

Acknowledgement

My greatest appreciation goes to the Almighty God Jehovah for his tender love and support throughout my studies. It was a journey with both high and low points yet in all it has been successful by means of Him.

I would like to convey special thanks to my wonderful and dynamic academic supervisor Professor Vebjørng Tingstad. Under her expert ‘eagle eye’ oversight, I was guided with great patience and motherly love to the successful completion of this masterpiece. She deserves double honour and recognition since her unreserved assistance has helped me to make the work as it is now. She is indelibly inked in my memory and I will always be indebted to her.

My dear girlfriend Theresa and my family who supported me in many ways deserve to be mentioned in connection with this work. The Gyawu family also deserves special thanks. I thank my good friend Rich Ocloo and his family. I also thank my informants who willingly volunteered to grant me interview and shared their astonishing life experiences.

Last but not least is my appreciation to the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) and The Norwegian Center for Child Research (NOSEB) which offered me admission to further my academic dreams, and the Norwegian society in general for accepting and supporting me in many important ways throughout my studies. To all who in one way or the other offered me help to complete this work I say thank you very much.

Abstract

The aim of the study was to find out the various processes that immigrant children devise to do integration in the receiving society. The structural conditions within which they do integration were included in the search to understand those that promote and others that limit the individual efforts to do integration.

A sample of five immigrant children was recruited for the study using snowball method. Their ages ranged from 14 to 17 years. Using a semistructured life world interview, informants were individually interviewed and their narratives served as the empirical data for the analyses and discussions of the study. Each informant was made to understand the level of involvement in the research and willingly signed a consent form before conduct was made.

The main findings of the study covered three main areas. These were language, inclusion and citizenship. Language was seen as the master key of entrance to society and that without it, immigrant children will continue to remain outside of the receiving society. Inclusion was identified as another concern that these children had. Exhibited in excluding practices, immigrant children were sometimes left out of social gatherings by native children even if they desired to be part. The concept of citizenship and permanent legal status was among the worries that some immigrant children revealed challenges them as they do integration. State sponsored programmes designed to facilitate integration were seen as a major boost in the process of integration.

Based on the analyses, which employed Tuner's concept of generalizable procedures, and the discussions of the findings, the study concludes that integration happens when immigrant children's agency interrelates with the structural conditions of the receiving society. That is, integration is a function of agency and structural conditions in the receiving society.

Declaration

I hereby declare that all the references used in this work are duly acknowledged and that this is my work.

.....

(Gershon Piedu)

Contents

Acknowledgement.....	i
Abstract.....	iii
Declaration.....	v
Content.....	vii
List of tables.....	xi
List of figures.....	xi
List of Acronyms.....	xiii
Chapter One.....	1
Introduction and Background.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background of the study.....	5
1.3 Research questions.....	8
1.4 Research objectives.....	9
1.5 Justification.....	9
1.6 Outline of the study.....	9
1.7 Limitation.....	10
Chapter Two.....	11
Theories and Concepts.....	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 A brief tracing of Children Studies from the past.....	11
2.3 Perspectives in Childhood Studies.....	12
2.4 The theory of Structuration.....	15
2.5 Language, racism and othering.....	18

2.5.1 Language as the entrance ticket.....	19
2.5.2 Racism.....	20
2.5.3 Othering.....	21
2.6 Theories and Perspectives of Integration.....	22
2.6.1 Assimilation.....	27
2.7 Conclusion.....	28
Chapter Three.....	29
Methodology.....	30
3.1 Introduction.....	30
3.2 Research design.....	30
3.3 Sample.....	30
3.4 Sample Size.....	31
3.5 Sampling Method.....	33
3.6 Sources of data generation.....	34
3.7 Gaining Access to Informants.....	35
3.8 Context of the study.....	37
3.9 Establishment of Research Site.....	37
3.10 Overview of the informants and the interviews.....	39
3.10.1 Informant’s Background.....	39
3.11 Interviews.....	45
3.12 Validity and reliability.....	47
3.13 Ethical Considerations.....	48
3.14 Data description and analysis.....	49
3.15 Challenges.....	50
3.16 Summary of the Chapter.....	51

3.17 Conceptual framework of the study.....	52
Chapter Four	53
To belong or not to belong Language, inclusion and citizenship	53
4.1 Introduction.....	53
4.2 I do as they do it. Inclusion practices.....	54
4.3 Language as a key of entrance to society.....	57
4.4 Internal resource.....	67
4.5 Family as a resource.....	71
4.6 ‘They Appreciate Me More’.....	72
4.7 Agency in two dimensions.....	76
4.9 A wedge of separation.....	77
4.9.1 Ethnicization of immigrant.....	77
4.9.2 Excluding practices, bullying or racism?.....	83
4.9.3 Life on hold: Citizenship in a welfare state with egalitarian traditions.....	89
4.9.4 Culture as umbilical cord to the country of origin.....	91
Chapter Five	94
Concluding reflections	94
5.1 Introduction.....	94
5.2 Reflections on main findings.....	93
5.3 Conclusion.....	97
5.4 Recommendations.....	97
References.....	99
Appendix 1 Letter of participation.....	105
Appendix 2 Consent form.....	108
Appendix 3 Profile of immigrants in Norway for the year 2016.....	109

List of tables

3.10.1 Informants' background.....38

List of figures

3.17 Conceptual framework of the study developed from the data.....51

List of Acronyms

UNCRC: United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child

NSD: Norwegian Centre for Research Data

Chapter One

Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

Many children from different countries come to Norway for various reasons. Several empirical studies (Lauglo, 1999; Mirsadeghi, 2013; Ramet and Valenta, 2011; Fangen and Lynnebakke, 2014) conducted in Norway have confirmed that they mostly come into the society due to economic reasons, because of parents' remarriage (family reunion), wars and educational purposes. Some children are accompanied or unaccompanied minor asylum seekers (Berg, 2002; Cooper, 2005). Other studies confirm these reasons for immigration into Norway (Amundsen, 2017; Statistics Norway, 2016). Available statistics comparing immigrants among the three Scandinavian countries (Norway, Denmark and Sweden) indicate that «about half of all immigrants in Scandinavia are from countries in Asia, Africa or Latin America, with a slightly higher proportion in Norway than Denmark and Sweden. This mainly relates to early migrant workers followed by refugees, as well as the families of these two groups» (Pettersen and Østby, 2014:78).

