lead to a sense of the in-groups and the out-groups, which can easily be spotted when examining integration in many states (2001). The social identity theory argues that individuals are naturally driven towards having a bias for their own in-groups, therefore, creating a complication for the process of integration. Thus, according

to this theory, it will be natural for Somalis coming to Norway to identify with and reaffirm their self-identity with the existing Somalian diaspora in Norway.

Also tied closely to multiculturalism and identity politics is the politics of recognition which is important when examining integration as it deals with identity formations and how individuals or groups must recognize others' identities. This ties into integration based on differentiation, as it requires individuals or groups to recognize each other's differences (Taylor, 1994). "Recognition is not just empty symbolism; it provides dignity and legitimacy within the country of reception, thereby helping immigrant communities to become a part of civic and political life" (Bloemraad, 2007, p. 320). Essentially, and in regard to integration, this means that the majority must recognize the minorities – and vice versa - in order for their identities to be shaped. This strays from classical assimilation as it requires the 'others' to recognize and accept the divergences between the different groups. Again, this is linked back to the need for a more differentiated approach to integration, an integration strategy which considers the multitude of differences amongst various immigrant groups. Taylor makes an important point when discussing these differences:

With the politics of equal dignity, what is established is meant to be universally the same, an identical basket of rights and immunities; with the politics of difference, what we are asked to recognize is the unique identity of this individual or group (1994, p.38).

There are clearly confusing aspects involved in this debate. Even though, in cosmopolitan terms, we arguably should all be recognized as having the same moral worth, we still need to be recognized as different. Indeed, as this thesis will explore, it may be necessary for successful integration to acknowledge the differences amongst the immigrants and the receiving country and between the different immigrant groups. Nevertheless, some questions are raised concerning discrimination and segregation that needs to be addressed.

Moreover, Taylor claims that:

Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. (1995, p. 25)

Thus, for the purpose of this study, according to Taylor we need to examine if Norway's government and the majority groups in Norway recognize Somalis in Norway as a minority. If they are depicted as a minority who is hard to integrate, likely to live off benefits, and do not have the same standards of gender equality as the majority, this might cause or at least reinforce how Somalis recognize their individual and group identity.

Moreover, Entzinger and Biezeveld brings up Granovetter's examination of the two different dimensions of integration, which includes the *incidence* dimension and the *identification* dimension (2003). The first dimension has two parts, frequency and intensity, which relates to how frequent the individuals relate to one another and how intense the relations are. Secondly, the dimension of identification is related to identity politics as it claims that "The more one identifies with others, the closer ties tend to be." (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003, p. 6). Regarding identity politics however, one might question the logic of the importance of the frequency of relations. If integration has not been as successful as it could have been, despite more frequently interacting with the individuals in the new country, the immigrants may still identify more with the home country. By looking at these two dimensions of integration therefore, one can see, that interacting with the other members of a group can lead to a stronger sense of group identity. Thus, it is important to examine the ways in which policies on integration focus on interaction between the already established members and the new members.

## 2.2. Immigrant integration in Norway

Focusing now on Norway, I will examine the theoretical claims of Aden, a first-generation immigrant, who wrote the book 'full-fledged citizens in the Norwegian

society'. One of the arguably most important points Aden makes in her book is found in the quote; "in opposition to the government in Norway, I believe that the integration is moving slowly and partly poorly, and in some areas in the wrong direction." (Aden, 2009, p.9). This statement sheds light on several issues and some of her arguments are very much directed in a sense of a *differentiated integration* policy, although not focused so much on the different nationalities, rather on individual qualities, like for example the patience and limitations required to integrate a former soldier from a rough background.

Furthermore, Aden states that the gender perspective is important when discussing integration (2009, p.9). Aden offers 111 advices for integration, and her first advice centres around gender. She explains how men with military background from African and Middle Eastern countries might find it highly challenging to not be met with the level of 'respect' they expect from a female (2009). After a brief listening of the podcasts, this aspect of older Somalian men assuming respect is rather important. Aden explains how this may cause limitations to integration tactics, to expect a former soldier who has been granted certain levels of respect – and always from women – to be expected to now learn a new language and be trained for jobs by a woman. "It requires clear boundaries, patience and a lot of work to integrate people with such a background" (Aden, 2009, p.11). The idea of differentiating immigrants comes into question again when examining situations like this. Would there not be a benefit to have clear differences in how to integrate a person with a background much more similar to a standard Norwegian background and a person with a background from for example the Somalian military?

To set the context for exploring my research question I will use some examples from Norwegian authors who have written on the topic of immigrant integration. Firstly, Turkish first-generation immigrant Sukrü Bilgic highlights that the Norwegian culture is ruled by modern democratic elements (2000, p.15). That the Norwegian culture is in a high degree controlled by modern democratic elements will most likely have a significant impact on immigrants' integration if they come

from countries where the culture is governed by more traditional values, often with religion as an important element. Bilgic points out this when he says how parts of the immigrant culture is ruled by conservative and traditional elements (2000, p.15). This in turn means that integration is not only relevant for the immigrant, because with a large influx of new people, but also, Norway has evolved into a multicultural society, meaning that the Norwegian people must also be integrated into this new society to avoid conflict and general displeasure on both sides.

Bilgic also offers a definition of immigrant integration: “To partake, to participate in the society, both personally and in a communal identity, to adhere to laws, rules, duties and to take responsibility.” (2000, p.17). This definition highlights some of the key elements of integration that I discuss in this thesis and there is a clear emphasis on the importance of participation, which will be a running theme.

Furthermore, Bilgic offers four main reasons as to why immigrant integration in Norway is deficient. Number one is the government’s integration policy, which he argues does not welcome immigrants (Bilgic, 2000). This point is important in the context of this thesis as it reflects on one of my areas of analysis, the government documents. Next, Bilgic argues that the Norwegian people’s cultural shock hinders integration (2000). Third, he claims that another reason is the immigrant’s dream to return to their home country (Bilgic, 2000). This is a clear reason that may obstruct immigrant integration as a dream to return can be seen as an obstacle against the wish to integrate into a new country. Lastly, he argues that the fourth reason why immigrant integration has been impeded in Norway is due to culture and specifically misunderstandings, not cultural differences (2000).

Lastly, Sylo Taraku explains integration as becoming self-reliant and respectful of Norwegian laws. Thus, not as focused on participation as Bilgic. Taraku argues that there are two main dimensions of integration. The first dimension is the socio-economic integration of immigrants, meaning that they become self-reliant and a contributor to the Norwegian society. The second dimension is the cultural and value-based, relating to how we should live together in society.

## 3.Method Chapter

### 3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the selected method of research for this project. This section will provide an explanation of the theoretical framework, a description of the methods used and justifications behind the methodological decisions, an account of the design of the project and the material used, a presentation of the analytical strategy of how the method is applied and a list of the key limitations to the chosen methodology.

As stated previously, the research question this project seeks to explore is; *What factors influence the integration of Somali immigrants in Norway?*

In order to approach this research question, this thesis uses a qualitative method by conducting a content analysis of key official texts regarding integration by the Norwegian government, combined with content analysis of a podcast series consisting of five episodes, all related to the topics in question. Originally, the second piece of data was intended to be a set of interviews with Somalis in Norway. However, due to the pandemic I had issues conducting the interviews, mostly due to the fact that I was not able to physically meet the subjects which meant that an interview that was structured very much based on emotions was now conducted over the phone in a much less personal manner. Moreover, I had arguably made the mistake of choosing interview subjects that had resided in Norway since the 1990s, however; initially, I believed this would cause no issues as they would have large networks of newer Somalis that they could draw experiences from. Unfortunately, this was not the case and my selection was not as varied as an ideal selection would be, and due to considerations of time, in which I would not be able to perform a new set of interviews, I decided to instead opt for an analysis of a series of five podcasts that discusses issues highly relevant when speaking of integration, such as, gender, work, social life, and education.

The reasoning behind the two sets of material is the way in which it allows for a consideration of the two main actors concerning integration of Somalis in

Norway: the Somali immigrants and the Norwegian government. Moreover, the method of content analysis focuses on the contents, themes, and motivations of the texts. Content analysis is used in both qualitative and quantitative research, which is ideal for the type of mixed methods I will execute (Prior, 2014, p.3). The mixed methods model used in this thesis is heavily focused on qualitative analysis but will also include quantitative analysis in the presentation of the data. This will be explained in more detail in this chapter.

Prior brings up one prominent point of social life and communication that is relevant to explaining the use of content analysis in this research paper; “Communication is a building block of social life itself and not merely a system of messages that are transmitted from sender to receiver.” (Prior, 2014, p.2). In this sense we will through content analysis of the government documents and podcasts explore in what ways a possible breach in communication has had an effect on the social life and thus a major part of the integration of Somali immigrants. There are multiple points in which communication can be seen as something that has had a negative effect on immigrant integration, whether this be the line of communication between the government and the immigrants, the immigrants and the Norwegian society, or other lines of communication we may hopefully gain some insight into.

Moreover, Prior states that; “It is never entirely clear where policy actually is.” (2014, p.13). In the context of this research paper, government documents were chosen rather than actions, polls, statistics, speeches, etc. because I want to examine the main policy goals of the Norwegian government. Thus, I assumed these would best be found in official government documents dealing with immigrant integration. Furthermore; “Documents have effects” (Prior, 2003, p.4). Which is what I want to explore, how has the government documents regarding immigrant integration affected and shaped the actual integration, and how can this be seen in the documents which are the podcasts, moreover, what effects can we expect to see from the podcasts.

### 3.2. Theoretical Framework

As outlined in the previous chapter, this thesis draws heavily on a multicultural approach to integration, with considerations of identity politics, the politics of recognition, and applications of Sarah Song's ideas regarding an ethic of universalism and an ethic of membership (Song, 2018). These theoretical approaches have been discussed in the previous chapter and their specific purpose for the chosen method will be discussed below.

First and foremost, the most significant theoretical approach to this thesis is, as mentioned, Kymlicka's multicultural approach (Kymlicka, 1995). In terms of integration in Norway, this approach provides several important points. Multiculturalism, in Kymlicka's view, highlights the need for a recognition of diverse ethnicities, nationalities, religions, cultures, etc., making it highly appropriate for a study examining the success of the Norwegian integration policy and whether or not Somalis in Norway consider themselves distinct from other immigrant groups to whom the same integration strategies apply. The term *differentiated integration* that I employ is different to the definition of differentiated integration related to the EU. In the EU context, the term means "Differentiated integration means a process of integration in which the Member States opt to move forward at different speeds and/or towards different objectives." (University of Leeds). The type of *differentiated integration* used in this thesis is inspired by Kymlicka's group-differentiated rights. Which, as mentioned earlier, regards group rights, or collective rights, in contrast to simply individual rights. This approach allows both of the two chosen methods, which will be described in more detail below, to seek answers in terms of how the integration policy of Norway is chosen, conceptualized, and acted on, and to examine the specific experience of one selected immigrant group.

Drawing on these theoretical approaches, the main assumption of this thesis is that the reasons Somali integration in Norway allegedly does not work well is the absence of differentiation and disparity in the official integration policy. Consequently, conducting a selective content analysis allows for an examination of how the theoretical viewpoints of multiculturalism can be used to criticize the

classical assimilation approach. However, it is certainly important to also consider the implications of a differentiated integration policy whilst analysing the possible current issues with the Norwegian integration strategy.

### 3.3. Description of Method

This section will describe the methods chosen for this research project. Now, although, I opted for podcasts as one of the two main materials, they do inherently contain many of the same features as a normal interview contains. The employed research method is qualitative, focusing on a small sample of Norwegian policy documents regarding the official Norwegian integration strategies and a small sample of podcast guests. The justification behind choosing a study based more on qualitative versus a quantitative research is due to how integration in Norway may be considered a rather under-researched subject, which may be better approached by a more in-depth qualitative strategy in the initial phases. A recent study conducted by Martiny et al. examines the social identity of young immigrants in Norway in order to understand integration's effect on social identities (Martiny et al., 2020). The researchers of this study opted for a quantitative method where they administered questionnaires consisting of 58 items to almost 200 high school and university students. The method these researchers used was appropriate as they aspired to replicate other similar studies of social identity amongst immigrants in Europe and to be able to make generalizable claims. Whereas, compared to this study, for the purpose of this thesis which is looking for different elements than the study mentioned above, a qualitative method was chosen. However, with elements of quantitative methods as well.

Neuendorf defines content analysis as such:

Content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that follows the standards of the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing based on theory) and

is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented (2002, p.17).

Albeit, a rather long definition, I believe it focuses on many of the important elements of content analysis and serves as a good reminder to continuously self-check during the analysis in order to retain for example reliability, validity and generalizability. Moreover, the definition points to how, although content analysis is a rigorous method that requires time and experience with such an analysis, it is not a limited or heavily restrictive method. Furthermore, it highlights the attempt to avoid bias from the researcher and that the hypotheses are drawn from theory. As mentioned previously, although mainly a qualitative study, there is also a need for quantitative methods in this type of content analysis. The quantitative part comes into play when quantifying the codes that are sorted into the categories. Therefore, although the analysis and discussion are based heavily on a qualitative method, it is also quantitative in the sense that the analysis is drawn from counting the codes and their numerical appearance in the pre-determined categories (Prior, 2014).

Finally, the results of the content analysis will be presented in chapter five by using diagrams. The diagrams I chose to use are histograms, due to how they can be used to display the high number of codes produced from the analysis. By applying histograms, I am able to examine the curves and can draw inferences from the shape of these curves. After counting the codes, I will place them into an excel spreadsheet with the texts and the chapters, or podcast numbers, going down the y-axis and the categories and sub-categories going along the x-axis. The histograms are then created for each of the texts by highlighting the relevant cells and selecting histogram.

### 3.3.1. Content analysis of government documents

The method used in this thesis is, as mentioned above, a content analysis. This entails thematically analysing key Norwegian policy documents. Content analysis emerged as a way to understand decision-making procedures (Oni, 2016) and in my case it entails many similarities to public policy analysis. Moreover, I believe

content analysis of the government documents will give an insight into decision-making and policy rationale. Neuendorf highlights the vast range and applicability of content analysis, pointing to the advantages it has for this study (2002, p.3). Moreover, she discusses its many variations, allowing for the researcher themselves to decide how simple or complex of an analysis they require to explore the questions in focus (Neuendorf, 2002, p.6). Thus, I am hoping that by applying content analysis to the government documents, in a medium loose matter, I will be able to explore and begin to understand the logic behind various policies. This thesis draws upon a technique described by Neuendorf, in which she brings up how Altheide identifies "...thematic patterns in a text" (2002, p.10). However, compared to Altheide's identification of the themes through a close reading of the text, I decided to first skim the texts, identify themes, and then do several close readings applying these themes or categories to the text (Neuendorf, 2002, p.10).

This thesis applies primarily content analysis in order to explore the use of words and themes, however, there are also elements of narrative analysis, particularly in analysing the podcasts, where there is a much heavier focus on stories and people's experiences.

Oni explains the emergence and necessity of public policy analysis as such;

The decision-making approach to the study of politics, which grew after the war, thus expanded the scope of the study of politics, and shifted attention from the focus of government and political institutions to emphasize on the decision-making processes which shape the behaviour of government and political institutions (Oni, 2016, p. 322).

This explanation neatly clarifies the rationale behind approaching the issue of how the Norwegian government measures, conceptualizes, and decides on matters regarding integration, as it focuses on the switch from focusing on specific institutions to considering the actual contents of the institutions' decisions and how this may provide an insight into their values and behaviours. Moreover, this

method allows for a consideration of how decisions are made in more uniform and assimilationist ways without engaging with the differences between various individuals and groups of immigrants. Analysing the main policy documents regarding integration in Norway in such a way allows for an assessment of how the success of integration is measured and what is deemed to be the most important focuses and values of the state in terms of integration strategies (Clarke and Braun, 2006).

Braun and Clarke present six phases to content analysis with an emphasis on thematic analysis, two similar methods, with thematic analysis on the one side focusing purely on the qualitative, and content analysis on the other hand employs both qualitative and quantitative elements. However, these six steps are also applicable to the type of content analysis applied in this thesis. The first phase is becoming familiarised with the data, where the researcher reads through the material, taking notes and forming preliminary thoughts on the data. Next phase is “generating initial codes” (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This step naturally follows from an initial read-through of the text and now the researcher is able to produce preliminary codes. The third phase is looking for themes in the data and then placing the codes from phase two into these themes. Fourthly, a revision of the themes, sorting through and examining if some themes need to be redefined, grouped together, or even abandoned. Next, step five involves “defining and naming themes”, which is a clear step. And finally, the sixth phase is the actual production of the report.

### 3.3.2. Content analysis of podcast series

The next part of this thesis will explain the rationale behind using a podcast series as a source for understanding how Somalis in Norway feel about integration.

For the purpose of this research project, the podcast episodes featuring different Somalis in Norway are applicable in the way they allow for a deeper and more personal insight into how the participants assess the process of integration in

Norway and also how they view themselves compared to other immigrant groups. It allows for analysing original accounts of the experiences of Somalis in Norway. Neither of the applied methods are relatively new, however, the use of podcasts is clearly relatively new, as podcasts have not been around for a substantial length of time. As Holstein and Gubrium point out, we live in an ‘interview nation’, pointing to the widespread applicability of interviews as a source of gaining knowledge (1995). And podcasts are in a way a type of interview, even though I am not conducting the interviews myself. However, there may be benefits to this, seeing as the producer of the podcast is a renowned journalist and the podcast host is also much more experienced with Somali immigrants in Norway than myself. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the five podcast episodes were produced in 2019 by NRK Radio, the radio station of Norway’s oldest media outlet. The podcast series is called ‘Ekko – Samfunnspodden’, which translated to ‘Echo – the society-pod’. The five episodes range from 16 to 24 minutes and each episode feature new guests, either Somali immigrants or second-generation immigrants. The first episode translates to ‘When they Arrived’ and focuses on a first-generation immigrant who came to Norway in the 1970s when the big boost of Somali immigrants came. Secondly, episode two translates to ‘The Women’, and discusses how Somali women in Norway often have many children and are often exposed to strict social control and arranged marriage. But it also discusses the situation for younger Somali women and what its like dating as a Somali woman. The next episode is ‘The Youth’ and is mainly based on the drug-scene in Oslo and how young Somali men are dragged into this environment. Episode four is called ‘With and Without Work’ and discusses how four out of ten Somalis in Norway receive benefits from the state. The guest, a Somali man, explains why it took him so long to get a job. The fifth and last episode is called ‘The Men’ and revolves around both young and old Somali men and their role as ‘a Somali man’ both in Norway and in the Somali dystopia. It explores how older Somali men have difficulties settling into the Norwegian society and how young Somali boys and men struggle with finding their identity.

The set of podcast episodes features five main guests; a relatively limited number of participants, however, it allowed the interviews to be in-depth and personal. Compared to face-to-face interviews, podcasts have the disadvantage that the interviewer loses the personal aspect and the ability to ask the interviewee to elaborate. However, one of the advantages is the fact that the podcast host is Martin Jahr, a recognized Norwegian journalist who also brings in other experienced journalists as co-hosts, all having journalistic abilities I do not possess.

All five episodes involve questions regarding integration, immigration, nationality, identity, culture, and national integration strategies. The purpose of this research is to examine why Somalis in Norway have reported to be some of the happiest in Norway regarding their life-situations, whilst other immigrant groups and ethnic Norwegians are not reporting to be as pleased. Yet, statistics regarding integration – by measurements of work, language-skills, education, housing, and economy – display a rather negative image of the Somali experience in Norway. Therefore, I hope that by analysing the podcast episodes I will get an in-depth view of why this may be and how the Somali immigrants themselves feel integration has worked for them and what they believe should have been done differently.

## 3.4 Material

### 3.4.1. Public Policy Documents

The main material which will be analysed is, as stated previously, policy documents regarding integration and the podcasts. The three main policy documents are presented below.

1. The governments integration plan for 2019-2022 (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2018). This document presents in detail the parliament's integration strategy for the years 2019 to 2022, which is named 'Integration Through Knowledge'. This strategy is a very important piece of public policy to analyse, as it will not

only give insight into the values and focus of the current Norwegian integration strategy, but it will also bring focus to the government's own reflections on earlier integration strategies. This strategy provides a good insight into the main considerations of the Norwegian government regarding integration, such as education, labour, human rights, integration in everyday life, and economical considerations.

2. "From asylum-camp to working life – an efficient integration politics" (Det Kongelige Justis – og Beredskapsdepartementet, 2016). This document is an extensive 'message to the parliament' (Deposit Report), with recommendations of how to integrate immigrants in relation to their transition from asylum-camps to work-life. A 'message to the parliament' is essentially a document formed by the governmental institutions addressed to the parliament with the goal of having an impact and receiving the parliament's support on the subject without having officially formed a decision that needs to be voted on. Similar to the integration plan mentioned above, this document discusses issues surrounding economic factors, labour, education, human rights, and integration in everyday life. However, importantly, this document also includes a discussion of the parliament's views on the transition from asylum-camps to everyday-life as a citizen.
3. Report on the introduction programme (Bråten et al. 2017). The third document which is analysed in this thesis is published by FAFO, a Norwegian research foundation. This document explains the formal introduction programme for immigrants, an important factor to consider when regarding integration.

### 3.8.2. Podcast Series

1. Somalis in Norway (1:5) When they arrived. 25.12.2019 – 16 minutes.  
→ The introduction of the five-part series which places focus on

the 40 000 Somalis in Norway. Produced by: Hodan Gulaid and Carima Tirillsdottir Heinesen.

2. Somalis in Norway (2:5) The Women. 26.12.2019 – 23 minutes.  
→ Discusses the roles of Somali women and their many children
3. Somalis in Norway (3:5) The Young Adults. 27.12.2019 – 24 minutes.  
→ Considers the role of the Somali youth and the role they play in the drug-scene in Oslo.
4. Somalis in Norway (4:5) With and Without Jobs. 30.12.2019 – 20 minutes.  
→ Examines the job market for Somalis and the high number who receives social benefits.
5. Somalis in Norway (5:5) The Men. 31.12.2019 – 19 minutes.  
→ Explores the complicated role for Somali men, both young and old.

Values coding is applied when coding the interviews. This method of coding was chosen due to its appropriateness in examining identity, cultural values and belief systems (Saldaña, 2016). Saldaña states that “Briefly, a value is the importance we attribute to ourselves, another person, thing, or idea.” (2016, p.131). Thus, appropriate for this thesis considering I am hoping to explore some of the causes of the arguably less than ideal integration of Somalis in Norway through examining the importance both the state and the immigrants place on different elements regarding immigrant integration. Particularly, I hope to find some answers as to why Somali integration has been less successful than other immigrant groups in Norway., through the importance both the state and the immigrants place on things such as religion, culture, education, and employment. Saldaña supports this idea as she emphasises the application of values coding in qualitative studies that are concerned with values and beliefs and also those regarding identity, identity is also an important element in this thesis (2016).

The type of content analysis applied in this thesis is conceptual content analysis, as opposed to relational content analysis (Colombia Public Health). Meaning that I have decided on a concept to research - immigrant integration of Somalis in Norway - and will quantify and count the occurrence of selected codes in the texts. It is essentially ‘selective reduction’, meaning that the text is reduced to categories which are chosen in order to see how often it occurs and thus being able to explore how the different parties think about and experience the phenomenon (Colombia Public Health).

### 3.5. Analytical Strategy

As mentioned above, the analysis will be conceptual and selective, in that I selected categories and the codes to be sorted into the categories. The categories and codes were selected and based upon values, attitudes, and beliefs.

Throughout, the values coding memos are written in order to reflect on the codes and thus be able to examine during the secondary analysis, and if some codes can be abandoned or if some categories can be joined together. As Saldaña demonstrates, the codes, especially from the podcasts, were derived by examining the usage of terms such as want, need, important, etc. which signals that this is related to values, beliefs, and thoughts (Saldaña, 2016).

As the introduction to this thesis explained, the Norwegian integration strategy seems to be a one-size-fits-all strategy at first glance. Analysing the key government documents regarding integration strategies allows for an assessment of whether this prediction is accurate. Moreover, by analysing the podcast episodes and coding the integration policies thematically this thesis will suggest a way in which integration strategies in Norway may be better developed. The goal is thus to be able to draw a generalizable theory of *differentiated integration*, a strategy which recognizes the divergences between groups and individuals and how such differences may affect how certain integration strategies perform. However, as Becker neatly explains; “Every scientific enterprise tries to find out something that will apply to everything of a certain kind by studying a *few examples*, the result of the study being, as we say “generalizable” to all members

of that class of stuff” (1998, p .96). Highlighting how this thesis will use content analysis of the government documents and the podcast episodes to attempt to reach a theory of *differentiated integration*, yet, due to the small sample-sizes of both the policy analysis and the podcast episodes, it may not be applicable to a larger sample.

### 3.6. Limitations and Weaknesses

The last section of this chapter explains some of the most crucial limitations associated to the chosen method of this research project. Although, some weaknesses have already been mentioned briefly, the ones mentioned below pertain more specifically to the aims of the research project as a whole and how it may derail the conclusions and discoveries.

There will inevitably be a bias in categorizing the government documents. The categories and sub-categories are chosen by me, meaning that, although thought through thoroughly, will have a sample bias in how some categories such as health has been left out. Moreover, I might consciously read certain parts in more detail than others. Although, health is important and can give some insight into the success of immigrant integration, it is not my main focus. This thesis is more focused on cultural aspects of immigrant integration and thus the categories that will be focused on are those related to cultural values and beliefs, religion, societal differences, and identity.

There are some limitations in utilizing a podcast series as a piece of data. Firstly, it is not as easy to read non-verbal cues via a sound-only podcast, as it is in for example face-to-face interviews. Moreover, but perhaps not a limitation, is that the podcasts serve as a stark contrast in comparison to the government documents. On the one hand, the documents are well-thought out, researched, and very official, whereas on the other hand, the podcasts are more instinctive, unrehearsed, and emotional. Although, in some ways a limitation, as it makes it more difficult to compare the two sets of data and find similarities and dissimilarities, it may also be beneficial, as it allows for an exploration of two

different perspectives in two different data forms. Moreover, the coding may be biased by the personal and emotional aspect, in the sense that the government documents are meant to be read in an official manner and the researcher reads it themselves, compared to the podcasts, where the researcher listens to actual individuals with often emotional stories. However, again, this may also be a positive thing, as it allows for a comparison of the different perspectives and how different texts are examined.

Moreover, a possible limitation is that, whereas the three government documents generally discuss the same issues, the five podcasts feature five different topics. Thus, there is not a focus on the exact same issues amongst the five podcast guest. However, this may also be beneficial because it will show how even though they are talking about five different topics, I expect that the occurrence of the codes may be relatively similar. I expect them to be similar in the sense that, for example, the code discrimination will appear both for the young guest, the female guest, and probably the rest of the guests also.

There is also the problem of bias, both from the podcast host, the Somali guest, and the researcher. The bias can arise due to how this type of content analysis is more subjective than objective. In the sense that, although with rigorous coding and with research on the topic beforehand, the researcher chooses the categories and the codes that will be sorted into the categories.

There is an obvious limitation to this type of qualitative study which is how it does not necessarily produce particularly generalizable results due to its small sample sizes. On the other hand, a qualitative research digging deep into such a subject may prove to be insightful considering how there is not a plethora of similar studies.

Finally, the researcher's own personal skills and judgements will impact the results of the research project. Therefore, it is important to remain critical of own judgements and remain aware of the impact of own abilities throughout the project. This is especially true in a qualitative research which is more subjective than a quantitative research project.

## 4. DATA: EXPECTATIONS OF DATA ANALYSIS

### 4.1. The process of categorizing and coding

I began the process of analysing the government documents by first reading through the three texts. After having read all three texts, I decided on which sections were the most relevant to my research question, as I found some sections to not need a categorization as scrutinising as others. As explained previously, I decided not to create categories related to health, because after much research prior to the analysis, I found that not many theories and arguments related to immigrant integration were concerned with health. The sections in the government documents that dealt with health were coded, however, health did not become a separate category. The logic behind choosing the various categories were based firstly on prior research on the topic, employing themes and ideas others have found to have an impact. Combined with a preliminary reading of the government texts and a preliminary listening of the podcasts.

The first government document ‘Integration Through Knowledge’, developed by The Department of Knowledge is 76 pages of and its contents are all very relevant to the research question, thus this text was categorized section by section (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2018). The next text “From asylum-camp to working life – an efficient integration politics”, 123 pages, was also categorized section by section, however, some sections that dealt with, for example, health and national economy, were categorized with less detail as these themes are not explored in this thesis (Det Kongelige Justis- og Beredskapsdepartement, 2016). The final text “The Introduction Program and Norwegian Language Training: What Works – For Who?” is 326 pages consisting of 11 chapters, for the purpose of this thesis and attempting to answer the research question, six chapters were chosen based on the themes addressed in this thesis. After categorizing the sections of the three texts into 12 categories; education, labour, language, income and living, trust, responsibility, social mobility, culture, gender, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, and democracy, and motivation, I created subcategories for most of the main categories.

Categories	Sub – categories
EDUCATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Competence</li> <li>• Qualifications</li> <li>• Short/long stay in Norway</li> <li>• Knowledge</li> <li>• Kindergarten</li> </ul>
LABOUR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discrimination in workplace</li> <li>• Discrimination in hiring</li> <li>• Unemployment</li> </ul>
LANGUAGE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acquisition</li> <li>• Introduction program</li> </ul>
INCOME AND LIVING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal economy</li> <li>• Independence</li> <li>• Housing/settling</li> </ul>
TRUST	
RESPONSIBILITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government</li> <li>• Immigrant</li> <li>• Shared</li> </ul>
SOCIAL MOBILITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Segregation</li> <li>• Loneliness</li> <li>• Participation in the community</li> <li>• Political participation</li> </ul>
CULTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diversity</li> <li>• Norms/values</li> <li>• Cultural minorities/differentiation</li> <li>• Discrimination</li> <li>• Religion</li> </ul>

GENDER	
2 <sup>ND</sup> GENERATION	
DEMOCRACY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Citizenship</li> <li>• Revocation</li> </ul>
MOTIVATION	

The first umbrella category is ‘education’, an arguably obvious category when exploring immigrant integration, as it relates to not only how it opens up for future opportunities, but also the social spectrum. The sub-categories chosen here are ‘competence’, which I expect to be a prominent element in the government texts. We also have ‘qualifications’, a relevant sub-category as there has been much discussion and debate on the transferability of qualifications from one nation to another. Moving on we have sub-categories called ‘short/long stay in Norway’, ‘knowledge’, and ‘kindergarten’. Furthermore, there is a category labelled as ‘labour’, labour and work are very prominent elements in existing research on immigrant integration and I expect all the chosen material to involve this category, in particular, I predict a high quantification of the category ‘labour’ in the government documents. The category of labour has three sub-categories: ‘discrimination in the workplace’, ‘discrimination in hiring’, and ‘unemployment’.

I especially predict that discrimination in the hiring phase and unemployment will be something the immigrants will touch upon in the podcasts and that unemployment may be discussed regarding not only how it can halt integration, but also how it factors into identity. The next category is ‘language’, with the sub-categories ‘language acquisition’ and ‘the intro program’. The introduction program was included as I expect the government, in particular, to include this dimension in their documents on integration. I, myself, have been involved as a teacher in the introduction program and have seen how important this initiative is for integration, with students coming to me for help with job applications and the

class discussing cultural differences between Norway and Syria, which they migrated from.

The category 'Income and Living' has three sub-categories, 'personal economy', 'independence', and 'housing/settling'. The category 'trust' does not have any sub-categories, and I expect a higher quantification of this category in the podcasts compared to in the government documents. The next category is 'responsibility', with the sub-categories: 'government', 'the immigrant', and 'shared'. This is an important and relevant category, and a theme which is prevalent in the existing research included in this thesis. Another important category is 'social mobility', which is related to many of the themes prominent in existing research, such as culture, identity, independence, participation, and self-sufficiency. This category has four sub-categories: 'segregation', 'loneliness', 'participation in the community', and 'political participation'. Another big category with five sub-categories is 'culture', with the sub-categories of; 'diversity', 'norms/values', 'cultural minorities/differentiation', 'discrimination', and 'religion'.

'Gender' is another category, I expect gender to be a more prevalent code in the podcasts than the government documents, as two out of five of the podcasts specifically states it is about men or women. I have also included the category '2<sup>nd</sup> generation' because it is interesting to compare the experiences and the level of integration between first- and second-generation immigrants. The second to last category is democracy and has the sub-categories 'citizenship' and 'revocation'. Finally, there is the category 'motivation', which was included in order to explore how the government and the Somalis view the level in which motivation on both parts has an effect on integration. This category is also motivated by Bilgic's argument of how when the motivation on the immigrant's side is not present integration is made harder (2000). The way he deems the motivation to not be present is if the immigrant has a dream to return to their home country.

The logic behind these categories and subcategories is what has been drawn out of existing research. Thus, many of the categories are inspired by what Kymlicka has

pointed out as important for group-differentiated and multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 1995). For example, one point which is highlighted is the importance placed on socioeconomic and political elements, “Socioeconomic and political marginalization interacts with immigrants’ own sense of belonging: it is hard to imagine newcomers feeling integrated before they make significant steps toward socioeconomic integration.” (Song, 2020). This theme runs throughout the government documents and the podcasts. Labour, education, and self-sufficiency permeates throughout the three government texts and are all themes that take large part of the texts.

Moreover, labour, living-situations, and benefits from the state are themes that occupy much of the podcasts. Therefore, categories such as income and living and social mobility were created. Furthermore, subcategories such as segregation, political participation and independence were formed. Independence is a theme that not only runs throughout the government documents and the podcasts but is also a prominent theme in research about immigrant integration. Song points to the Article 1 of the UN Charter when discussing the content of collective self-determination which says: “To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples” (Song, 2018). This is related to independence in how everyone should have the respect to and the right to “significant independent control over their collective life”. (Song, 2018, p.53). Taraku also points how self-reliance and respect of the Norwegian law is the classical understanding of integration (2016, p.73). The government documents discuss how in order for integration to be as successful as possible the immigrants must have independent control over their lives and to be self-sufficient. Furthermore, the podcasts are also concerned with independence, one example being a Somali man who felt discriminated by landlords and landladies and felt excluded from having the independence to choose where he wanted to live and consequently was forced to live in areas with many immigrants. This, which will be discussed more in the next chapter, can have large consequences, like the youth drug scene that has been blamed on Somali families being forced to live very close together. I believe this type of independence – if non-existent –

may have large consequences for identity, as it may feel demeaning for the immigrant to receive benefits and not be able to provide for one's self and one's family. This type of negative view of one's own identity may be crippling for integration as it may cause one to be afraid to try to join the work force or to self-segregate oneself from society as one may feel shame and be scared of comments about themselves by the rest of the society.