A quick look at the profile of immigrants and their children in Norway (appendix 3) shows the diversity in the composition in the immigration groups in the Norwegian society, indicating in Norway being a multicultural society. It is estimated that «nearly 16 percent of the populations in Norway have immigrant backgrounds, either actual immigrants or their Norwegian-born offspring» (Amundsen, 2017: 1). Roughly 35 percent of the immigrants are from Asia, 27 percent from Eastern Europe and 22 percent from Nordic countries and the rest of Western Europe. About 12 percent are from Africa (ibid). Brochmann and Hagelund (2012:10) state that a «multicultural society consists of persons with affiliation to different cultures; it denotes a characteristic of a society» (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2012:10). Hagelund (2003) states that in the context of what he wrote about integration policy and politics in Norway, the concept «consists not only of diverse individuals but also of different groups» (2003: 174). Since Norway has seen a rise in the population of immigrants in recent years, the society is more heterogeneous than before and therefore might be seen as such (Amundsen, 2017).

Hagelund (2003: 167) argues that «the first government white paper in 1997 that primarily addressed integration issues» conceived Norway as a society with different individuals from all walks of life and that «integration was put on the agenda...as part of the reformulation of Norway as an exciting and enriching multicultural society» (ibid). It might not have been officially declared that Norway as a country has earned status but from the above one can notice that the Norwegian society has more than one ethnic group (indigenous Norwegians) and that the society is made up of different groups from other nations. Hagelund (2003) states that «during the 1980s, a terminological change took place in the political discourse: politicians stopped referring to Norway as a homogenous society and began to speak about the multicultural Norway» (Hagelund, 2003: 179).

Though one may see the Norwegian society in this light, Akkerman and Hagelund (2007) argue that this does not imply that Norway upholds the idea. They state that such idea is one of a «de facto», that is, it is not official policy although, in practice, a range of policies that could be labelled ‘multiculturalist’ has been adopted as part of the official integration strategy (Akkerman and Hagelund, 2007:198). It could be observed that the population is made up of persons with affiliations to different cultures, yet these groups are not seen as separate groups which exist on their own within the Norwegian society and need special protection. All these groups are within the larger Norwegian society and considered one big society. As Hagelund (2003) argues «later white papers were less concerned with groups, but emphasized that the multicultural Norway is made up of variety of individuals who have the right to be recognized as such, and not merely as members of specific groups» (Hagelund, 2003: 175). Hagelund (2003:181) further adds that the idea «as described in this white paper (St. meld. nr. 17 (1996-97): 8) is not so much a community of communities, but rather it is formulated as a single community constituted by a variety of individuals and founded on the basic values of freedom, equality and solidarity». This change in the composition of population might lead to questions such as; how does this development influence Norway in relation to immigrants and how they are welcomed? And in this case, will the children who come to Norway have the same rights as native Norwegian children?

Norway as a welfare state has established a well grounded policies and atmosphere of egalitarianism where the «society is built on equality and equal opportunity» for all (Hagelund, 2003: 174). Members of society are «incorporated into the welfare state’s general (and costly)

projects of creating and maintaining equality in opportunities and access to welfare goods» (ibid). In principle, none in the society should be left behind and all (whether natives or foreigners) must have equal access to whatever resources are embedded in the society to reach their full potential. With these in mind, what would life be as an immigrant child in such a 'perfect' society with many resources for its members? Immigrant children might also ask whether they would perceive life in Norway as it has been and is portrayed. How do they manage and what are the challenges that they are likely to face? These questions could go through the mind of immigrant children who may be preparing or have recently arrived in Norway.

It is within this society that immigrant children who come to Norway find themselves. They come into a completely different society from what they have known. Their personality, way of doing things and their everyday lives may have been largely influenced by customs and practices (culture) in their country of origin. As Hannerz (1992: 3) argues, «ideas, experiences, feelings, as well as the external forms that such internalities take as they are made public and available to the senses and thus truly social» constitute culture. For that matter, he continues, «culture is the meanings which people create, and which create people, as members of society» (ibid). Even though the study is not explicitly about cultural integration of immigrant children in the receiving society, it relates in some way to the experiences, ideas and feelings they have had before and what they experience now.

Challenges of living in a new society may include a range of barriers, such as language, food, music, values, in general, how to do things as members in the receiving society, contending with everyday life challenges and even dealing with possible comments with racial undertones - all these may face immigrant children in different ways. This might lead to experience of adjustment difficulties.

Fangen and Lynnebakke (2014) have conducted a study in Oslo (Norway) to shed light on some of the challenges refugees and immigrant children might face. The study was about the possible humiliation refugees might face and how they handle such situations. They observed that besides the challenge of learning a new language, immigrants in general and immigrant children and descendants of immigrant in particular face ethnic stigmatization, discrimination, derision, and exclusion from social activities in the receiving society (Fangen and Lynnebakke, 2014).

Valenta also adds that although most immigrants in Norway receive generous resettlement and welfare assistance from the state, experiences of non-belonging, cultural distance and lack of recognition from the mainstream are still a common fact of daily social life for many of them (Valenta, 2008).

As a master student pursuing higher education in Norway, I sometimes find myself in crossroads making it challenging to determine exactly how to act in certain situations such as the manner in which I need to conduct myself at times since I am used to a way of life in my country of origin. For example, it is common and considered socially acceptable in my country of origin to greet good morning, afternoon or evening depending on the time of the day when you meet family members, friends or even total strangers. Besides, one could easily initiate a conversation with anyone on the street, in public transport or public places. However, my expectations and experiences in Norway show that what I normally do is not what is done in the Norwegian society. I will cite just one example of my experience of a situation encountered when I first came to Norway:

In the student village that I lived, I would greet anyone I met as if I were in my home country. Some of the people would stare at me surprised and others would even ignore me. At the bus stops, people often stood far apart from one another while on the bus people preferred to sit all by themselves with their ears plugged with headset without talking to anyone. I felt very disturbed and considered myself as an outsider, an alien who has no place in the Norwegian society. I concluded that the people in Norway are not friendly. But a friend told me that instead of greeting as I used to in my country of origin, Norwegians say 'Hei' which means Hello when they meet others. That is the form of greeting used in the Norwegian society. When I tried that approach, it worked and I felt relieved, realized I was becoming a part of the Norwegian society and came to understand that what is considered normal practice such as greeting even vary from one society to another. 'Culture'- is indeed contextual.

With this and other experiences by living in a new society in mind, I began to anticipate how the situation might be for immigrant children and descendants of immigrants who might have less or not many years of experience and not least, not in the same privileged position as me. The young ones are used to a particular way of doing things which probably is completely

different from how it is done in Norway. They may experience far more serious challenges than I, as a master student on a temporary stay and a relatively privileged situation, have experienced. Anyway, I became concerned and wanted to understand how they manage their everyday life and encounters in their new society. I became curious and wanted to understand how immigrant children and descendants of immigrant consider their background and how they experience integration in the Norwegian society. Do immigrant children experience that what they are used to is still relevant in their new society? The people, food, clothing, games, ethics, morals, values, traditions as well as the weather; that is, the culture known to them might have completely changed as they come into their new society. How do they handle such changes? What measures (policy initiatives that the Norwegian society has put in place to ensure the integration of immigrants) are prevalent in the host society that promote or limit integration of immigrant children? And how do they experience integration in the receiving society? These questions continued to be a concern to me, have inspired me to look for answers and became the motivation for this study. These concerns have prompted me to conduct an empirical study with immigrant children and descendants of immigrants to understand what they do as individuals and what is done for them to experience integration in the Norwegian society.

That is, the study looks at the various processes that immigrant children use to experience integration in the Norwegian society. The study is particularly concerned about both '*the how*' (the process) and '*the what*' (what they actually experience) processes of integration

1.2 Background of the Study

The study is conducted in Norway, a Scandinavian country which received its independence from Sweden as a result of the dissolution of the union between the two nations in 1905 (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2012; Cooper, 2005). The country was first known not as a destination country for immigrants, but as a population prone to emigration. A brief history about Norway and immigration indicate that nearly 850,000 Norwegians emigrated to foreign countries between 1825 and 1945, putting Norway second only to Ireland in terms of emigrants as a percentage of the population (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2012; Cooper, 2005). By the late 1800s, most Norwegian emigration was temporary labor migration to the United States, and as many as 150,000 are estimated to have eventually returned to Norway for permanent settlement. The reputation of Norway soared worldwide for humanitarian assistance when the Norwegian

Arctic explorer and diplomat Fridtjof Nansen became the League of Nation's (now United Nations) first High Commissioner for Refugees in 1921. Nansen was also the inspiration for the Norwegian Refugee Council, established in 1946 to help refugees from World War II (Cooper, 2005).

Notwithstanding its refugee work, Norway maintained a relatively homogenous, largely white Christian population until the 1970s, with most immigrants in the 1960s coming from its Nordic neighbors. The homogeneity in the region made immigration a non-issue; total migration from 1966 to 1970 only totaled 853 persons (Cooper, 2005). The homogeneity could be partly due to the fact «the number of immigrants was relatively small; most came from the other Nordic countries and were thus considered to be similar to Norwegians in terms of culture, life style and language» (Hagelund, 2003:49). It might also partly be attributed to the egalitarian welfare state that was the main agenda on the political scene and the political dominance of the labour party after the second world war (ibid).

However, in the late 1960s things began to change. The changes were due to «a combination of a booming economy and a population shortage led Norway to accept a number of labor migrants from Morocco, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and particularly Pakistan. These guest workers, though expected to be temporary, remained in the country and were eventually followed by other migrants, including refugees and family reunification candidates» (Cooper, 2005). Özden and Schiff (2007) referred to Bratsberg et al. (2007) return migration studies from 1967 to 2003 in Norway and observed that «asylum seekers or family members who took advantage of reunification policies were least likely to return to their countries of origin» (Özden and Schiff, 2007:12). It was in the early 1970s that immigration started to emerge as a problem in the sense that ‘the number of foreign employees gradually began to increase – a growth almost entirely constituted by non-Nordic workers and the political parties started «to make immigration a political problem» in the sense that there was perceived or real pressure on welfare state institutions and benefits (Hagelund, 2003: 49). It is argued that «as time passed and it became clear that the guest workers had come to stay and that immigration continued despite» efforts to curb the situation, stringent measures were adopted (Hagelund, 2003: 167). As Hagelund (2003:174) noted, «concerns about the emergence of new social distinctions and an immigrant-based underclass were driving forces behind the introduction of the immigration stop from

1975». This situation meant that few immigrants were going to be allowed entry into Norway while policies were implemented to repatriate some immigrants back to their country of origin.

Furthermore, stories of migration mismanagement where immigration issues got out of hand in other European countries, coupled with the threat of sudden flow increases from immigrants from developing countries, motivated the government to enact this law. It was the first legislation to formally restrict immigration to Norway (Cooper, 2005). Hagelund (2003) noted that since immigration was no big issue in Norway, 'the word immigration is not mentioned in any of the larger parties' programmes before 1973» (Hagelund, 2003: 166). She argues further that «the first government White Paper on immigration came in 1974» (ibid). It proposed only a temporary stop to immigration to Norway. However, the policy's proposal changed to permanent immigration stop as a result of the increase of immigrants to Norway.

Still immigrants came in through new inlets such as family reunification, and later as refugees and asylum-seekers (Hagelund, 2003). According to Brochmann and Hagelund, Norway (and the other two Scandinavian countries Sweden and Denmark) had originally planned not to be a permanent immigrant country. However, «when influx exceeded demand in the early 1970s, the brakes were applied and a halt to immigration was introduced» (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2012:8).