This brings me on to how immigrant integration is closely related to identity and most of the categories thus have some relation to identity. Identity is especially present in Taylor's 'Politics of Recognition'. In which he argues that identity and recognition are related in the way that identities are shaped by the presence or absence of recognition (Taylor, 1994). He states: "a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves." (Taylor, 1994, p. 25). Thus, misrecognizing an individual or a group of individuals, can have dire consequences for their self-identity or their group-identity. Misrecognition may lead the individual or group to give up in a sense and give into this misrecognized role. This may for example be the case of the aforementioned groups that are exempt from the labour market due to their race and are misrecognized as lazy and living of the tax-payers' money, which may – with time – become how these individuals and groups view themselves and begin accepting this mistaken role of identifying as lazy and living of tax-payers' money.

This is one of the preliminary hypotheses of this thesis, that when native Norwegians and other immigrant groups in different positions than the Somali immigrants recognize Somalis in Norway as a minority which is hard to integrate, is likely to live on benefits, and do not have the same standards of gender equality as the majority, this is likely to mirror into how the Somalis recognize their individual and group identity. This focus on identity and group identity has thus inspired categories such as culture, with sub-categories such as discrimination, segregation, and loneliness. Loneliness and segregation are things discussed in

both the government texts and in the podcasts and I think these two sub-categories can have a massive impact on identities. Therefore, I expect these sub-categories to be very prevalent in the final histograms for much of the material.

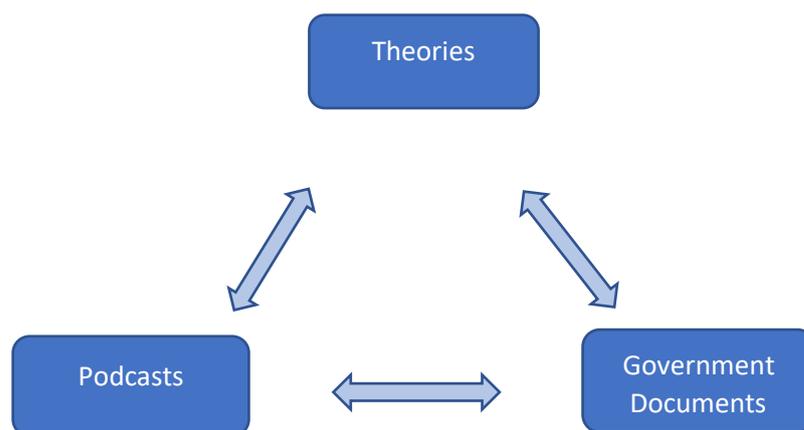
What I predict from the data from the texts is that the codes related to labour, education, language, and social mobility will be highly quantified by the end of the analysis. This is due to firstly preliminary overviews of the chapters of the government texts and the synopses of the podcasts. Secondly, I expect a high quantification of these codes based on existing research explored earlier in this thesis. Particularly the research related to independency, identity, and self-sufficiency. I also expect motivation, culture, and responsibility to be relatively highly represented topics. Especially, in terms of diversity, norms and values, religion, discrimination, and citizenship. Again, this is rationalized by examining what existing research claims to be important in immigrant integration. The spectrum of the category of culture is very wide, which is why this is the category with most sub-categories, five sub-categories and I predict this category to be highly quantified in the analysis. Culture is the major recurring theme in research on immigrant integration and has already been discussed previously in this thesis.

From the podcasts I expect a much deeper and more emotional insights into the immigrant's experiences with the Norwegian integration strategy. I developed three more main categories for the podcasts, and went through the government documents again, to see whether they would be represented here, they were not, thus I felt comfortable not adapting the categorizing scheme for the texts. The extra categories I added, were 'gratefulness', 'history', and 'home'.

I believe the histograms will be interesting to compare, as I will hopefully be able to infer some understandings of the hypotheses by examining the quantification of each category and sub-category in each text. For example, I will be able to see if there are differences or similarities in how the government versus the Somalis view the importance of education for integration. I of course need to not blatantly make inferences on the results and the examinations of the histograms, as especially the podcasts may not have a high quantification of education, simply

because education is not the topic of any of the five podcasts. However, I expect it to be interesting to see, for example, if the government does indeed put a high focus on education and labour as expected. Moreover, the exploration of the histograms cannot be taken too seriously, as the focus of the podcasts may depend on external agendas.

The way in which the analytical strategy is thought out can be visualized by this triangle.



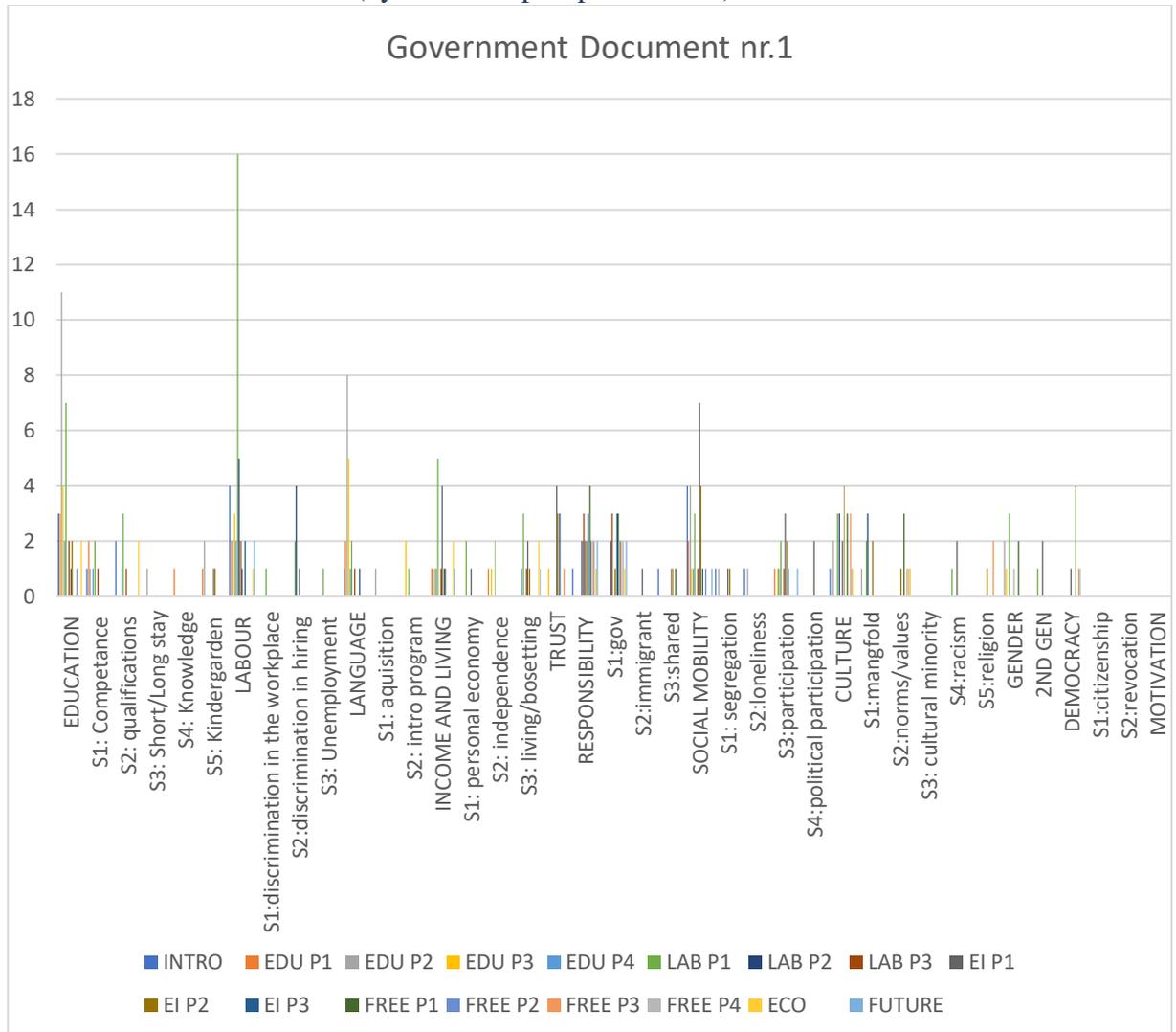
Each box of the triangle represents the main elements of analysis, and each starting point allows me to discover more when comparing it to one of the two other points. The analysis will be a comparison of the quantification of the categories and sub-categories, but also a comparison of the podcasts and government documents to the theories and existing research reviewed in Chapter two of this thesis. The transcriptions of the podcasts are found in Appendix 1-5.

## 5. DISCUSSION

### 5.1. DISCUSSION PART 1: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS → CATEGORIZED AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSED

Part one of this chapter will go through the results from the categorization of the three government documents and the five podcast episodes. Part two will then go into a deeper analysis of the results, comparing them, and relating them to the theories discussed earlier and how the results may aid in answering the research question.

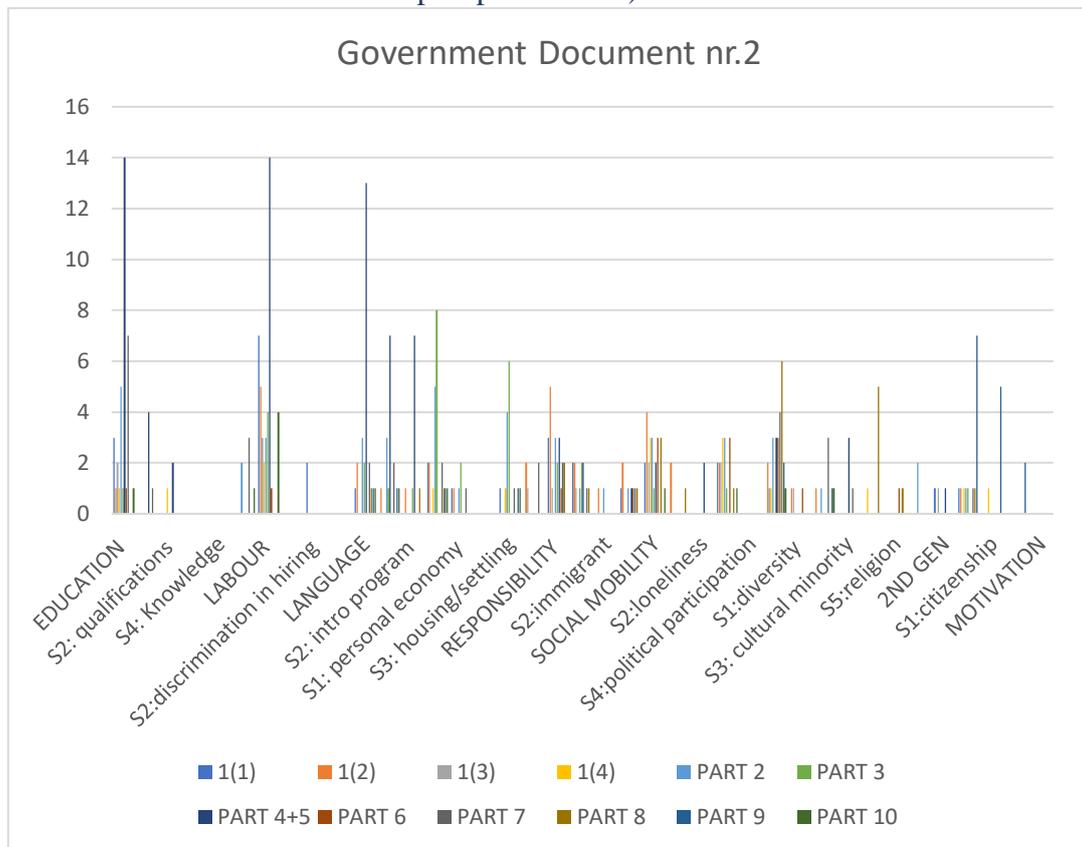
5.1.1. Presentation of results from text 1: Integration through knowledge – the government’s integration strategy 2019-2022 (by: Kunnskapsdepartementet)



As predicted, the first text is heavily focused on education, labour, language, and social mobility. The focus on these categories were compiled by looking at the frequency of the terms and how much of the text was dedicated to these topics. In each paragraph I counted the times this category appeared and then checked if it also fit into a sub-category. Some codes did not fit into a sub-category, whilst others had a very high presence, such as the sub-category participation in the category social mobility. Culture and responsibility are also explored a fair bit. Motivation, gender and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation individuals with immigrant parents are the least represented. Categorizing this text was relatively straight-forward as it

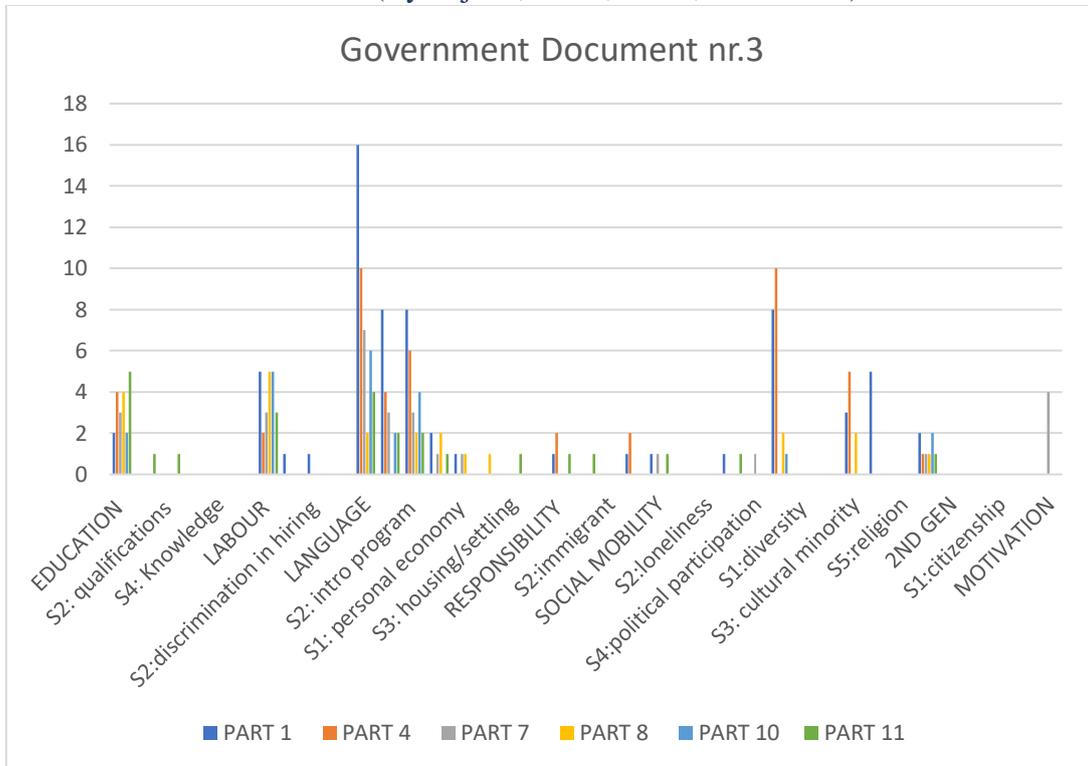
coincided with the chapters and sub-chapters. I had predicted a little more focus on culture, particularly diversity (shown in graph as ‘mangfold’) and norms and values. There was also much less focus on citizenship, religion, and discrimination than I had expected.

5.1.2. Presentation of results from text 2: Meld.st.30 2015-2016:  
From asylum-camp to working life – an efficient politics of integration (by: Det Kongelige Justis- og Beredskapsdepartementet)



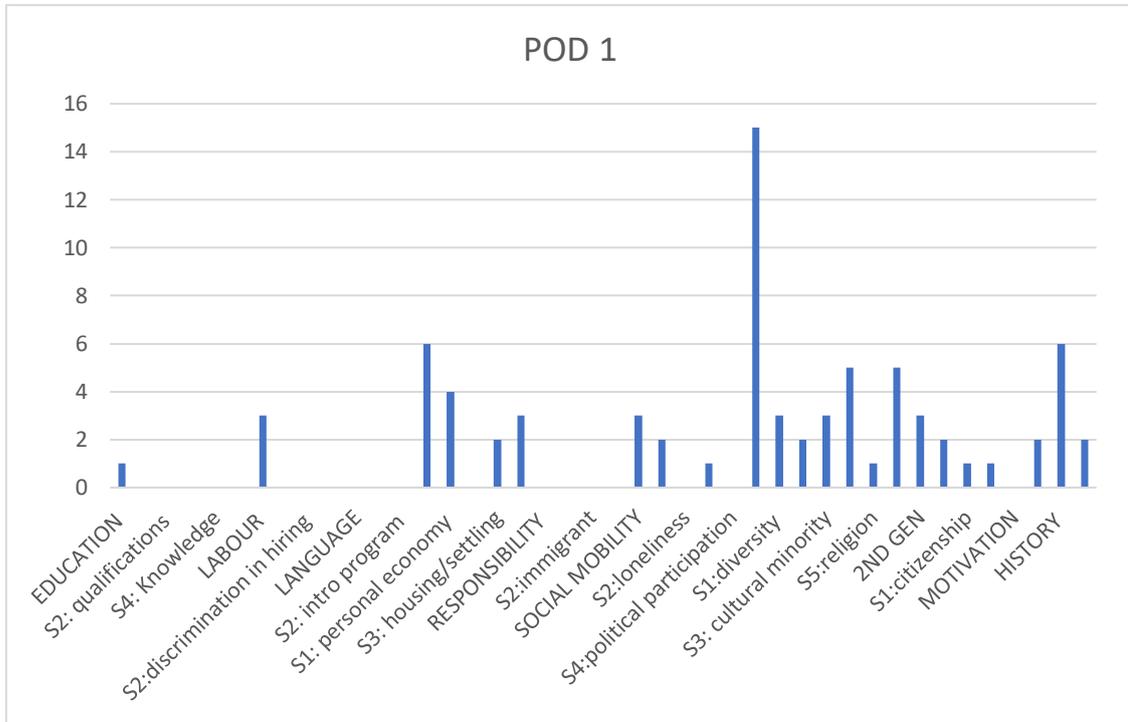
The second government documents also followed my expectations of being heavily focused on education, labour, and language. It also discusses housing and settling (shown in graph as ‘living/besetting) solidly. My expectations that citizenship would be fairly highly represented is found in this text. And racism/discrimination is also explored more than in the first text.

5.1.3. Presentation of results from text 3: the introduction-programme and learning Norwegian: what works – for who? (By: Djuve, Kavli, Sterri, and Bråten)



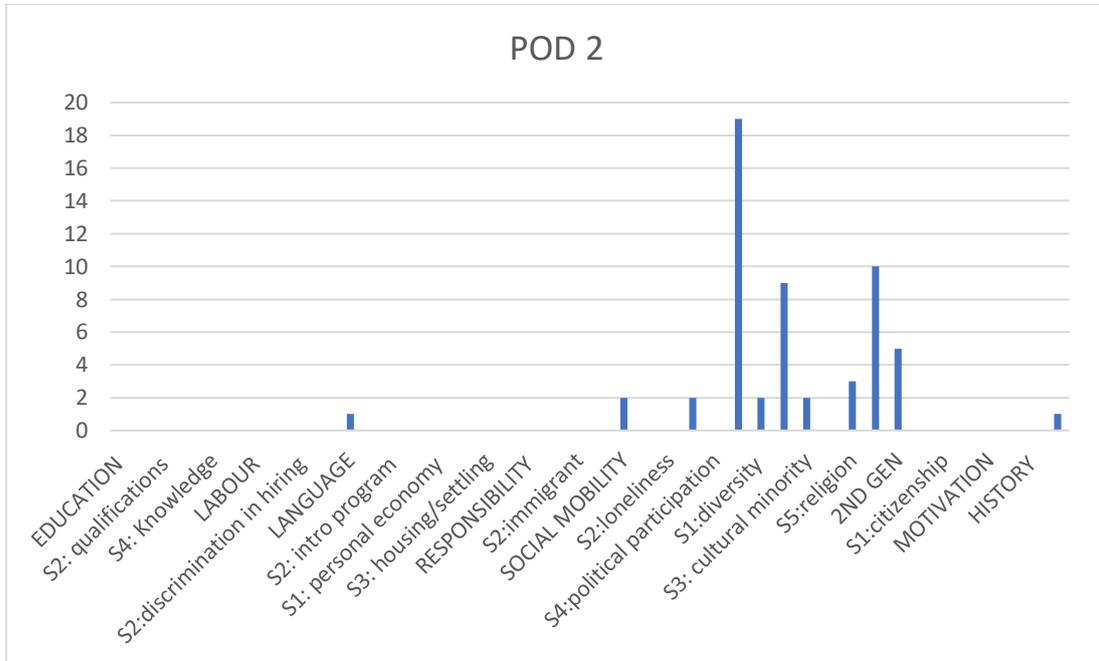
The final text is as seen above highly focused on language, fairly even between acquisition of the Norwegian language and the introduction programme. Culture, as predicted is also represented consistently, with diversity and cultural minorities/differentiation the most discussed or referred to. It was unexpected that labour and education were not more represented, and that responsibility was not considered in greater detail. Moreover, seeing as the introduction programme has goals of participation, education, and employment by the end of the programme, it is surprising that citizenship was not explored more.

5.1.4. Presentation of results from podcast 1 → 1:5 When they arrived



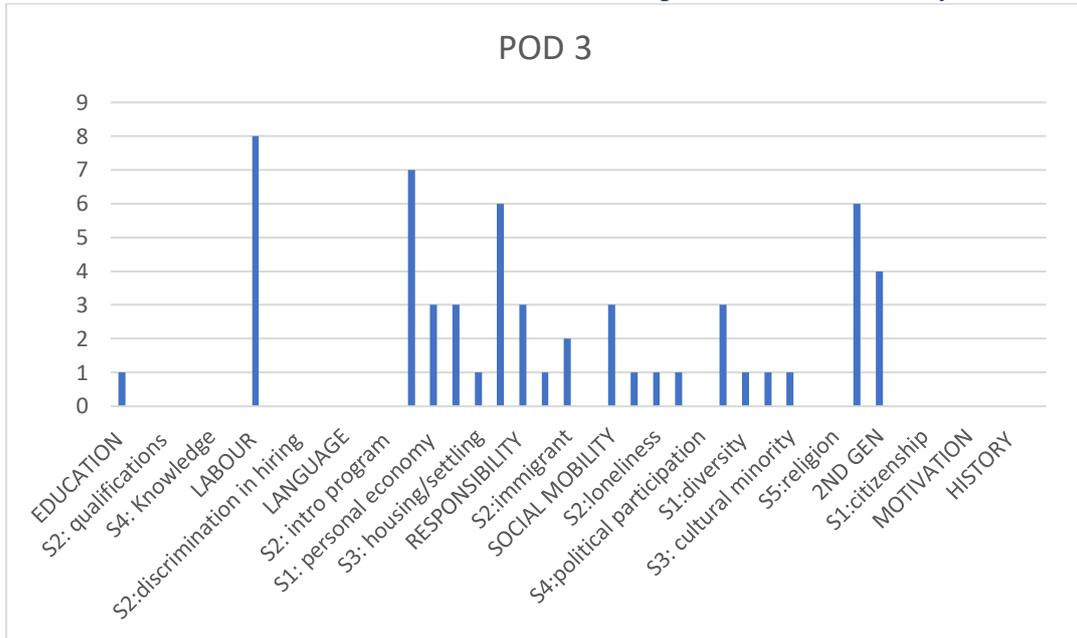
As expected, the graph produced from the categorization of podcast episode number one, shows more focus on the deeper and emotional aspects of integration, such as diversity, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, history, and personal economy and living situation.

### 5.1.5. Presentation of results from podcast 2 → 2:5 The women



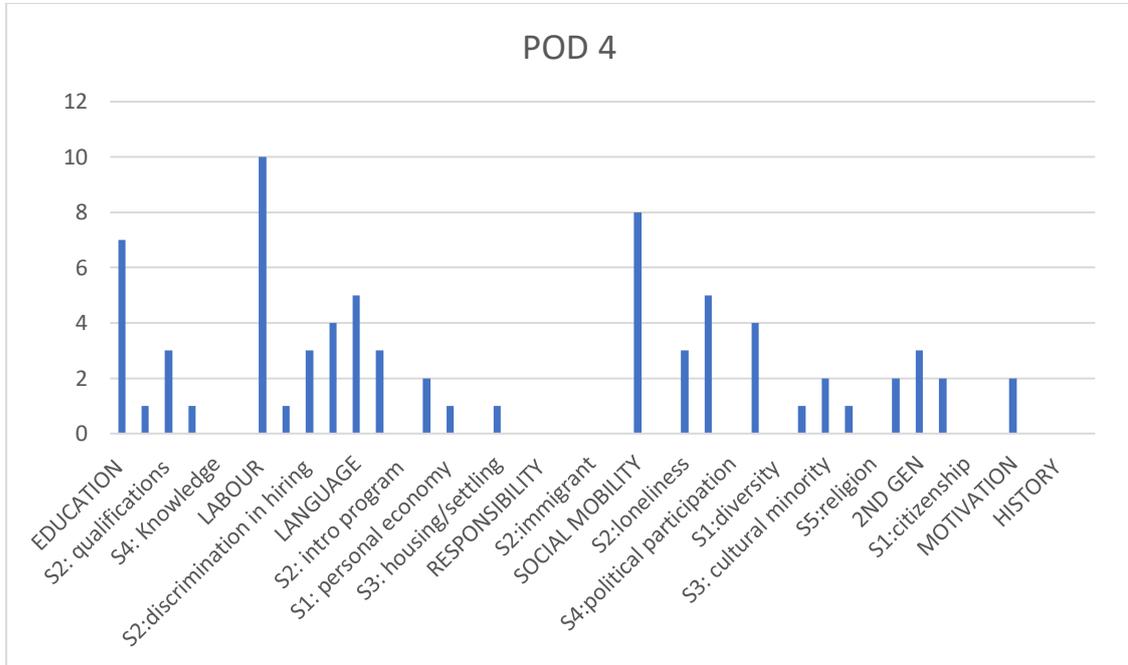
As the graph shows this episode is highly focused on the category of culture and religion, with particularly much mentioning of the sub-category norms/values. This episode was very much focused around how the Somali community and the Norwegian community would view couples consisting of a Somali woman and a Norwegian man. Unsurprising, then, gender is the second most represented category. However, there was also mention of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Somali immigrants throughout, particularly in relation to how the 1<sup>st</sup> generation views the new norms and values of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation.

### 5.1.6. Presentation of results from podcast 3 → 3:5 The youth



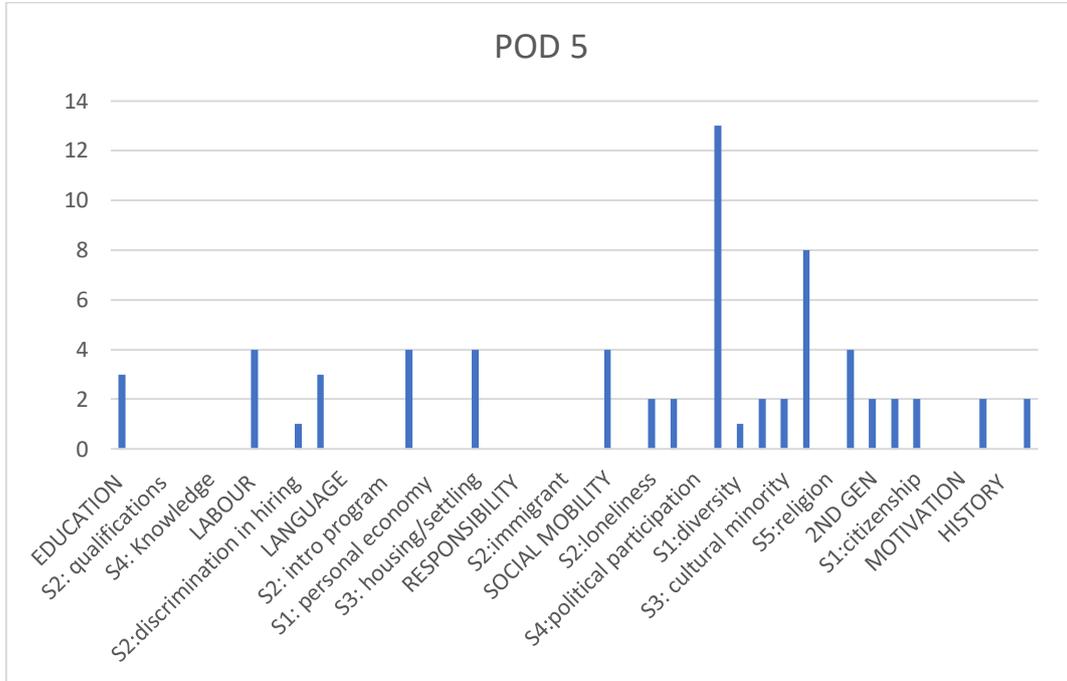
The highest featured category of this episode was labour, which I had not predicted, however, considering I did not include a category related to crime, labour was used as this episode explained about the criminal activities young Somali men engage with due to unemployment. The category of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation immigrants is strongly represented, which was to be expected in this episode. Trust was also not surprisingly a frequently used categorization as it has to deal with the distrust between the young Somali men and the authorities. However, the focus on income and living, and particularly the frequency of the category of independence was not expected, yet a welcome insight. Gender was also a strongly represented category, and one thing that was not expected, was that the episode labelled ‘the youth’ had no mention of the young female Somalis in Norway.

5.1.7. Presentation of results from podcast 4 → 4:5 With and without a job



The categorization of this episode went relatively as expected, with a high focus on education, labour, and social mobility, connecting it closely with the government documents. However, language was underrepresented and responsibility, surprisingly, there was no mention of.

### 5.1.8. Presentation of results from podcast 5 → The men



The final episode was a bit more sombre than the previous four episodes as it discussed the loneliness that is felt by many single Somalian men. They explained how they did not even find a place amongst younger Somalis at Somali cafés because they felt as if the cultural respect they had in Somalia and the authority to give advice had disappeared in the Norwegian society. Thus, they feel alone and segregated not only from Norwegian society, but also from the Somalian diaspora in Norway. Furthermore, this episode had the highest frequency of the sub-category of discrimination.

## 5.2. DISCUSSION PART 2: ANALYSIS DRAWING ON THE EXISTING LITERATURE

### 5.2.1. General summary of results in relation to the research question

I believe the histograms presenting the results of the categorizations may show that using these two relatively different types of data was the right choice for a research question that involves the roles of both the government and the immigrants themselves. As predicted, there is a notable shift in the categories in focus from the government documents to the podcasts, which I did predict to find. I predicted this shift due to the officialness of the government documents, versus the more relaxed, conversational, and emotional nature of the podcasts. Already in the first podcast, one can notice the shift. In the first episode we are introduced to the host Hodan, a 2<sup>nd</sup> generation immigrant whose mother immigrated to Norway in the 90s. The episode is centred around culture, gender, and history. It does not pay close attention to the categories that were most often recurring in the government documents such as education, labour, and language. Analysing both these types of data allowed for a wide perspective from a more practical view of labour and education to a narrative focused more on the individuals affected by the integration strategies. Moreover, including the podcasts opened for a look into a longer timeline of the Somalian experience in Norway. The next section will analyse the results in more detail by relating it to the literature discussed in chapter 2. It will begin by looking at some open-ended questions explored throughout the categorization, moving on I have drawn out some quotes from the podcasts that give insight to some of the results from the categorization of the government documents and are highly related to the literature used in this thesis, finally, I analyse the results by drawing on the theoretical frameworks established earlier in the thesis.

### 5.2.2. Open-ended questions

Generalizable, open-ended questions can be helpful when examining content analysis and the subsequent quantification of the categories and sub-categories. The first question I ask is what the text is about and what phenomenon is

addressed. The first text addresses how to run an integration strategy based on knowledge. It is highly focused on education and inclusion in the workforce for immigrants. This is a point in which differentiation of immigrant group is quite relevant, seeing as there are large challenges when trying to get one's education approved in Norway from countries in Africa as opposed to from countries in Eastern Europe (Hanssen, 2015). Thus, one argument to make is that formal education should be scrutinized more, and the integration strategy adapted accordingly. This way it can be assured that competence and qualifications that would benefit society does not go to waste.

Furthermore, not having one's education approved and therefore being rendered unable to work with the profession an individual had in its home country can have destructive effects on identity. As Scholte claims:

Whereas national identities involve an attachment to a particular homeland, other aspects of being such as age, bodily condition, class, faith, gender, profession, race, sexual orientation, and belonging to the human species itself are not bound to territorial location. (2005, p.239).

Scholte means that the rapid growth in which we share affiliations beyond territorial ones, is due to globalization (2005). Sharing non-territorial identity traits with people from other states is not a new phenomenon, however, there are many pieces of evidence that highlight how it has become much more common with globalization. In Norway it is evident in how there is a large number of doctors from Eastern Europe and many Swedish bartenders. However, in the case of this thesis with Somalis in Norway, it is not hard to imagine what toll it must take on an individual's identity if the person went from being a highly respected doctor in Somalia and then after immigrating to Norway and not having its education approved, being rendered unemployed. Such a change in a person's identity may have negative effects on mental health, which benefits no one in society. This in turn may have negative effects on the group identity of Somalis in Norway. As articulated by a large Norwegian news outlet in an article called

“Why Somalis can succeed” (Hammerstad, et.al., 2013). This article enunciates how not having educations approved can negatively affect the group identity, as they are being recognized as outcasts by the rest of society, only living off the state and sitting at cafés drinking tea and chewing khat. As claimed before, this may in turn influence of how the group recognizes themselves due to recognizing the group identity in light of how the outside understands it.

The next question is who are the subjects of analysis? For the first text, the main actors are the government, the immigrants, the local communities, teachers, and voluntary organizations. The focus of all three government texts is majorly on the government and the local communities, which is partly why I chose these texts, as they deal with the main actors surrounding this debate and related to my research question. However, the three government texts had surprisingly little focus on the immigrants and more on the government, employers, and learning institutions. Therefore, not only does this thesis claim that some more attention should be given to differentiating the different groups of immigrants in order to provide the most suitable integration strategy, but I also argue that the main government documents regarding integration should focus more on the immigrant. It seems problematic that something that should first and foremost be a practice aimed at integrating newcomers does not actually address the immigrants in detail. I believe it to be problematic that not more of the immigrant’s narratives are mentioned in these documents due to how much insight they may actually provide.

### 5.2.3. Quotes from the podcast

One quote from the podcast series highly relevant to my thesis, in terms of how it addresses the discrimination of Somalis, is a quote from a young man named Mohammad, who got a viewing for an apartment. When Mohammad went to the viewing it all went downhill because the landlord asked where he was from, to which he responded he was from Somalia. The landlord said – and Mohammed made sure to say that it was not in a venomous way – “I do not rent out to Somalis.”. This clearly shows that there are differences of the perceptions of

immigrants, as Mohammed is not a common Norwegian name, the landlord probably expected a foreigner, and then as soon as it was stated that the possible tenant was from Somalia it was a clear no. This issue also addresses living situation and integration in daily life, which are thoroughly discussed in both the government documents and the podcasts. The types of reputations and allegations toward Somalis which cause them to struggle securing a place to live can be quite harmful to the group identity and how the rest of the society recognizes the group. An integration strategy which is informative not only to the immigrants but to the rest of the society as well, would likely have positive effects on the group's public picture.