This and other immigration policies directly or indirectly affect immigrant children, such as relocating the family back home or finding another country to resettle. It might disrupt children's education as they move from one society to another. Hammer (1985) outlines the composition of immigration policy. He noted that «immigration policy comprises of (1) immigration regulation and alien (foreigner) control and (2) immigrant policy» (Hammer, 1985:9, 10). Within the scope of immigration regulation and alien control, two elements can be identified. There is the «strict or liberal control of the admission and residence of foreign citizens and the guarantees of permanent status. That is, legal security and the vulnerability to arbitrary expulsion» of immigrants (ibid). There is also immigrant policy which could be indirect or indirect. With the direct immigrant policy, immigrants are included in the general allocation of benefits or are exempted from them; which Hammer (1985) calls «legal versus discriminatory distribution». On the hand, the direct immigrant policy encompasses «special measures on behalf of immigrant; affirmative action and the removal of legal discrimination» which immigrant children are likely to face in the receiving society (ibid).

The government of the receiving society uses immigration policies to regulate and control the flow of immigrants. Deliberately refusing to or delaying in granting permanent residence status to immigrants could be seen as a means to control who comes in and who stays. This action might leave immigrants in a state of uncertainty and insecurity, which might cause them anxiety almost all the time. The government of the receiving society can use this legal measure to oust immigrants from his territory claiming that these ones (immigrants) do not qualify to stay. This action could affect immigrants and their families because they would have to be looking elsewhere to resettle. They would also have to be prepared to move out of the receiving society any time. Immigrant children who become victims of this situation might have to begin school all over again, find new friends and start to learn the culture of the new society. It could be very stressful for such children influencing their childhood in several ways. Since they would have to reorient themselves after every relocation immigrant children might coil in or simply stop finding friends.

It is within this society that I have undertaken my research to understand how immigrant children from different parts of the world in Norway do integration. The study does not seek to discuss into details immigration as a sole subject, neither does it intend to focus extensively on the concept of integration. Rather, it intends to marry these two concepts (immigration and integration) to understand how children who become foreign residents manage to get incorporated into the mainstream society. That is, the two concepts will be applied in the field of childhood studies which is the focal theoretical perspective of this research. The focus will be on immigrant children's *doings* within the larger society in the process of experiencing integration. In other words, the study is concerned about how individual immigrant child experiences integration in their host society. It is against this backdrop that the study is conducted. To reach the general goal of the study, the following research questions and objectives will serve as guide.

1.3 Research questions

1. What do immigrant children do to get integrated into the Norwegian society and what are their experiences?
2. What promotes and limits integration of immigrant children in the Norwegian society?

1.4 Research objectives

1. To find out the various processes immigrant children use to do integration.
2. To understand the structural conditions in the Norwegian society that promotes or limits integration of immigrant children and descendants of immigrants.

1.5 Justification

The study intends to understand integration from the individual viewpoint of immigrant children as opposed to the traditional way of studying integration, evident in several empirical studies (Lauglo, 1999; Ramet and Valenta, 2011; Mirsadeghi, 2013; Valenta, 2011; Fangen and Lynnebakke, 2014) These studies often focus on integration of specific groups of immigrant such as those from the same country and the challenges that they may be facing in the Norwegian society. They might also study integration by looking at what the state does to incorporate immigrant children into mainstream society. Less attention has been paid to what each immigrant child might devise to do integration in the receiving society. It is this gap in knowledge that the study seeks to fill.

Secondly, is to identify the various ways they devise to do integration hence the need for empirical study with immigrant children.

Furthermore, for policy makers to make just and reasonable policies toward immigrants (including children), they need more knowledge. My point is that children may also offer a valuable extension of the body of knowledge that policy makers may need. The study therefore intends that insight into what each immigrant child does and experience may contribute to the ongoing search of knowledge to make good policies. Integration therefore will be studied on a micro level rather than on a macro level. This does not relegate to the background society's efforts to integrate immigrants. Rather, the two sides would be looked into but with much emphasis on individual child's doing to experience integration.

1.6 Outline of the study

The study will be outlined in five chapters with the concluding reflections and recommendations. The first chapter will include introduction, background, aims/objectives and research questions, justification of the study as well as the outline of the study. In chapter two, the theories of integration, theories, perspectives and concepts in childhood studies applicable to the study will

be considered. It will review existing literature and studies on the topic of integration of immigrant children. More importantly, much attention will be paid to how these studies of children and childhood have been done in order to avoid repetition of existing work. The third chapter will house the methodology of the study. The various techniques, methods and procedures employed by the researcher before, during and after the field work will be presented and discussed into details in this chapter. The fourth chapter will consider the analysis of the empirical data obtained from the field work in relation to the various theories and concepts reviewed earlier and how they apply to the study. The fifth and final chapter caps the study and it will contain discussions and implications of the analysis to children and childhood studies. The conclusion and recommendation(s) will be in the final chapter before the reference list and appendixes.

1.7 Limitation

One limitation of the study was that it did not intend to dwell systematically on the structural conditions in the receiving society (Norway) in which immigrant children may find themselves. By focusing on the *doings* of immigrant children when encountering some of these structures their stories may be helpful to consider the background (structural conditions) which they operate within, and which might limit or promote their doing integration.

Chapter Two

Theories and Concepts

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents theories, concepts and perspectives that will serve as the foundation for the study and the lens through which the empirical data obtained from the fieldwork are analyzed.

2.2 A brief tracing of Childhood Studies from the past

Studies of children and childhood are not a virgin field. Empirical studies of children have long been the focus of many academic fields. Kehily argues that «an obvious point to acknowledge is that the study of children and childhood has been part of a diverse range of academic disciplines for a very long time» (Kehily, 2004:1). For example the field of developmental psychology has long been interested in the stages of human development focusing upon the child or children and how children transit from childhood to adulthood. Sociology on the other hand focuses on the concept of childhood and not specifically on the individual child but rather on how children are gradually inducted into the larger society through the process of socialization. These academic fields have made significant contributions to contemporary understandings of childhood (ibid).