Another quote that highlights the aspect of differentiation is this; "Even though we're Somalis, we're not the same". This points to identity politics, individuality, and group identity. It is clearly very unrealistic to expect an integration strategy perfectly adapted to the individuals, however, grouping immigrants together based on a few of the most important similarities could be beneficial. But again, 'grouping' immigrants into different groups also has challenges and critiques, this will be elaborated on later in the thesis.

#### 5.2.4. Analysis in relation to the theoretical approach

Hodan (podcast host) discusses her mom – a 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrant – in the first episode 'when they arrived'. She mentions how much her mom loves Norway, and how this makes her sad because she believes her mom is unaware of how negative Norway is towards Somalis. This is related to the paradox mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, about how there is a dissociation between the records of how well integrated Somalis are versus how satisfied Somalis themselves feel (Husøy, et.al., 2017). This is interesting because in a way it weakens both the government's measurement of successful or unsuccessful integration and the immigrants' own experience of integration. It also points to how an integration strategy with some adaptations based on the differences amongst immigrant groups may be helpful. Because of how different immigrant groups may record how successful they feel integration has been.

Moreover, putting more focus on the differences between groups of immigrants in the integration strategy may raise some public opinions and perhaps change them for the better. Hodan explains how she once asked a man on the street, a young and educated man; “Somalis in Norway? What do you think of when I say that?” To which the man responded, “I just think African”. This may not be one of the largest issues in this debate, however, it is problematic to bunch a whole continent with so vastly different cultures, histories, religions, and languages together. For example, the majority of immigrants from Eritrea immigrate to Norway due to political corruption and not violent conflict. Thus, acknowledging these group’s different backgrounds and reasonings may benefit the integration strategy.

There are of course several sound and valid counterarguments to the claims that an integration strategy based on differentiation may be an upgrade and help more people into the workforce, limit segregation and discrimination, secure households that are financially stable, and have an integrated minority group participating in the community. One such counter-argument is the theory of classical assimilation which was discussed earlier in this thesis. The classical assimilation theory would argue that the minorities should as little as possibly retain their individual cultures, religions, and languages. As Eriksen and Sajjad claims “Assimilation means the ethnic groups becomes gone, it melts in with the majority.” (2016, p.79). Responding to this argument, I would counteract that the group identities can be retained and that the cultural character does not need to disappear, yet the groups can participate and thrive in shared institutions in the society. A quote I believe reaffirms this claim is by Song; “The implication, then, is not necessarily to reduce diversity by reducing immigration but to determine ways of fostering the integration of newcomers, as well as generating trust and solidarity.” (2016, p.68). Which I believe may be made possible by constructing an integration strategy based more on differentiating the many groups of immigrants.

Another open-ended question could be which aspects of the phenomenon are not addressed. In the case of the majority of the sections of the government texts,

differentiation is not addressed. As stated before, this may be problematic due to the wide range of cultural differences and historical and linguistic backgrounds of all the immigrants entering Norway. Not addressing this phenomenon essentially means discarding the different challenges concerning education and work-life for immigrants from, for example, Eastern Europe versus Asia versus Africa. Not to mention the massive range of different background and narratives within these regions as well. This is where Kymlicka's idea of group-differentiated rights is an interesting framework to consider. A Polish immigrant generally has a vastly different religious background and tends to immigrate to Norway for very different reasons than an immigrant from Somalia. Particularly, considering the Somalis that immigrated to Norway in the 90s due to violence and conflicts. The question becomes whether it is ideal to have an integration strategy that is similar for these two immigrants, or should there instead be some types of differentiation in the tactics employed to integrate the immigrants? Perhaps it is problematic that the immigrants have the same rights and approaches to learning Norwegian, earning a citizenship, and job-training despite one immigrating on the basis of personal finance and the other on the basis of survival. Of course, the immigrant coming to Norway for financial reasons may also be coming due to survival if the financial situation for the individual was dire in its home country. These are difficult questions that must be approached with caution and take care to include several perspectives.

As expected, and as discussed in the introduction, language acquisition is a step in the integration process that is highly stressed. When discussing a suggestion of an integration strategy accounting for group differences, language acquisition is one step in which I believe there is an opportunity to differentiate the strategy. One of the podcast guests pointed out an important point when it comes to how different groups of immigrants inevitably will learn the Norwegian language differently. Not only do they come from different territories with different languages and alphabets. However, the guest points out that Somalia did not get a written language until 1972. Whilst Polish is a Slavic language. The Slavic languages first became written down in the late 800s (Store Norske Leksikon). Clearly then,

Somalis have much shorter experience with the written language, and I would claim that the tactics for learning Norwegian could be differentiated between these groups. As with all the other points of where the integration strategy could be amended and differentiated, it would be a very extensive project. However, I believe, it would benefit society and outweigh the cost and time it would take to amend the integration strategy.

As with any other country, there will inevitably be quite large differences between the countryside and the city. This may be another point in which the integration strategy could be modified on the bases of differences. In the second episode of the podcast, the guest explains how she experienced a culture shock when she moved from a small village to Oslo. Therefore, addressing the differences when it comes to integration in a small village versus in a big city like Oslo could be beneficial and perhaps have an effect on segregation and discrimination in small villages and high crime statistics amongst young Somali men in Oslo (Østli and Stoltenberg, 2004).

## 6. CONCLUSION

### 6.1. Brief Overall Summary

Concluding this examination of existing theories on immigrant integration, content analysis of three government document and five podcast episodes, and a discussion on the results of the analysis, I will now relate the results to and attempt to answer the research question, which is; *What factors influence the integration of Somali immigrants in Norway?* I will also consider what agents and factors I have left out and what future research may examine.

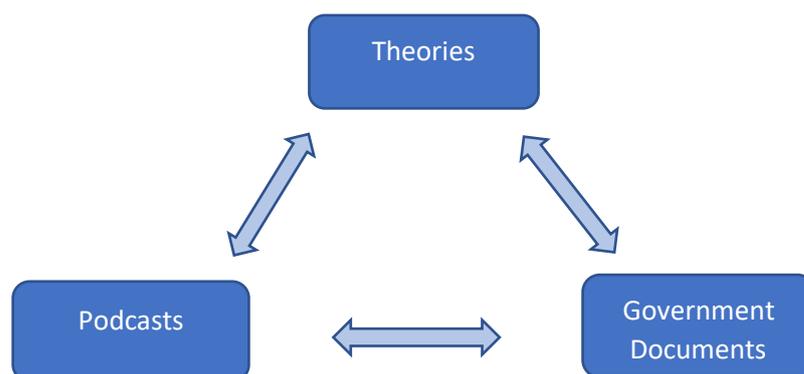
The thesis began by claiming that immigrant integration is important in a globalizing world where borders are becoming blurred and there is a new emphasis on the recognition of all people's right to protect and provide rights to non-nationals. Next, basic facts surrounding Somali immigrants in Norway were introduced and the main problems related to Somali integration in Norway were laid out. These being primarily, how Somalis in general score lower on measurements of employment and education than other immigrant groups in Norway. The thesis thus set out to examine how the different parties involved conceptualize integration, how they measure integration as successful or less successful, and where the responsibility of integration is placed. The thesis then moved on to a review of existing literature and theories dealing with immigrant integration and multiculturalism. Entzinger and Biezeveld's work on culture and integration were briefly examined, particularly how integration is defined by the involved agents and how integration deals with the relations between different parts of a society (2003). Aden's work was used to get an insight into how an immigrant in Norway defines integration, his definition focusing also on the relations of different parts of a society and how successful integration has benefits for all parties involved (2009). The goals and main focus of the IOM was also presented in order to see what a major international organization closely related to this topic thought was important in immigrant integration (2020). Specifically, IOM's main goal highlighted the fact of integration being a two-way process, a theme which runs throughout the literature on immigrant integration (2020).

In order to examine the prominent theories on immigrant integration, I began by examining assimilation theories. Theories concerned with making the immigrant similar to the existing society as opposed to allowing the immigrants to retain their cultural differences and relating the immigrants into a new society that also can make changes to accommodate the newcomers. The literature review then moved on to a major theory of this thesis, theories of multiculturalism, focusing in particular on Kymlicka's work on multiculturalism and group-differentiated rights (1995. And Song, 2020). In short terms, allowing the immigrants – the minority – to maintain and include their cultural and religious differences into society. I also included Taylor's 'politics of recognition', as immigrant integration is concerned with identity and how identity is shaped through the way a group or individual is recognized by others (1994).

The method chapter goes over the majorly qualitative method of content analysis, pointing out that there will also be quantitative elements. I present the material in more detail; three government documents regarding immigrant integration and a podcast series containing five episodes with appearances of different Somali immigrants. I then explain the conceptual and selective content analysis used in this thesis and how and why I will apply values coding. After presenting the categories and sub-categories which were chosen after a preliminary reading of the texts and hearing of the podcasts, and by drawing from existing research, I hypothesized that the category 'labour', 'social mobility', 'citizenship', and 'education' would be some of the categories which will be the most quantified based on existing research's focus on employment, identity, discrimination, and culture. The logic behind the hypothesis is more closely explained in chapter four. Chapter five presented the histograms created from the coding. Some expectations were met, such as the high quantification of 'citizenship' and 'culture' in the government documents, and some predictions were wrong, such as the underrepresentation of 'language' and 'responsibility' in the podcasts.

## 6.2. Concluding Thoughts

By thinking of the results and comparing them with the triangle in mind, what factors may be said to have an effect on the integration of Somali immigrants in Norway.



Firstly, as hypothesized, cultural factors can be argued to have an effect on immigrant integration, as seen in the theories on multiculturalism and politics of recognition, and as seen in the histograms from the content analysis of the material regarding immigrant integration. However, cultural factors are a wide spectrum that can have different influences on immigrant integration. Yet, I would be inclined to argue that cultural differences may be the major factor that, if not dealt with properly, can have a negative effect on immigrant integration. Thus, why I have chosen the term *differentiated integration*, as an integration strategy to examine. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the term *differentiated integration* is heavily influenced by Kymlicka’s representations of multiculturalism and group-differentiated rights (1995. Song, 2020). Group-differentiated rights may be defined as “a right of a minority group (or a member of such a group) to act or not act in a certain way in accordance with their religious obligations and/or cultural commitments.” (Song, 2020). I believe this to be a good way to look at immigrant integration, specifically when related to the integration of Somalis in Norway.

Related to group-differentiated rights, I discussed one quote from the podcasts in Chapter Five which highlights one of the major problems. When asked what he thinks when he thinks of a Somali, a Norwegian man answered “I just think African”. Thus, lumping together, a whole continent with a wide range of religious, cultural, economic, ethnic, and languages into one group. If integration were to be applied using a strategy of *differentiated integration*, and thus with a focus on group-differentiated rights, more considerations could be possible in terms of adjusting the integration policy to fit the culture, religion, and reasoning behind immigrating better to different immigrant groups. Although, as stated before, we cannot take the results of the content analysis too seriously, due to the possibility of external agendas, we do see a trend of high quantification of the category ‘culture/religion’, which may point to the fact that it is extremely important for this immigrant group, whilst for other immigrant groups, there may be a different distribution of the weight placed on the categories. Thus, a factor that may have hindered Somali integration in Norway can arguably be a lack of attention to the distinctiveness of Somali religion and culture.

Another factor that effects integration, supported both by existing research and the analysis of the government documents, is employment or unemployment. This is also supported by the podcasts which surround issues around work and simply having something to do. I believe employment or unemployment can be seen as both a factor caused by integration, but also a factor that can have an effect on integration. In the sense that it can be a factor caused by integration in how for some immigrant groups, getting their education approved in Norway can be impossible, this was mentioned several times in the podcasts. Again, *differentiated integration* comes into play, whereas some immigrant groups may find it much easier to get their education approved, Somalis struggle with this. This in turn causes unemployment which can lead to isolation and self-segregation, which again

may lead to negative formations of one's own identity, and hinder integration.

Above, we can also see how social mobility may be a factor which has an effect on Somali integration in Norway, there are also many other ways that can cause loneliness, segregation, and identity struggles other than unemployment. For example, podcast number five discuss older men who struggle with their identity and struggle to adjust in a society that does not see them as they were seen in Somalia. Structuring an integration strategy based on differentiated integration could perhaps play a part in shaping the experience of integration in ways that increase the social mobility of Somalis.

One thing I believe will be very important in the debate surrounding immigrant integration in the future, is mainstream and social media. Mainstream media would have been an interesting actor to include in this thesis, however, due to limitations of time, I decided to put primary focus on the government and the immigrants. That is not, however, to say that mainstream media is less important than these. I believe mainstream media has a lot of power on integration efforts and may have key effects on integration of Somalis in Norway, especially regarding how the public views different groups of immigrants.

Moreover, to draw on the politics of recognition, I believe mainstream media has a substantial effect on how the immigrants view and identify themselves. Constantly seeing headlines claiming one thing or another about your group or sub-group will inevitably have an effect on how the individuals of these groups view their groups. If, even though crime is actually relatively low compared to other immigrant groups and the population in general, the Somali youth are constantly brought up as very criminal, at one point, they might give into what the general public views

them as, seeing as there seemingly is no point to act different to what you are recognized as because it will not make a difference.

I believe this could be part of the answer as to the paradox brought up in the introduction, of how, even though Somalis statistically seem to be the worst integrated they still reportedly are the happiest. This can be seen in podcast number one where the reporter states that she believes the reason why her mother loves Norway and Norwegians so much is because she does not see what is being written about Somalis in the newspapers. So perhaps, an answer to the paradox is unknowingness. However, again, it is important not to be generalizable. But at least for the reporter's mother, this seems to be the answer as to why she reports to be so happy with Norway.

Social media is also an important agent in the debate, particularly amongst the youth, as explored in episode three of the podcast series. Social media may be both positive and negative for everyone. In order for social media to not have a negative impact on integration, I believe more research could be performed on the effects of social media on immigrant integration. Social media is a powerful actor when it comes to being left out, which is an important phenomenon to avoid. And it is a medium that may be used to segregate and discriminate.

Another actor I could have included is volunteer organizations. An actor I believe can have very good effects on integration as it allows immigrants something to do, it is a very social thing to do, and it can help improve Norwegian language skills. However, there is an almost unlimited number of actors that can be taken into consideration in this debate, to mention a few that have not been mentioned in this thesis, is mayors, community planners, job-centres, family dynamics, religious leaders, social media influencers, psychologists, right-wing extremists, left-wing extremists, the global community, etc.

There are some obvious missing pieces to the puzzle that I have intentionally left out for the sake of answering the research question in a way suitable for the length of this thesis. Some themes that are quite important to integration, and in particular Somalis in Norway, are crime, and physical and mental health.

In conclusion, I believe some of the very important factors that have an effect on Somali Integration in Norway are the focus on culture and religion, the concern over social mobility, and employment. Again, these are all interconnected and relate to the other categories in the analysis. However, I believe these factors may be seen as types of umbrella factors that also interplay with the other factors. For Somali integration in Norway to be successful, I therefore suggest a review of the current strategies and how they perhaps do not seem to be so considerate to these three factors in the case of the differences between the immigrant group. Of course, it is important to consider that this would be a huge project, and therefore a lot more research is to be done beforehand.

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## 8. APPENDIX

### 8.1. Podcast 1

EKKO – SAMFUNNSPODDEN

*Somalis in Norway (1:5) When they Arrived.*

25.12.2019 – 16 minutes

H = (Hodan, producer)

A = (Amina, Hodan's mom)

I1 = (Interview object 1)

I2 = (Interview object 2)

S = Stig Jarle Hansen

Producer: This is Ekko – the society-pod, my name is Martin Jahr. 40 000 Somalis live in Norway. Amina arrived here in the late 80s, like many others.

H: Thursday the 22 of March 1973, the Norwegian owned ship MS Anita leaves the harbour in Newport News, Virginia. The ship is on its way to Germany and has a staff of 32 men, most of them Norwegian. My uncle Mohammad Assan Guleid, works as a 'help-man' on MS Anita on this day, he is 45 years old and the oldest in the family.

(News clip). Anita's shipping company asks for the ship to announce itself and its position. Via radio, lights, or rockets. There is a continuing listening of the three international emergency frequencies.

H: But then something happens. A few hours after the boat's departure, the signal between the ship and the land is lost. And after a while it becomes apparent that it has sunk. None of the crewmates survive.

(News clip). From the whole nation and from Turkey, Spain, Germany, and England, over 400 of the closest relatives has come to Bygdøy in remembrance of the 32 who remained out there in the sea.

H: Mohammed's wife is in Somalia with their kids. They have lost a father and a provider for the family. Then comes a surprising message. As compensation

Mohammed's son, my cousin, is offered to come to Norway. Just like that, the horrifying shipwreck, becomes the start of my family's history in Norway. 12 years later my parents also come to Norway. I begin with the story of how my family came to Norway, because it sheds light on some of the Norwegian-Somali history which previously has been unknown. And even though it is unique for us, I know that Somalis in Norway have many stories worth listening to. With this series we wish to make room for some of these stories and to get an insight into one of Norway's largest immigrant groups.

H: You are listening to Ekko: Somalis in Norway, a podcast series by Hodan Gulaid and Carima Tirillsdottir Heinesen. I am Hodan and I am Norwegian-Somali. This is episode 1. My parents came to Norway in 1986, the year before I was born, and if I was to describe a typical Somali woman, then the first person that comes to mind is my mother Amina. One of my earliest memories as a child is of my mother trying to scare us. Whilst my sister and I were watching a horror movie in the living room, she took a bedsheet over her head and jumped outside the window. The funniest thing she knew was to scare us. I can understand how it wasn't always easy to have four kids on a tight economy. She once told me how she sometimes stole slices of bread from the kindergarten she worked at so that we could have a packed lunch with us to school the next day. My mom has had it rough, but at the same time she has developed an immense gratefulness of Norway and Norwegians.