It might be argued that both developmental psychology and sociology provided rich insight into children and childhood. Prout and James (1990) acknowledged that «the century of the child can be characterized as such precisely because of the massive corpus of knowledge built up by psychologists and other social scientists through the systematic study of children» (Prout and James, 1990: 9). However, both developmental psychology and the concept of socialization have been heavily critiqued for focusing less on the individual child's action (the «doings» of children) within the larger community (Thorne, 1993; James et al., 1998; Qvortrup, 1990 in Nilsen, 2009/2014). It might be safe to argue that out of these criticisms levelled against developmental psychology and the concept of socialization emerged the New Social Studies of Children and Childhood. Researchers (Prout and James, 1990; Thorne, 1993; James et al., 1998; Qvortrup, 1990 in Nilsen, 2009/2014) argue that there was the need for children's voice to be given a place in research and that children must be studied in their own right. Prout and James

argued that «it is certainly true that sociologists have devoted little attention to childhood as a topic of interest in itself and that many of the key concepts used to think about childhood are problematic» hence the need for a shift in thinking and a new paradigm that would better address those concerns (Prout and James, 1990: 9).

Among the key tenets of this paradigm, James et al. (1998) stated that «children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and the societies in which they live. Children are not just passive subjects of social structures and processes» (Prout and James, 1990: 8). The new academic discipline focused its attention on children's doing recognizing them as «human beings» rather than «human becomings»; a product in the making (Qvortrup, 1994 in Punch, 2003:280). Since its inception in the late 1970s and early 1980s, social studies of children and childhood have emphasized the necessity for children to be seen as competent social actors who are «involved in social relations and activities of different kinds...» (James, 2009: 36).

The social studies of children and childhood therefore stress the importance of researchers giving a place for children's voice. Ennew et al. argue that «research with children should contribute to giving children a voice and a face, by accentuating their perceptions and views» (Ennew et al., 2009:1) This paradigm strongly advocates for children's actions to be given due weight in the research process. It therefore argues that research must be *with* children rather than *about* children' (ibid). This might suggest that children must be seen as active individuals who play an important role and influence the research process. Alanen argues that «sociology of childhood have strongly argued for the value of studying children in their own right and from their own perspectives, and for implementing these values in sociological work by taking children as the units of research and focusing the study directly on children and their life conditions, activities, relationships, knowledge and experiences. With this research perspective, children are approached as social actors and participants in the social world, and also as participants in the formation of their own childhood» (Alanen, 2001:12).

2.3 Perspectives in Childhood Studies

Alanen outlines three key perspectives through which children and childhood could be viewed and studied. The first approach is the structural perspective on children and childhood. This theoretical approach conceptualizes children and childhood as «fixed and relatively permanent

element in modern social life» (Alanen, 2001: 13). Researchers (Mayall, 2002; Punch et al., 2007 and Qvortrup, 2009) from this camp argue that childhood «is a structural phenomenon that is, both structured and structuring, comparable and analogous to the proto-sociological class and notion of gender» (ibid: 13).

The task of researchers is to «link the empirical manifestations of childhood at the level of children's lives to their macro-level context and to focus more on the social structures and mechanisms as they may be found to determine the manifestations of childhood and help to explain them» (Alanen, 2001: 13). The perspective further argues that, «in a structural view, actual living children, each living through their own uniquely constructed childhoods, are not the immediate focus. They are of course there but this time assembled under the socially formed category of childhood» but the focus of analysis is on the macro level context and how the various social structures in society affect and is affected by childhood (ibid).

A second approach is the deconstructive approach. It is argued that since children and childhood are a product of discursive formations and that ideas, images and knowledge of children and childhood are constructed, researchers must deconstruct these discourses, «cultural ideas, images, models and practices of children and childhood» for a new understanding (Alanen, 2001: 13).

The last but not least of the three perspectives is the social constructionist perspective where children and childhood are viewed «as discursive formations through which ideas, images and knowledge of children and childhood are conveyed in society» (Alanen, 2001: 12, 13). Authorities (Jenks, 1982; Montgomery, 2003 and Nilsen, 2008) from this approach of studies argue that it is the society that constructs who children and childhood are through dominant discourses at the time. It is argued that society's relationship toward children and childhood are «often incorporated in broader social models of action and cultural practices» (Alanen, 2001: 13). The approach does not see children and childhood as being the same in every society. Rather, society's ideas and relationship toward children are constantly changing across time and space even within the same society. Empirical studies (Nilsen, 2008; Montgomery, 2003) illustrate this perspective. Social constructionists look at how categories are constructed, how bodies of knowledge are built up and how children and childhood are seen and understood in any given society (ibid). This is more actor-oriented perspective where children's agency is emphasized.

Children's agency, it is argued, is seen in their everyday lives as they go about their daily activities. Robson et al., (2007: 135) defines agency as «an individual's own capacities, competencies, and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their lifeworlds, fulfilling many economic, social, and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives». Regarding children's agency, studies on young people have shown that they «actively reveal through their actions, resistance and innovations» that they are not «essentially powerless but rather active empowered young people who chart their course of live» (Robson, et al., 2007: 136). The actor-oriented perspective see children as competent social beings, which means viewing them as «doers» and «thinkers» not merely passive recipients of adult gestures (Valentine, 1996 cited in Robson, et al., 2007).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, proponents of the social studies of children and childhood argue that the socialization theory and developmental psychology both viewed children as people going through the refinery process, a product in the making until children finally reach the status deemed appropriate by society to take on adult roles. The work of Davis Kingsley is cited to demonstrate this ideology which is claimed was held about children. Kingsley is quoted to have argued that «an individual's most important functions for society are performed when he is fully adult, not when he is immature. Hence society's treatment of the child is chiefly preparatory and the evaluation of him mainly anticipatory. Any doctrine which views the child's needs as paramount and those of organized society as secondary is a sociological anomaly» (Kingsley, 1940 in Qvortrup, 2009: 22). For a long time, this idea puts children in a position where their creativity and conscious actions were pushed aside or simply overlooked. Children were marginalized in society. These constructions about children and childhood did not «allow space for individual children's agency, in constructing an individual's experiences» (Bernays et al., 2015: 273). As Lee (2001) argues, «a process of becoming-adult does not allow for creativity and imagination» (Lee, 2001: xii). However, the social studies of children and childhood intended to challenge these views and claims about children and childhood and to project the voice of children through research.

Yet, the question as to whether this paradigm shift has achieved its intended noble purposes of projecting children's voices and working to eliminate the marginalized position that children and childhood occupy in adult dominated society is debatable. The very foundations on

which the social studies of children and childhood hinges have recently been questioned (Hammersley, 2016). Though it is argued that the tenants of the social studies of children and childhood have achieved success in some respect, Hammersley argues that «the idea that children are worthy of study in their own right», that childhood is a «social construction», that «children are and must be treated as active agents, and that participatory methods are the gold standard...involve fundamental problems» (Hammersley, 2016: 1). It is beyond the scope of this study to argue for or against the issues regarding the success of the paradigm. Such endeavor will require much more work than time would allow for this study. Yet it is interesting to note that the social studies of children and childhood is constantly going through scanning under the microscopic lens of authorities in the field, a healthy exercise which must be welcomed.

Since the study investigates what immigrant children do to experience integration in the receiving society, it might be appropriate to adopt the agency structure perspective. Though these children may face the challenge of being «othered» or seen as different in the new society, it might be expected of them to find ways to do integration. Through their agency, immigrant children construct how they do integration even though or maybe just because they operate within certain structural constraints in the society. These structural conditions no doubt affect immigrant children doing of integration and thus may help explain the phenomenon. The study will use this twin theoretical approach in designing the study and when interpreting and discussing the empirical data.

2.4 The theory of structuration

The theory of structuration by Anthony Giddens (1984) conceptualizes agency as taken place within social structure by active agents. The theory of structuration «refers to the constitution of social structures as they are reproduced and transformed by active doings of subjects» (Manicas, 1980: 10). Giddens' theory of structuration notes that social life is more than random individual acts, but is not merely determined by social forces. This implies that immigrant children's doing of integration cannot be fully studied by focusing only on their agency without considering the structural conditions within which they operate in the host society. As Giddens (1984) suggests, human agency and social structures are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents which reproduces the structure.

Immigrant children come into already established societies with laws, regulations and patterned ways of doing things which probably are different from what is known to them. To experience integration, immigrant children need to operate within these boundaries in the receiving society. For them to do integration there is the need of interdependency between their agency and the structural conditions in the host society (Lee, 2002). They need to learn to a certain extent how things are done in the receiving society in order to experience integration.

My study touches, not only on immigrant, integration and the interplay, but also on children's rights. Theoretically, the study therefore needs to rely on the concept of children's right as well. We may ask what are the rights of an immigrant child? Hagelund (2003) states that in the mid 1980's, «most parties stressed that foreign workers and immigrants should be treated equally to Norwegians. They should have the same duties and the same rights. Cultural differences were acknowledged as something that necessitated specific measures, such as language training and information schemes, to facilitate their adaptation to Norwegian society» (Hagelund, 2003: 167). However, matters begun to change over the years with the influx of immigrants into Norway. Now the rights of immigrant children in the Norwegian society may depend on their legal status or that of their parents (Kjørholt, 2008). Those who have legal residence in Norway have the same rights as any other Norwegian child. However, those seeking asylum and who live in the transit asylum reception centers may have some of their rights hindered. The period of waiting for the authorities to decide their residency might suggest that certain rights could not be exercised (ibid). Concerning children's right especially immigrant children in Norway, Kjørholt (2008) referred to the United Nations Committee's report to Norway in 2000 which focused on Article 12 of the UNCRC. According to the researcher, the report mentioned that «the conditions of children in families seeking asylum was made a particular issue and Norway was criticized for paying too little attention to asylum-seeking children's rights to participate in the proceedings or considering their views in the decision-making process» (Kjørholt, 2008: 27).

These children's participation rights become inactive with no way out to be used as long as they continued to live in the reception centers. The researcher argues further that «though the practices regarding children's participation rights had improved, the Forum for UNCRC (FFB) in their supplementary report to the Committee claimed that children were still rarely heard in immigration cases» (ibid). The structural conditions may also include «the measures the state can

enforce to include immigrant children into ordinary institutions or into the all-encompassing totality called society» (Hagelund, 2003: 165). My sample for the study did not include minor asylum seekers but Norway as a welfare state has seen a dramatic influx of asylum seekers in the last couple of years. This sudden change in population puts excessive pressure on a welfare state like Norway which was not known as a destination for immigrants (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2012; Cooper, 2005).

These and other structural conditions prevalent in the receiving society might constraint immigrant children's doing of integration. A study in Australia about how structural conditions affect immigrants in the host society Grove and Zwi (2006) argued that «an expectation is established that any genuine refugee will willingly comply with the state's application procedures, regardless of how unfair or inefficient, and that public criticism, acts of dissent or protest all indicate a less than genuine claim» (Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1936). Australia and Norway are two different communities with different structural conditions that immigrant children need to deal with as they do integration. Yet there may be those such as citizenship, racism and state sponsored initiatives which may be common in both societies as they handle matters related to immigration. These expectations and opinions held about immigrant children, it is argued silence children's voices and that might affect their doing integration (Grove and Zwi, 2006). On the other hand, these structural conditions such as citizenship and state sponsored initiatives may not necessary in themselves silence children's voices. It could even motivate them to do integration the more. In fact, research indicates that these conditions may be used as a reward for doing integration (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010).