H: The most important thing for my mom is that we are safe.

A: I always pray for the Norwegian flag. (Her English is difficult to understand).

H: For the Norwegian flag? You pray for the Norwegian flag?

A: Ya, the Norwegian flag, I pray, I say it will be good. It will be high up, high up, and be safe all the people, Norwegian of course. They have helped us, they give us shelter, home, food, clothes, and everything. They give us absolutely everything, and that is so nice, and I always pray for them.

H: My mom loves Norway, even the winter, she has started to love after 30 years in the country. At the same time it is a bit sad, because the wonderful perception she has of Norway is not the same at all, as the perception Norwegians have of Somalis today. I don't think my mom knows how much negative is written about Somalis.

H: So let me just do a thing right now, I'll search Somalis on NRK.no, just to see what is written about Somalis. Norwegian-Somalis fear for their citizenship. NAV (the institution in which benefits are sent from) is a sleeping pillow for many Somalis. Fear of Norwegian-Somali children are being sent out of Norway. Somalis can lose their status as refugees. Sending children to torture. The child services stepped in when there came too few messages of concern. New rapport: 4 out of 10 Norwegian-Somali young adults are being sent abroad to school.

H: I have always thought that to properly get to know someone, you need to know their story, and my story begins in Somalia. The far-stretched country squeezed between Kenya and Ethiopia. The coastline where the dry land meets the azure-blue sea is the longest in Africa. To me, Somalia is old cars honking, women in colourful clothing on their way to a wedding often with a kid, it's men sitting in groups discussing politics often in oversized beige trousers. Before the war, the capital Mogadishu, was called the white pearl in the Indian Sea. The city was modern, known for its white buildings facing the sea and its Italian architecture. But in 1991 a bloody civil war breaks out that lasts for many years.

(News Clip). Somalia is a country that has completely unravelled. One disaster has set of the next. Especially in the capital Mogadishu, where there hardly goes a day without a person being killed or hurt.

H: In the years that follows more than 1 million Somalis are forced to leave their homes. And many find their way to Norway. A little, unfamiliar country on the northern hemisphere. Today, we are the third largest immigrant group in the country. (She does not say where she got this from, but I assume she excluded Poland and Sweden as immigrants due to them coming for work, not as refugees).

Yes, we are actually as many as 40 000 people. So what do actually Norwegians know about us?

H: (asking someone on the street): Somalis in Norway. What does that make you think?

I1: I just think African. Not really anything else, that they're a person from Somalia.

I2: what do I think of then? They're a, maybe a bit more isolated group. Their own culture. I don't know enough about them.

H: Does it matter if I say female Somali or male Somali?

I2: Yes.

H: Why?

I2: I feel there's a clear separation between them.

H: How so?

I2: That you don't see the females as much maybe. They're probably more isolated

S: I think there's large similarities between Norwegian culture and Somali culture.

H: This is Stig Jarle Hansen. He is a professor at the Norwegian environment and biocultural university. He is one of the country's biggest experts on Somalia and was at one point in time one of the few who travelled to Somalia to participate in field research.

S: Both cultures are very egalitarian, there is a strong 'similarity-thought-process' and at times a refreshingly lack of respect for authority. To be treated more as the same, which is also in Somalian culture. Everyone is kind of in the same space, egalitarian in general. I had a friend who served for the military outside Norway and his instructors actually said that Norwegians are very hard to discipline and there's a lot of positives about that, and I think the Somalis also have this mind-

set. You have to convince them, not control them. That's where Somali and Norwegian culture is very similar.

H: The civil war in Somalia led many to lose all faith in the state.

S: I remember one of my Somali friends said sometimes its sensible to not trust institutions, I should rather trust people, and that's also somewhat foreign to Norwegians where we actually have faith in institutions. And that's where I think Somalis have a way to go. But it's no wonder, because here you have a tradition where your tax-money could goes towards shots fired at you and you received very little back from the state, a dictatorship. And after 1991 there has been almost no state at all. It is beginning to return, but it is a state that struggles.

H: Many Somalis in Norway struggle with finding their place, the men don't deal with the transition into the Norwegian society well, many women can't get jobs, and Somalian children grow up in families with bad finance. Even if Somalis have been in Norway for over 30 years, there are still many that have little contact with the Norwegian society. Many Norwegians are also sceptical towards Somalis. According to FAFO, almost half of Norwegians think that Somalis can't become Norwegian.

H: (Asking people on the street): Can Somalis as a group be integrated completely? Can they become Norwegian?

I1: The way it is now, it will be hard.

H: When I say Somalis in Norway, what does that make you think?

I1: I think ethnicity, they live in Norway and can think of more of the benefits instead of being more hard-working, at least that is my opinion.

H: If you were renting out your apartment and a Somali applied, what would you think then?

I1: I wouldn't have considered it too much, I don't see it as a negative thing. Of course it can be hard, but I know several Somalis who are hard-working, so I

wouldn't have thought about that. But if there were other applicants then it may be harder, cause you hear stories, where they come from a background where they might not be the most trustworthy when it comes to paying bills, keeping the apartment proper, making sure nothing gets broken.

H: I often think that the distance between Norwegians and Somalis would shrink if more people got to see the same side of the Somali culture that I see. The self-irony and the warmth of the Somalian people.

S: And I see the Somalis as the Italians, they aren't as unpolite as they seem, but they are up in your face and they gesture very animatedly, a very rough and brute sense of humour, and can easily become angry but it also passes quickly.

H: Somalis are known as a people of many poets and story-tellers and the ability to tell a good story gives status in Somalian rings. We have therefore decided to call the series sheekosheeko which means story in Somali. And when the storyteller says sheekosheeko, the children and adults gather around to listen to the story.

## 8.2. Podcast 2

EKKO – SAMFUNNSPODDEN

*Somalis in Norway (2:5) The Women*

26.12.2019 – 23 minutes

M = Mona (Hodan's cousin)

A = Ayan Gele

H = Hodan (reporter)

A2 = Anders (Hodan's boyfriend)

Producer: This is Ekko – the society-pod, my name is Martin Jahr. Norwegian Somali Mona is born and raised in Norway. Yet she was rather nervous when she entered a relationship with a Norwegian man.

H: Love. Think about your own life. The day you decided that your chosen one was going to be yours. How many considerations did you have to make? And did you ever think about what your neighbor thought? Or if your parents would accept your choice? Love is an eternally current theme, but the rules of the game, even within Somali environments, varies.

You're listening to sheekosheeko a series about Somalis in Norway, by Hodan Gulaid and Carima Tirillsdottir Heinesen. My name is Hodan and I am a Norwegian Somali. This is episode 2, and today I'm asking: Can Somali women date whoever they want? When we started to work on this series, I published a post on a facebook group for Norwegian Somalis. One of those who reached out is Ayan Gele. We meet at the botanical garden in Oslo. Her hijab is styled elegantly over a brown top, and her smile reveals a diamond on one of her canines.

A: I am a rather traditional Somali woman. And I also have a bit of “Ola Nordmann” within me too. But it’s a good mix, I feel.

H: When Ayan was 13 years old, her family moved from the small village Os in Østerdalen. From being the only Somali Muslim in seventh grade at Os, she started eight grade at Hersleb junior high school in Oslo.

A: I’m actually from Hedmark. So I’m raised as a bit of a redneck. It’s a bit different to be there than what people are used to in Oslo, those who are raised or born here. But when I moved here in 2006, I started junior high school here and it was a complete transformation for me. Like, it was a big culture shock because I was used to merely ethnical Norwegians and all that. Then I started at Hersleb junior high school, and it was 99% foreigners, 99% Muslims, and everyone wore big hijabs while I wore pants. It was a small culture shock to begin with because I came from the village where I was the only Somali Muslim in my class. But I gradually became a part of the group, and in a way became a part of them.

H: It’s in Oslo she meets him who will later become the father of her son.

A: I met him through... they were a gang of boys and we were a gang of girls. It was a day in the city, then we just met, then he got in touch, so we became familiar from there.

H: And then you thought you were so in love that you wanted to marry him after a while?

A: Um, in love and in love, I don’t know what to say about it. I feel I was a bit young back then. I probably would not make the same choices today that I made back then, but it was a good life experience to gain. I was 20 years old when I had a son. It was right after I finished high school.

H: Ayan and the man lived together for some years before she decided to leave him. According to her because they grew apart. Did you get any reactions to your choice of getting a divorce?

A: I got some reactions from slightly older generations, elder aunts who have a completely different meaning and a completely different mindset than me. And those reactions were a bit more like: oh, this will be so difficult for you and it will be a long road and.. but I was like more determined that if my child is going to be fine, then I need to be fine too. I don't want my kid to grow up in a home where there isn't two happy parents who get the best out of each other.

H: Unlike what many people believe, it's not that unusual to get a divorce among Somalis in Norway. Actually, most women in my life are divorced. When I grew up, I saw many Somali women around me who were either divorced or not divorced but were not together with their husband, raised the children alone. Was this something you thought about when you suddenly were alone with your son, that you in a way maybe had become a stereotypical image, did you ever think about that?

A: I'm a younger generation right, there is of course a difference between single mothers. It's the older generation that has their challenges, and also their positive sides too. And then there is the new generation that is raised here, so I.. I'm not traumatized of that picture but I have also witnessed the side where I have seen many mothers with several kids and alone where it seems really exhausting. But when I look at the generation where I belong, I feel that many has coped pretty well. But they also have their challenges.

H: Were you scared?

A: To make the choice? Not really, because I had thought it over well. When I think things well through and I consider things very well and I... when things are finished from my part and when my heart isn't there 100% then it's not any point to force forward something else. At that time, it was right for me, and I'm looking forward to the future, I'm not gonna be single for the rest of my life either, maybe, I don't know, but that's not the plan.

H: Ayan is a Somali woman who knows what she wants, but I'm wondering how it is to date as a Somali single mother. How do you experience that Somali men

react if you come over and show interest and at some point say that: yes, I have a son? How do they experience it, or how do you experience that they react?

A: That I walk up to them or?

H: I don't know, do you walk up to men?

A: No, I don't! They often walk up to me, but I'm more like, I have my limits that I don't cross, but...

H: I often feel that there's a kind of prejudice towards Somalis and such, Somali women I mean, that we may not have the freedom to choose our partners ourselves and that everything is very like closed. So I think, I'm very curious myself on how like if I wanted to date a Somali man, where do I meet him, where do I encounter him, is it through apps? Any places you go?

A: It depends on your network, it depends on your friends, it depends on what you're interested in, where you spend your time, but I meet people at different places, it can be at school, in places of the world, on a trip, on social media, and there has also been a time in my life where I haven't been ready for relationships like that, or to commit on a serious level where I want to get married again. But there may be a change there, you never know. In that way, in general, I only date Somali boys, um, and that is just something I have done my entire life. It's so weird, that's what attracts me.

H: I like that Ayan is so open, and that she's so clear on who she is and what she stands for. At the same time, it makes me think of what I'm willing to stand for. Cause the truth is that I'm not comfortable holding my boyfriend's hand at Grønland.

A2: Yes, it was her suggestion that... because it was one of the first days of summer in 2018, it was hot, I remember I wore jean shorts and a t-shirt. Took the bus to Tøyen and walked down, and she had told me that she sat on a lawn in a yellow top.

H: This is my boyfriend, Anders. He describes our first date.

A2: So, it was actually really nice, I sat down on the blanket and I felt, at least I felt that the conversation went well, and she eventually suggested that we should stroll around the botanical garden because it was my first time actually. Felt that Hodan was a social, safe, easy person to be with, yes so, I got a really good impression, and we had of course texted a bit in advance and I, at least, experienced Hodan as very easy and a bit like, what's it called... glimpse in the eye and humorous.

H: If I'm being honest, it went a bit slow in the beginning. He was really quiet. So, to boost the conversation I decided to show him a bit around.

A2: Then we strolled around the botanical garden, stopped by the greenhouse, and she told us that her dad used to work here and... yes so, I have lived in Oslo for a quite a while, but I had never been to the botanical garden before, and was also, we kind of decided to meet at the botanical garden, I thought it was funny because I was moving about 100 meters away from the botanical garden some weeks later, so I imagined that this was a place where I would spend a whole lot of time in the future.

H: It had come to my attention that he had bought a new apartment, but when I realized that it was located on Grønland, where many Somalis live, I got a bit stressed. Because having a boyfriend before marriage is still a taboo in most Somali environments.

You have mentioned that we may have a different relation to family.

A2: Mhm.

H: And it is brought to the table a bit like when you had a visit from your mom.

A2: That's true.

H: You remember it?

A2: I remember it very well. Um, like for you it was natural that when my mom visited me, she slept in the bed, and I slept on the couch. So it was, when my mom visited, she got the bed, and I took the couch. It made her really happy.

H: But how did you experience it when I told you you couldn't hold my hand, for example when we're at Grønland.

A2: yes, well that is an example of a negative...

H: Cultural difference?

A2: Cultural difference, in a way yes. It, I remember that, or I don't remember if we were on the streets of Grønland or if we sat home in the apartment, but you said I couldn't, we can't hold hands when were outdoors in Grønland. And it was not something I had thought so much about.

H: Yes no, but I had though a lot about it. Often thought about it when we walked down Grønlandsleiret or on our way to your apartment that, I could see you had not thought about it. Um, so I often had to, like, tinker with my phone or keep my hands away from you to keep you from holding my hand.

A2: Yes.

H: And also, I often though I had to tell him, because I don't think he has experienced this until then.

A2: Even though I think it's a pity and that is should not be like that; I still understand that this is how it is at Grønland in Oslo where there are many Somalis and one should take it into account then.

H: Mhm.

Honestly, I was surprised by how much I let this affect me. The period before we actually became cohabitants, I meant that we shouldn't hold hands at Grønland to respect my Somali culture.

We walk out. Around us in Motzfeldts street at Grønland people are seeking shelter from the rain.

Have you noticed that I have uncles and aunts who hangs out in this area, and if they see me with an ethnic Norwegian man then, then it can occur that they will call my mom and maybe say: oh, I saw Hodan there and there with a man, do you know about it? Um, So I have told my mom about Anders, because I know what can happen, and I want her to have the opportunity to be prepared. And then I think it's a small matter for me, or it hurts me so little not being able to hold Anders' hand for example. That is something I can do, I can make that choice, like you know what, when were at Grønland we don't need to hold hands, you don't need to kiss me. Because I respect my parents and culture and because I don't want to make it uncomfortable for people around me. But another Somali girl may avoid being at Grønland. And if I had that choice, then I probably would do the same.

I meet my cousin Mona.

M: Hi!

H: Hello!

She's the only one I'm comfortable talking about these things with.

Were you late?

M: Huh?

H: You're late!

M: I am, I'm quite late. Sorry!

H: She's married to Sondre. I know this is something she's been through as well.

M: What's so funny is that he started noticing all the looks and stuff.

H: Mhm.

M: It tells me it was a new world for him, he was just a young guy who went where he wanted, moved around, and did not think much about, yes like walking in certain areas or what it means for, yes...

H: Mona.

M: Yes.

H: Can't you tell us a little about yourself?

M: Who am I? Yes, I'm a young woman who works within adult education as an advisor and I'm married with someone I call Norwegian Norwegian. I call myself Norwegian Somali and he Norwegian Norwegian.

H: He's Norwegian Norwegian?

M: Yes, he's Norwegian Norwegian, and our daughter is Norwegian plus (laughs).

H: What we have talked a bit about is that I, as well, live with a Norwegian Norwegian man, and we live at Grønland.

M: Yes.

H: I know you and Sondre lived in Gamlebyen.

M: That's correct. We lived closer to Schweigaards street, and yes, a lot of the things you've probably experienced, felt, we've experienced too. Like, for Sondre, it has been a completely new world because I was always very, like, careful that when we walked by the bazaar, because the bazaar, through Grønland too, after a while I thought it was okay to walk beside him, but it was not even an option to hold his hand and stuff like that.

H: Yes, it was not even an option for you either?

M: No, it was not. Absolutely not, far from. I remember, what was it? The second date or something. Then he walked me to the subway station at Jernbanetorget, and then we stand on the platform. Then we are saying goodbye, and suddenly he just kisses me right out of the blue. And then I did not have the time to look around, look if there were any Somalis nearby (Laughs). I'm just, maybe no one noticed, it happened so fast.

H: Because I remember you told me, and we laughed for a long time.

M: We laughed for a long time.

H: Because that is something completely completely said for us.

M: Yes, lookout. Completely natural to just check to the left, right, then proceed. I did not have the time right away, and it was in a way a bit nice. Then my subway arrived, and then I sat down on it and that was it.

H: It went well.

M: It went well.

H: Did you get any reactions when you told that you were in a couple with Sondre?

M: I really did not get any negative reactions like that, but it was, it was a question about religion and how, how this would work. But then it was more between my mom and my self, but others, from sibling and such, there were no particular reactions really. It was completely normal.

H: What do you think Somalis think about being with a Norwegian man?

M: In the beginning, I thought about how open I should be about my life. I was not sure what some people would think, and what I could... I could in a way imagine it. That the first question could be: yes but okay then it is Norwegian, but is he Muslim?

H: Mhm.

M: I got it one time and then I responded, it was one of those crucial points for me, how I will proceed. And then I remember, should I just say that he is one, because it's so simple.

H: That he's a Muslim?

M: That he is a Muslim. Or should I just, like, say that it's personal, or should I just answer honestly? It did not take long before I said: no, he's not. And then it

was said and that's how it is. But I thought quite a lot about it... what... even though I feel quite free and that I live the life I want to live, there are some things you have to go through.

H: Do you think there is a need then, to talk more about these things? Like open, maybe like we do now? Because it is so difficult to get the information that is very specific, how do Somali parents react to their children coming home with people from other cultures?

M: Ohh, you know what? Speaking of which, it was a Somali, a Norwegian Somali girl who sent me a message and wondered a bit, I do not know completely, I think we had some mutual friends, so she wondered a bit what my family thought about us being together and, but it was more like, I felt like she was asking those questions for her own sake then, not because she was judging me or something, but just like that... also I thought, I thought, you know what, I do not know her, so I did not feel comfortable sharing so much, but I shared enough. But it was very surprising because it has never happened. And what's so interesting is that, not that I'm thinking about it that much at least, I thought like who is this person? Is it a reputation, is it control, what is it? I had 1000 thoughts in my head, but there is a part of me that may regret that I did not talk further, because imagine if she was in a similar situation, but she just did not quite know how to tell her parents that she was together with a Norwegian boy. Or girl for that matter, I don't know.

H: Mona and Ayan are in many ways the symbol of the new generation of Somali women. Women who, through telling their stories, pave the way for those who do not yet dare. According to Ayan, the one with the diamond on one canine, we are both alike and different at the same time.

A: It's like you find a tradi... typically traditional Somali girl who has a bit of "Ole Nordmann" in her. You also have another who is also open to other nationalities. That's... That's what makes us different then, at the same time alike

too. We are both Somali girls, but at the same time we have... it is taste and pleasure.

H: What would be your advice then if... to a person who wants to date other Somalis? A person like me for example?

A: We're all adult women. We make different choices, and we have different values and things we see in a man. One thing we must keep in mind is that even though we're all Somalis, we are not the same. We have different lifestyles, we have different beliefs, we have different cultures, but we have the same nationality, and respect is quite important.

H: What kind of demands do you have in a Somali man you end up with then?

A: No, now I do not want so... (laughs). I will not reveal that, then it will be a lot of strange stuff out there. I do not want much coming into my inbox now, I'm already struggling with a lot of weird stuff.

### 8.3. Podcast 3

#### EKKO – SAMFUNNSPRODDEN

*Somalis in Norway (3:5) The young adults*

27.12.2020 – 24 min

Jamal: You're already a large group, and you continue to invite more people in. They get a community, a brotherhood, which makes them a little blind to what's really going on there.

Producer: Jamal, from the time he was 16 until he was 20, he hung out at Grønland in Oslo and sold hashish with older boys. My name is Martin Jahr, this is Ekko – the society-pod.

Jamal: I would say that it was much more mixed, of Somalis, a lot of Moroccans, and yeah, not so many Pakistanis, but we were at least mixed. But now, It's a little more like I feel it's completely taken over by Somali youths and Somali, yeah, young adult boys.

Hodan: This is Jamal. It's not his real name, but it's what we call him. The young people he is talking about are the young Somali boys who are staying under the Vaterland-bridge at Grønland in Oslo. The environment here is characterized by a lot of violence, and there are boys as young as 14 who sell drugs.

News reporter 1: The police in Oslo have arrested a young person after another teenage boy was stabbed in Tøyen.

News reporter 2: A 21-year-old man has been transported to Ullevål Hospital with serious injuries after he was stabbed with a knife.

Jamal: You just need someone who can, right, in a way see you and listen to you. To bring out the thoughts and the feelings you really have, and you think "oh shit", but as a boy you think the feelings are like "no no, I'll not talk about this to anyone".

Hodan: You listen to sheekosheeko, a series about Somalis in Norway by Hodan Gulaid and Carima Tirillsdottir Heinesen. I'm Hodan, and I'm a Norwegian Somali. This is episode 3, and today I'm wondering who are the young Somali boys selling hashish under the Vaterland-bridge? And are they really as tough as they seem? It has not been easy to find a young man who is willing to say something about why these young Somali boys start selling hashish at such a young age, but in the end, we find Jamal.

Hodan: Hello.

Jamal: Hello.

Hodan, Hi, so nice to meet you.

Jamal: Nice to meet you.

Hodan: A 22 year old boy from Oslo, who from the age of 16 until he turned 20 sold drugs under the bridge at Vaterland. The first thing I notice about Jamal is his big smile. He's wearing a military-patterned jacket, and a thick chain hangs around his neck.

Jamal: I used to be at Vaterland. For those who don't know it, I'm like, there's an area at Grønland, under the bridge that is used as... what to say? As an arena for many, and of course, last but not least that there is a lot of sales of drugs. I spent part of my late teens at Vaterland. A lot of innocent stuff and a lot of not so innocent stuff has happened there. And it was just, poof, then I was there suddenly, that's how it was for me.

H: He speaks easily. When he's not gesturing with his arms, he's playing with a half-empty bottle of Coca-cola. For Jamal, it was pure curiosity that made him initially visit Vaterland, and before he knew it, he himself had become part of the sale community under the bridge.

J: I would say it just happened really fast. We went from being a bit like city locals here and there in the city, Oslo S and actually in the entire main city, and eventually went to Vaterland. It was very, yeah... ended up there out of pure

curiosity. You knew a little, right. We knew, me and many of my friends knew that something was going on there, but what was it? We were too young to fully understand, so we got involved slowly but surely. It changed between maybe being there an hour one day, the next week we were maybe just a little over an hour, so it just went like that and before we knew it we were a part of the environment.

H: There are several young Somali boys who are part of the sales community around Vaterland, says Jamal. Many enter the environment through friends and acquaintances, and gradually become part of a larger environment.

When you used to be a part of the Vaterland environment, were there many Somalis there then?

J: I would say it was a lot more mixed, actually. Of Somalis, and a good number of Moroccans, also, yes, not so many Pakistanis. But we were at least mixed. But now it's a little more like I feel it's completely taken over of Somali youth and Somali... young adult boys. You're already a large group, and you continue to invite more people in. They get a community, a brotherhood, which makes them a little blind to what's really going on there. So, it becomes what you can call a brotherhood. In that way, it's just getting bigger and bigger.

H: The Outdoor Section estimates that about 70-80 men are involved in the environment, and that younger men and boys move to the area because they have friends who sell. And although life on the edge of society can seem enticing, Jamal describes an everyday life that was also characterized by routine.

Jamal: A normal day, not much exciting happened. You hung there, tried to sell something, moved around a bit, the police came in maybe, took a bite to eat maybe, something like that. Kept a little at a distance, also maybe then it was just some talk then.

H: How was the social part?

J: Maybe you went out in the city together, you sort of celebrated someone else's birthday, something like that, went to eat, took a lunch break ... you can see it almost like a normal workplace really, if you look at it, it was a bit like that, and everyone hung out with those they were most comfortable with, who they considered an honest friend or a person they could really hang out with.

H: The boys of Vaterland primarily sell hashish and marijuana, and people from all over the city find their way there.

J: Yes, people sell it to anyone, to all types of people, it's like, I've seen people in all different classes, who buy and sell, yes.

H: Are there people I would not expect?

J: Yes, I think so. I think so. I have seen mature adults, older Norwegian men, very well dressed in suits, the whole package and such, they come and buy. It was like "oh shit". People you've seen around in different types of positions like lawyers, engineers, doctors, it's like, I have sort of seen anyone come and buy something.

H: They're coming to Vaterland?

J: Yes, I will say that many of them, unless it's a crisis, do have a telephone contact. But if there is a crisis, they stop by.

H: It was when Jamal had been under the bridge for a while that he got afraid that he might be caught by the police.

J: Yes, as soon as I matured. No, back then when I was as child, I was completely blind to it. There were no police, no family, nothing like that, no consequence thinking at all. Nothing to be afraid of. You felt like a lion. And as soon as I matured, the brain opened up, then it was suddenly, then I began to see how dangerous it really was, and all kind of things that could go wrong.

H: But do you think Somali parents are aware that their children are part of such an environment?

J: No, I don't think so. Many of them do not know, and many of them have in a way given up actually, just given up completely and are like "what can I do now? Now I'm letting the state take care of this somehow".

H: What is it that makes you a part of Oslo's underground? A few years ago, I worked as a prison officer, and several young people told me that they could earn twice as much on drug sales as I did in weeks or days. What do you answer then? Where is the motivation to quit? I think that if we can explain the positive sides of working, why it feels great to make honest money, then I think many would choose it. But first you have to believe that it's possible.

Ahmed: My name is Ahmed Hassan, 25 years old, I am the CEO of a company called Ideelt Security, which is based in Tøyen.

H: Ideelt Security has in a short time become an attractive workplace for young people who want to earn their own money.

A: Every day I get at least 3-4 job requests. The negative things happen based on the fact that they are bored and that they have little to do. So, on the contrary, today's youth are not lazy, they want jobs.

H: Today, Ahmed is attending the international Market Day. Ideelt Security is responsible for the security here by being well-being hosts.

A: Today we are at Grønland, the international Market Day, which is under the Olafiagangen which is a congested area. We're here hosting a market day to make the place more attractive. We have a big stage with live music, we have a lot of food stalls, we have recycling stations because Oslo is Europe's environmental capital 2019. We have 12 young people at work today.

H: Olafiagangen is located right next to the busy Vaterland-environment at Grønland. What is your drive to do this? Working with Tøyen Security at Tøyen?

A: My drive has always been to try to help people who are in a difficult situation. When the refugee crisis started, I felt a call to work at a reception center, and then I got a job at a reception center. When the youth problems in old Oslo, especially

among Somali youths, got bigger and bigger, I also felt a new call that I had to try to do something.

H: You mention that you work especially, or especially with Somali youth. Why?

A: Because Somali youth has been a group that has often been the main focus, due to other things and areas not being the important focus. There has been a wave of juvenile delinquency among young people where young people have walked around with, among other things, a knife and begun to gain a more gang affiliation that we have not seen before in Norway. We, Ideelt Security, felt we had to make a change then, that we had to try to employ young people instead of putting them in such a situation like “okay now these are criminals or now these are on their way to becoming criminals, we’ll keep them out”.

H: Stabbing among young people, as Ahmed talks about, has become a challenge in Oslo. The number of police reports on threats with a knife has increased by over 30% the last 6 years. Tøyen and Grønland are particularly vulnerable.

News reporter 2: A 21-year-old man has been transported to Ullevål Hospital with serious injuries after he was stabbed with a knife.

News reporter 3: A 22-year-old man is seriously injured after he was stabbed in Oslo.

H: I am therefore a little curious as to whether this is the right time to let well-being hosts be responsible for security on Tøyen. Isn't this a time for traditional guards?

A: The complete opposite. We have received feedback and the reason why we have landed these deals is due to the fact that other arrangements have not worked. Trying to have more police and trying to have more traditional solutions has not worked, and we have in a way been a link to young people where we have spent a lot of time building relationships with them, the young people, and seen how nice you can have it together when you’re not followed and asked “Hey,

what are you doing out today?”, something that usually the police tend to ask about. Even if they have good intentions, it does not work in practice.

H: But what do you think is the reason for all the stabbings that occurs in the city these days? And why is this particularly Somali youth?

A: You see a big development that those who walk around with a knife are younger and younger. They’re smaller and smaller, they’re afraid of being attacked by people, so they walk around with a knife because they’re actually weak and scared. That's the opinion I've got, right? It's a lot about the “hey, are you looking at me or? Hi, what are you looking at? Why are you looking at me?” For what is it really, what does it really mean? “Hey, why are you looking at me?”. They don’t want to see how weak and how sad and how eerie or how low they really are, right. And imagine the consequences then. “He looked at me and therefore I stabbed him with a knife”. Completely unrealistic to us, but reality for many.

H: Ahmed is right. It is in fact far from reality that a wrong look can trigger a stab wound.

For Jamal, the boy with the big smile, it luckily never went that far. And his first encounter with the police was a wake-up call.

J: And my first case, it was like, it was like, the first time I was caught lifted that period. That was where it stopped for me. Plus, about the same time I also became more mature and realized that this does not work, and how dangerous it is. And in that way, it became my own choice. It was not as if the police were doing anything particularly big, it was not, I ended up with a fine. Okay, there are a lot of people who get fined every other day, who still say “oh, a fine, thank you”, right? So, for me, I don’t know, I was just lucky enough to understand “ohh, it’s a fine? I'm done, I'm stopping this now”.

H: What do you think a job can do to prevent young Somali boys from becoming part of such an environment?

J: I would say a job will teach them discipline. And of course, teach... show them that there is another way to make money, another way to live, a better way, an independent way, a more respected route than 'throwing', because right now, many people think of 'throwing' as something cool.

H: What is 'to throw'?

J: J: To deal drugs. 'Throw', it's like Norwegian slang. It kind of means to deal, to sell. To 'throw'. Also, for the young people I mentioned, dealing and 'throwing' are kind of cool. And one must try to break it down early, get these guys into working and working life earlier, so that they do not become 18 years old and have never worked. Then I think he's starting to 'throw'. Easy.

H: The Outdoor Section in Oslo works outreach and is in daily contact with the young people under the bridge. Leader Børge Erdal believes that an unvarnished presentation of the environment can help to create a distance that stands in the way of the follow-up that these young people need.

Børge: The negative focus we experience may be directed at the Vaterland environment in particular. When events happen here, there is a lot of focus on knives, weapons, violence. But I think this one-sided negative focus without the nuances in relation to this environment creates a greater distance, one becomes afraid of the environment, there is much more risk assessment when you go in, and it does not help when we try to break down barriers and build trust.

H: Børge describes the guys who sell hashish and other drugs on Vaterland as marginalized. Here are young men with baggage in form of war traumas, abusive experiences, broken relationships and little or no schooling.

B: So, we have a difficult job in building trust, because there is little trust in the first place. These are very strongly marginalized young men who are in great need of help. But when we've done this, we have gained access to a lot of stories that are very touching and that clearly shows the importance of offering good help in order for these guys to be able to realize the dreams they have, like getting a job,

an apartment, a house, and a home. All the things we all want, because those are the same dreams the guys here have, the same as everyone else.

H: Despite his three years under the Vaterlandsbrua, I see Jamal as a typical proof of the young people who want something more. That behind the hard facade of fights and hashish sales, vulnerable boys hide with dreams and hopes for something completely different. I wonder what it could mean for Jamal if someone actually saw him during that period.

J: It would have helped a lot. I think I would have stopped it earlier.

H: Mhm.

J: I really have full faith in that. I would have stopped. You just need someone who can, right, in a way see you and listen to you. To bring out the thoughts and the feelings you really have, and you think “oh shit”, but as a boy you think the feelings are like “no no, I’ll not talk about this to anyone”. But I think that if I had been talked to by, well, by the right people, then I probably think I would have opened up and it would have led to me perhaps not staying there as long as I did.

H: Today Jamal works as an experience consultant, and he chooses to share his experiences to help others.

J: I use it as a gateway for the other social workers. In a way try to enter in a different way to the guys standing there, and make them understand that, I’m not talking from education but from experience, and you must understand that it did not go fantastic for me, and you have a chance, you are 15,16,17, you have a chance, stop now before you fall too far into it and cannot get out.

H: According to Jamal, the boys feel stigmatized by the society as hardened criminals, but they do not recognize themselves with that image.

J: Neither of them consider each other as a member of a criminal network or gang. Many of them are peers, peers go together. The image they share of how dangerous that environment is and how dangerous the guys here are, means that they eventually use it as a strength, and not as a weakness. Really. You see us as

dangerous gangsters, gang members, criminal networks, and then it is used to get yourself... or just for respect. And maybe they're starting to establish themselves as a gang, and it might go from being a group of friends to a real criminal gang. You try for a long time to resist, but when you go out and are labelled every other month in newspapers and in documentaries and blah blah blah ... then you think "okay, then you'll get what you ordered."

H: If you're an adult and worried that someone you know has become part of such an environment, what should an adult do in such a case?

J: Talk to the youth really. Find out: "okay, you hang there, or you do not hang there? Yeah, okay why are you hanging out there? Is it friends, money, is it something else?" Just pull it out. Like, "what is it that draws you there". And usually it's something very innocent, let's say I hang at Riverside, a youth club that is right next door. Okay, but then you're not part of the environment, then I know where I have you. So, it's really just talk. Talk to the youth, do not try to avoid it, do not be afraid to dig. It's just like that, they are, they probably talk honestly about it 100%.

H: Your advice is not to be so scared?

J: Yes, it is.

#### 8.4. Podcast 4

EKKO – SAMFUNNSPODDEN

*Somalis in Norway (4:5) With and Without a Job.*

30.12.2019 – 20 minutes

M: This is The Society Pod, I am Martin Jahr. When Mohammed Aden came to Norway in the early 90s, the most important thing for him was to get a job in order to be able to contribute to the Norwegian society. Yet, it would take several years before he got what he wanted.

H: The prejudice I am met with the most is that Somalis don't work. And maybe it's not that odd because there are many Somalis who find themselves outside of the workforce. In 2017 as many as 4 out of 10 Somalis received benefits from the state. Why is it like this?

M: It's no secret that Somalis don't have a great reputation, especially in the labour market in Norway. You're either a cab-driver or a 'NAV'er (someone who goes to NAV to receive benefits). That's what most people think if they see a Somali.

H: You're listening to sheekosheeko, a series about Somalis in Norway, by Hodan Gulaid and Carima Tirillsdottir Heinesen. I am Hodan and I am Norwegian-Somali. This is episode 4 and today I am wondering why it's so hard for Somalis to get a job.

H: Mohammed Aden is a man in his 50s, he is married and has four adult children. Today he is coming straight from work and he is wearing a navy-blue V-neck sweater. He came to Norway from Somalia as a refugee on a warm summer day in 1990.