So far I have used the concept of structure several times without defining it. The concept of «structure» may be defined as «rules and resources» used by actors in interaction (Turner, 1986: 972). It is argued that human actions are guided by those structures (rules and resources) in society and yet these very structures are impacted, reproduced and transformed by the same actions of the agents. For that matter, agents by their agency may affect the structures within society and vice versa. In that sense, agents and structure are in a «duality». That is, there is constant interconnection and interrelationship between these two variables. Each affects the other in a way that helps reproduce new patterns within society based on the legacy of the old structures (Manicas, 1980).

According to Turner (1986), rules are «generalizable procedures» and «methodologies» that reflexive agents possess in their implicit «stocks of knowledge» and that they employ as «formulas» for action in «social systems» (specific empirical contexts of interaction) (Turner, 1986: 972). It is expected that for immigrant children to experience integration, they must consciously employ these «generalizable procedures» and «methodologies» as formulas in the receiving society.

Turner (1986) further notes that structure involves the use of resources that are the «material equipment» and «organizational capacities» of actors to get things done (Turner, 1986: 972). The material equipment and organizational capacities that immigrant children utilize to do integration in the host society is worth considering. Since the study looks into the ways that each immigrant child employs to do integration, it might be relevant not to take any indication of doing integration for granted. This does not suggest an examination of immigrant children's mental capacity neither does it connote an idea of evaluative studies as that might fall into the realm of psychology. Rather, the study intends to find out the various ways these children devise in their own capacity to do integration. Researchers (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Portes and Borocz, 1989 in Algan et al., 2012) argue that unequal access to wealth, jobs, housing, education, power, racism, ethnicity, language and privilege are seen as structural constraints that affect the ability of immigrants and ethnic minorities to socially integrate. This leads to persistent ethnic disparities in levels of income, educational attainment, and occupational achievement of immigrants. They further argue that the benefits of integration depend largely on what stratum of society absorbs the new immigrants. As seen in the consideration of the theory of structuration and the concept of structure, immigrant children are confronted with conditions in the receiving society which might promote or limit their doing integration. The concept of structure is therefore relevant to the study and will be utilized in the analysis and discussion of the empirical data.

2.5 Language, racism and othering

In this section, I will look at some issues that I expect to influencing immigrant children in their feeling of being included: issues that are not all part of the general political decision and formal rights, but which nevertheless are important.

2.5.1 Language as the entrance ticket

Language and communication are the bedrock of human interactions. Through them «human behaviour, social processes and the cultural meanings that inscribe human behaviour» are understood (Hennink, 2008: 21). Language can be one of the many structural challenges that face immigrant children in the host society. The struggles to learn and use the new language can be daunting and might affect how immigrant children do integration. Being able to use the new language in everyday interaction is often considered a major feat. Remennick argues that «the shift from home to host language is universally viewed as the key indicator of immigrant acculturation and social inclusion» (Remennick, 2004: 432). The ability to learn to use the language of the receiving society is seen as a positive step toward the integration of immigrant children. For this and many other reasons, governments of the receiving societies go to great length to put measures in place to ensure that immigrant children successfully get good hold on their new language. Their being able to ‘flow’ along with the normal activities in the receiving society largely depends on their ability to use the new language.

The dilemma of integration faced by immigrant children has largely revolved around the issue of host language acquisition and usage (Remennick, 2004). With the possibility that immigrant children may find it difficult to learn and use the language of the host society upon arrival, they may be unable to access vital information and form friendship. Language therefore is a tool to experiencing integration. The Norwegian society as a welfare state with egalitarian traditions put helpful measures in place with the aim to include immigrant children into mainstream society. Hagelund argues that because integration of immigrants is of concern to the government, «specific measures, such as language training and information schemes, to facilitate their adaptation to Norwegian society» have been put in place (Hagelund, 2003: 167). This deliberate effort on the part of the receiving society to ensure that new arrivals successfully get incorporated suggests that language is indeed important factor to consider among the structural conditions. According to Hagelund (2003) «the challenge for integration policy has been increasingly defined in terms of including immigrants in mainstream society, to ensure that they learn Norwegian, to increase their employment and education rate...» Hagelund, 2003: 176). Another helpful structural measure that the Norwegian society has in place is the tuition free school system. Immigrant children may easily take advantage of this provision to realize their

goals in life (Ramet and Valenta, 2011). There may be other equally vital conditions which may crop up in the empirical data during the analysis and discussion.

2.5.2 Racism

Racism according to Connolly is «the conceptual framework which not only guides the way people think about themselves and others but also, in turn, comes to influence and shape their actions and behaviour» and that «rather than being something external to the individual, is something that they come to internalise» (Connolly, 1998: 11). He further adds that ‘racism can be seen as a particular discourse which influences and shapes our knowledge of the social world and the way in which we think about one another. These discourses on «race», while continually changing and evolving over time, all tend to construct difference within the human population and act to fashion and reinforce notions of «us» and «them» (Connolly, 1998: 15, 16). Racism leads to othering or classification of people based on whatever criterion the society in question is subject to. This assertion is substantiated and «racism can therefore be seen as also ordering and shaping the social world and creating and reinforcing economic, political and cultural divisions» (ibid). Racism is not limited to matters of skin colour, but spans all spheres of life and may include issues such as «nationality, religion, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and disability» (Connolly, 1998: 10).

Immigrant children come into the receiving society from different countries which mean that their ways of doing things, skin colour and language differ from members of the receiving society. These differences could serve as the basis on which immigrant children are treated. They may be subjected to acts of racism and sometimes treated in a bad way in the receiving society since discourses on racism «influence and shape» how people act and behave toward others thought to be different from them. Racism therefore can be seen as a powerful and formal structural condition that has the potential to influence how children’s general wellbeing and how they manage to do integration in the receiving society. How do immigrant children react to comments, unuttered speeches and actions with racial undertone from peers? As Connolly argues, «racism ...has the formative power in the way it can literally form and shape individual and collective identities» (Connolly, 1998: 11). However, individuals are not robots left to the mercy of discourses on racism as if «with no option other than to be passively constructed and shaped by various discourses working on them» (Connolly, 1998: 16). However, individuals

«have the opportunity and, within certain constraints, to make choices and respond to particular situations in a variety of different ways» (ibid). As seen from the discussion, racism has implications for the immigrant children. It leads to othering; the concept which will be the next structural condition present in the receiving society to be discussed.