M: It was summer, it was warm, and I had dreaded the cold, but it was warm. I remember clearly that I was wearing a winter jacket in summer, and was walking around in that. The first months in Norway were hard for Mohammed, he was alone in a new country and had a lot to learn in short time. Still, some of his clearest memories are of Norwegians reaching out a helping hand without

question. I had an exam in hospital, in Fredrikstad, and I sat there so worried, I had a number for the cue but I didn't know when to know when it was my turn and then a person who understood that here's someone who needs help, he came over to me, spoke English, and said he would let me know when it was my turn. And I was so happy because there was a person who saw how unsure I was and was so helpful and took the initiative to help me.

H: In his suitcase he had a high school diploma and an interest for computer science.

M: I was very interested in computers ever since I got a watch from my brother who worked in Saudi Arabia. The watch had a calculator in it and from that point on I became very interested in computers.

H: Mohammed eventually ends up in Molde, the city of roses, whilst he waits for his residence. He wants to work so badly, but is instead met with a system that does not have a solution for him.

M: One thing I experienced in Molde was I saw an elderly man up on a roof, working, and here I am sat and I can't do anything. So I spoke to a consultant to ask if there was anything I could do, but they said no, this is the way it is, you cannot do anything. I didn't have a job and couldn't work for free.

H: So you wanted to contribute in some way?

M: Yes, and I felt so bad, seeing an old man on the roof and me a young man couldn't do anything. That's the worst time, the time you're waiting for residence, waiting to get into school to learn the language and it was hard because we had class maybe once a week and I wasn't that good so I was at the bottom tier.

H: 25 year old Mohammed doesn't have a job and is also not allowed to work for free. Whilst waiting he spends long days with a Norwegian dictionary so he can learn the language.

M: I spent many hours, when we didn't have anything to do, I could sit alone for 5 hours and teach myself Norwegian. I had a friend who worked at a hotel and I

asked to get all the old newspapers she could get her hands on, and I could sit and read children's books.

H: One year after coming to Norway, Mohammed is accepted into NKI engineer school. 4 years later he has finished his education as a computer engineer, but job-offers are still scarce. I didn't get a job at once, but in the meantime, I did many small jobs, like cleaning, cafeteria-worker, support-person, the post, but eventually I got a job and I have worked for the same company since 1998.

M: I think the most important thing is to get into a job, no one in my family had a job in cleaning, but I just wanted to get started and to have something to do.

H: If he hadn't gotten a job when he did, Mohammed is sure himself that he would have become a part of the statistics on unemployment. You applied to jobs for a year, how did you manage to stay motivated when you got rejection after rejection?

M: I have thought about that many times, but it would not have ended well if I hadn't gotten a job. And I am sure I would have ended up in the statistics of those who do not work. When you work hard for many years and still end up not getting anywhere, not even getting a job, I knew one person who didn't get a job and became an alcoholic. Now I know this man got sober, got an education, and is now in work, that's a big difference.

H: Spare time is the root of all evil is what some say, I myself have felt what it's like to be outside the workforce. And I know how hard it can be. By looking at my own family I have also seen how isolated you can become by staying at home with nothing to do.

M: I have seen young adults with no dreams because they say even if they get an education they will not get a job. And that's horrible, when the dreams disappear, you don't have a life at all. You have to have something to reach for, to look forward to, to achieve in life. If you don't have that all you're working on is ruining everything.

H: Whilst we're talking, his daughter calls, she calls to tell him she just got a good grade on a test. He sits up straight and straightens his sweater, it's clear he is proud. I wonder what it means for his family that their dad has a job.

M: Getting a job is very meaningful, not only for the person who got the job, but also for the family. For the kids who looks at the dad like a hero, for the wife, and for the society around you. So it's very meaningful. You learn a lot. The first thing I learned was how to dress my kids, for example, that was something we didn't know. Coming to a whole new country where you dress differently both in summer and winter, and it's these things you learn from colleagues. Not in Somali circles, but other social circles.

H: Over half of the Somali men capable to work do not have a job. And the ones who do have a job are amongst those who earn the absolute least. Why is the situation for Somali men so bad?

M: It's different things. One can be language, that you haven't learned enough. Another thing can be that it is hard to adjust, if you come from a country where everything is destroyed and where you could provide for your family without any education, without being able to read or write. And then you come to Norway, you have to learn to read, you have to learn to write, whilst at the same time you have to adjust. That can take some time but it doesn't make things easier. I think if you could get a shorter education, that lasts maybe 1 or 2 or 3 years and then you could get a job somewhere, that would be fantastic.

H: Stig Jarle Hansen, one of Norway's foremost experts on Somalia thinks short versus long stay in Norway can be part of the explanation.

S: There is a relatively large difference between the earlier families and the families that have come later. And you can see amongst the families that came the earliest, there are many that have gotten by very well in Norwegian society and also internationally. But the newer generation takes more time to integrate.

H: According to Stig Jarle it is uncomfortable to come to a country where your qualifications no longer count. I know many Somalis with an education from

Somalia that has not been approved in Norway. One of my friends had to start over at 26 which is probably not a comfortable experience. Maybe one of the things you are most unsure of is the concept of the state, coming from a country which first had a dictatorship followed by 20 years with no state at all so you viewed other networks as more important. And all of this takes time, it takes time to get into the system and there's also the tradition about how many Somali women are expected to stay home. These are things that take time, that you can't expect to happen overnight. But this also adds something to Norway.

H: Many Somalis that come to Norway can't read or write. One of the reasons for this can be that Somalia did not get a standardized written language until 1972. Could it be an idea to instead use the skills they already have? Amina Ismael had work-experience from Somalia, got an internship in Norway, but that's where it stopped. Eventually she grouped up with other Somali woman and created their own workplace. In a small room upstairs in the 'activity-house' in Tøyen sit a group of Somali women sewing. The women are a part of the network 'Kulnis' and today they produce wool clothes for a Norwegian clothing brand. Amina happily shows us the new sewing room they have gotten. Sewing machines, rolls of fabric, and a work-table that can be raised is ready for use.

A: I have worked with different things, but there was a period when I stayed at home with the children. And I was receiving benefits, but I know it's hard when you have children and a family and don't work, it's awful. Because your own kids ask what do you do for work, or other children ask what your parents do for work.

H: Her face is framed by a black hijab with silver details. Around her wrist are bracelets in gold that chime when she gestures. Even though the degrees outside are nearing 0 is the vibe still good amongst the women.

A: There's also other women who come here to be social. For example, some older women bring clothes they need help with and we tell them they can sew themselves but they say they can't and that they're too old. But then we tell them

come here and sit them in front of the machines and show them how to do it and then they learned how to do it.

H: Amina has felt the challenges of trying to get into the workforce.

A: It's not easy because you are competing with many others who are maybe more qualified than you and, for example, Norwegians, so you are at the back of the line. So it's not easy.

H: The unemployment amongst Somali women is very high, but at the same time, it's like you say, you are competing against other people and it's hard. Do you think it effects other Somali women?

A: Somali women also maybe have many children and might have been home for long. It's also how we look, how we dress, and maybe we don't have higher education. They may have been stay-at-home moms for long so it takes time before they get out into working life.

H: For Amina, the main motivation to work is to be able to provide for her family and to stand on her own two feet.

A: To me, working means earning your own money, managing to get by on your own, and providing for your family, to live. If you don't have a job you don't have another option, either you have to go to NAV and ask for help for a period of time, and you're not happy to go there. So to work and stand on your own two feet is the most important.

H: For the founder of the clothing brand 'Norwegian Playground' Jo Egil Tobiassen, working together with Amina and the brand 'made in Tøyen' became an opportunity to produce locally.

J: What I was met with was very engaged women who has a great passion for what they do. Sewing is what they do, but what I also see them doing is socializing and integration not only of themselves but also of others who are not as resource-strong as they are. So that larger part these women play is very cool to be able to be a part of and play a part in the local community.

H: Jo and Amina have become close friends, and what Jo first associates with Amina is engagement.

J: When I met her that first day, I met a woman who is very passionate about what she wants and knows what she stands for, and she dares to voice her opinion, and to voice her opinions loud in every situation, and you get a sense of power that you want to be a part of.

## 8.5. Podcast 5

EKKO – SAMFUNNSPODDEN

*Somalis in Norway (5:5). The Men.*

31.12.2019 – 19 minutes

MJ: Mubarak Begese is a sociology student, when he was trying to rent an apartment he was rejected because he is Somali. He has lived in Norway for 30 years, but he doesn't dare call himself Norwegian in fear of some sort of rejection. Okay, Somali men have lost their status, there is high unemployment, many simply don't have it nice here. My name is Martin Jahr and we give you a series about Somalis in Norway. In this fifth and last episode we ask why it is so hard to be a man and a Somali.

H: It's early spring, the concrete in the schoolyard is decorated with dark lines from the melting snow and where the sun doesn't shine is thin layers of ice. Inside the school sits Mubarak Begese. He is completely new in the reception class at Romsås school in Oslo.

M: I came here in 1991 together with my mom and brother. We fled, of course, from the civil war in Somalia. This was at the time when many Somalis came here. My first memory of Norway was actually of the snow. We came during the spring and there was still some snow left and that was very exciting and this was very new for us. I remember my mom being very scared, she was in her 20s, 22/23 I think, coming straight from Somalia.

H: Mubarak has many good memories from growing up in Groruddalen in Oslo in the 90s.

M: Times were completely different in the 90s, I was taken care of and included in the society. We had a contact person who followed up on my brother and me and took us to activities and taught us how to swim. So the 90s were actually a really good time.

H: Mubarak came to Norway with his mother and his brother and his two uncles who came to Norway a few years prior would come to play an important role in Mubarak's life.

M: The relationship I had with them was seeking advice and guidance. I was in high school, or I was starting high school, and I asked advice about what line to choose, and he told me to maybe choose a profession-based line (such as plumbing, hairdresser) because he himself is a car mechanic and meant that that is a profession which will always be needed and you will always have a job no matter where in the world you are.

H: Mubarak did not want to be a car mechanic, but rather applies for sociology. The year is 2011 and the spring semester is nearing its end for Mubarak. The first part of his sociology course is completed and he needs to find an apartment. Mubarak messages most of the 2 or 3 room apartments he finds on FINN.no, but nothing happens.

M: I sent out about 20-30 applications daily just to say I wanted to see the apartment and that I was looking for a roof over my head. It turns out that was easier said than done, I didn't get a reply on many of the applications I sent.

H: But then an email comes through. Mubarak has a showing for an apartment in the centre of Trondheim.

M: When we finally got a response the landlord sounded very positive over the phone and it sounded like we almost already had the apartment and he just wanted to meet us.

H: Mubarak is excited to see the apartment, maybe this is the place they end up with he thinks. Several of his classmates have already found places to live. And Mubarak hopes its his turn this time. His buddy is at work so Mubarak goes to the showing alone.

M: So when I actually went to see him he was totally thrown off and kind of uncomfortable. And then he just said, "I just have to say something, I don't rent

out to Somalis.”. And he said that specifically, but he wasn’t unfriendly towards me. And he spoke to me... and that’s what is kind of scary now, the way he normalized it. “yeah, I don’t accept Somalis cause it looks like a pigs den after leave and so on.”.

H: What did you do about it?

M: I don’t get effected to the same degree anymore if I am discrimanted against or people do this things because, and this is maybe bad to say, but I have gotten used to it and I expect it, that people have prejudices now, and that people say that and then I accept it and kind of just move on with my life. But yes, of course it affects me, and it’s sad thinking of all the young Somalis growing up in this country and have to adjust to this daily despite being born in Ulllevåll hospital in Oslo.

H: Mubarak’s story upsets me. I have myself experienced being afraid of discrimination when renting, lastly when I was going to rent an apartment in Oslo a few years ago. According to a survey by FAFO, 1 in 4 Norwegians do not want a Somali as a neighbour. And this is the answer we got when we asked a random man on the street if he would rent out to a Somali.

H: If you were renting out your apartment and a Somali applied, what would you do?

RM: I wouldn’t have thought too much about it, I don’t see it as a negative thing. Of course, it can be hard, but I know several Somalis who are hard-working, so I wouldn’t have thought about that. But if there were other applicants then it may be harder, cause you hear stories, where they come from a background where they might not be the most trustworthy when it comes to paying bills, keeping the apartment proper, making sure nothing gets broken.

M: You’re often painted black as the big black angry man and then you can’t express who you are. I’ve also been at a seminar at my earlier job and they are in the same building as NAV. And when I was asking the lady in the reception where I was going, she answered before I could even finish my question that the class for applying for jobs is that way.

H: Mubarak thinks the lady in the reception took it as a given that he was going to the class for applying for jobs. Because she associates people that look like him with unemployment.

M: So, yeah, definitely, my skin colour is associated with people who do not have a job.

H: As a Norwegian-Somali male in Norway, Mubarak finds it difficult to juggle different identities. Mubarak is a completely normal student who is going to go through the same curriculum as his classmates. But at the same time he has to deal with comments like: "I do not rent out to Somalis".

M: Am I from Somalia, am I Norwegian-Somali, am I Norwegian? There is an ongoing debate, but to speak from my personal experience I do not feel Norwegian at all. Even though I have lived here for 30 years I don't feel Norwegian, but people can tell me "but you are Norwegian!". Yeah, but I don't feel it, the society doesn't accept me enough to make me feel like I am Norwegian. Because I hold it back in fear of not being accepted.

H: The uncertainty Mubarak feels is typical of young Somalis that have grown up in Norway. But what about those that came here as adults. How is it really to come to Norway as an adult Somali man? This is a group we don't know much about and which is hard to infiltrate. Therefore, I meet up with Marit Guldbekk Johansen, she is sociologist and is writing her doctor's on older Somali men in Norway. She tells the story of Gibril, a Somali man who came to Norway alone.

MG: There is one man I came to care for a lot, his story is pretty sad because he couldn't get his family to Norway through reunification because he didn't earn enough. He had had a very respectable role in the social networks he came from, someone who others came to for advice, he had a lot of friends and a respectable job and here he feels as a 'nobody'.

H: Gibril tried, but didn't find a platform where he could recreate that role. He went to the usual places, the town square, Somali cafes to try and find people to talk to of his own age. But it wasn't easy.

MG: He also tried to speak to older Norwegian men who lived in the same building, but there was a language barrier and they had their own networks and they were busy, so that wasn't easy. So he slept bad and had a lot of inner turmoil and anxiety because he was thinking of his family. So for him it was important with those regular spots in East Oslo. But for out lookers he may have just looked like someone who just hung around. But for him it was a way to survive, find people to meet, and to talk to and so on.

H: Gibril went to the Somali cafes but found that they were overtaken by younger men who didn't carry the same respect for him as he was used to from Somalia

MG: They spoke really loudly, they showed soccer on the big screen, whilst him, who is a respectable older man, around 60, wanted to discuss politics, religion, drink tea, have it calm and enjoy himself. He became so exhausted by these loud boisterous young men. And he said in Somalia these younger men would've respected us but here they don't.

H: My granddad had three wives and a large family. And when my mother was growing up, he was the one who solved conflicts and problems within the family. I picture the elders to gather under a tree and talk until sunset. It's common in Somalia for older men to be the head of the family but it's not certain that this role is kept once coming to Norway.

MG: I experienced that these men actually talked a lot and showed a lot of vulnerability. Tears could fall. It focused a lot on losing the status. For men and older men in Somalia, they are guiders and advice givers, leaders. And then they come here, where many do not have families. And you can lose the role as the leader because of the Norwegian society that is unfamiliar and you can't give the same advice. So there was quite a bit despair and bitterness amongst these older men over their lifestyles in Norway.

H: A Somali man who wants to help us understand the Somali role of the man even better is Mohammed Aden from Oslo. Mohammed is in his 50s, has kind eyes, and a calm manner about him.

MA: The biggest issue I would say is that here is a man who thought he was the leader and all of a sudden he is put in a situation where he is not viewed as the leader he thought he was. Because you're not providing for your family, you don't have that major role that you had before. And for some this is hard to accept.

H: Mohammed explains how many of the men also struggle with the loss of the role as provider because they can't get jobs in Norway. What would you say is the difference between the role of the man in Somalia and Norway?

MA: The difference is, in Somalia the role of the man is to provide for his family. And you could go to Saudi Arabia or somewhere in the Middle East and send money back to your family and then you have done your part. And then the women stayed home and took care of the family. If you think of a man who has worked maybe 20 years and then comes to Norway and can't even send 300-400 NOK. You lose the respect and the value you had. It does something to you.

H: I wonder if coming as a young man made it easier to adjust to the new role as a man?

MA: I was 25 when I came so it was possible to remain like I lived in Somali or adjust myself. And I think another thing that helped me was that I grew up with many sisters and I saw how they were treated. And I promised myself if I ever have a girl, that that would never happen to her at all. And for me that was positive, very, very positive, that men and women were the same.

H: Within Somali families it is well-known that the man is often distant from family life. I often think of how difficult it must be to come straight from Somalia to Norway. In some ways it is the most extreme class journey this person can make and when you hear Gibril's story it's not that odd how some struggle to be involved in the family. You are a father of four, what do you think it does to children when dad isn't present?

MA: That is awful, there are differences between succeeding and not succeeding. A high percent of children where the dad isn't around don't make it. The women have enough to do, home alone with so many children. You can't expect more of

them and they sacrifice so much. They sacrifice so much, you won't find a Somali woman sitting outside a café drinking tea for several hours. It doesn't happen because they don't have time for that, or to go to the cinema. People say Somali women are weak, but they are not weak, they are strong. They are strong when you see what they go through and how they pull through. But a woman also needs a man, children needs a dad, who is with them, when they go to soccer, school, school meetings, the best thing my children remember are the time spent together. And that is something every child needs to experience.