2.5.3 Othering

Othering is a concept that may be seen as similar to racism or an underlying assumption to understand racism. It is argued that «othering is a process that serves to mark and name those thought to be different from oneself» (Weis, 1995 in Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1933). This concept, it is argued, serves to solidify the notion of «us» and «them» creating mental boundaries between people (ibid). Othering like racism lead to «separating the human population into distinct groupings making it inevitable that people begin to view themselves in opposition to others and construct and maintain stereotypes about «us» and «them» (Connolly, 1998: 13). Grove and Zwi, (2006) argue that «social understanding of belonging can reinforce the position of outsider» prompting others that «they» are not part of «us» (Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1934). If immigrant children are seen as different from mainstream society's population, the concept of othering can result in their being mentally quarantine by members of the receiving society.

Furthermore, othering may have material implications for immigrant children as it risks constructing them as those in need and people who «compete for local resources of the receiving society» which might develop the public perception about immigrant children as «they want» what «we have» (Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1935). These authors argue that othering helps form the perception that immigrant children are «needy, helpless and a drain on resources» (ibid). This sentiment is also reflected by Dauvergne arguing that «refugees and illegal migrants occupy a place in the collective imagination as desperate, brown-skinned, have not's hoping to gain from our beneficence...they are not us» (Dauvergne, 2003 in Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1935). «Under such circumstances, the other may forever remain outside, and their responses must always convey gratitude for the generosity of the receiving community» (ibid). These constructions and public perceptions about immigrant children can lead to competition and hostility towards immigrant children and affect their efforts to do integration. Grove and Zwi (2006) argue that «othering not only creates distance between us and them, but also creates a sense of opposition and conflict, that leads inevitably to us against them» (Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1937). Clearly,

othering can be a strong structural condition in the receiving society with serious implications on how immigrant children do integration.

2.6 Theories and Perspectives of Integration

Beside the above theories and perspectives that directly deal with children and childhood and human actions, other equally important perspectives and concepts relevant to the study need to be defined. Integration has been variously defined. Murdie and Ghosh argue that «despite the importance of immigrant integration, there is no single definition of the term» (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010: 296). Explaining their claim, the researchers further argue that «integration can be viewed as both a process and an outcome, as an individual and a group phenomenon, as a dichotomous category or a range of adaptations and as a one-way process or a series of negotiated interactions between new immigrants and the receiving society» (ibid). However, they chose to limit the definition of integration to the context of their study in which they explored ethnic concentration and integration in Toronto to answer the question whether spatial concentration of ethnic groups means a lack of integration. The focus of that study was more on the subjective intentions (identification with the new country, internalisation of its values and norms and satisfaction with the overall immigration and settlement process) for which immigrants want to integrate rather than on objective factors what they called «functional and civic integration» (ibid). They then restricted the term to suit the objective of their study and define integration as the extent to which immigrants are able to achieve their needs and fulfill their interests in the new country (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010: 296).

It is interesting to note that the definition of integration appears not to be static but assumes its meanings based on the context of what a particular study wants to achieve. Hagelund (2003) argues that «integration refers partly to the *interactions* through which participants become parts of a whole and partly to this *condition* of unity itself» (Hagelund, 2003: 162). She further adds that «integration is about belonging and is, as such, an inclusive notion» it is «only a different mode of functional incorporation into the same society» (Hagelund, 2003: 169, 170). Additionally, Tselios et al. argue that «integration refers to the inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes toward the society, and the conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals and groups» (Tselios et al., 2015: 416).

Regarding the use of integration as a term, Hagelund (2003) argues that it «is used in relation to different groups that should be incorporated into society, local communities or institutions. Immigrants, or ethnic minorities, are one such group» as well as «disable people». She further argues that «to a lesser extent, the term has been used about age groups, young or elderly people, and in few instances about women and homosexuals» (ibid: 165). Additionally, it «is used to speak about institutions, their merging and/or increased interaction. The term can refer to processes of increasing interdependence and trans-national involvement beyond Norway, such as of European or economic integration. It is also used with reference to the incorporation of national institutions, in particular the fusion and increased co-ordination between institutions that were previously apart. Finally, the term is used when incorporating certain considerations into the ordinary activities and planning efforts of various policy fields (Hagelund, 2003: 164). Murdie and Ghosh therefore conclude that the concept defines «a potentially complex process incorporating a wide range of variables, not all of which have been fully included in empirical studies» (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010: 296).

Murdie and Ghosh (2010)'s definition of the concept points out some aspect of it which is of interest to my study. It notes that for immigrants to do integration, they must realize the needs and fulfill their interest in the receiving country. It must be noted that doing integration might not always be a conscious or deliberate choice. Immigrants may not even realize that the process of integration is that taking place in their lives since humans can unintentionally learn things. However, as they argue the definition of the concept goes beyond immigrant's realisation in the receiving country. The definition includes «a wide range of variables» some of which have not fully been explored. Therefore, my study wants to explore some of these unexplored variables; what immigrant children do to experience integration in the receiving society.

In this study, I want to import and apply the dimension of the definition by Murdie and Ghosh (2010) who see the concept «as an individual phenomenon...and as a series of negotiated interactions between new immigrants and the receiving society» (ibid: 296). From this angle, it might be argued that immigrant children would do integration when they have devised various ways to get incorporated into the life of the receiving society besides the efforts on the part of the receiving society to get them incorporated. Their doing integration would include both their individual actions being able to maneuver through many challenges to get well along with the

receiving society which Murdie and Ghosh (2010) refer to as «subjective» and the deliberate efforts of the receiving society; «functional and civic» forms of the concept.

Heckmann and Schnapper's (2003) definition of the concept integration support what has been considered above. They argue it involves «the inclusion of new populations into existing social structures of the immigration country» (Heckmann and Schnapper, 2003: 10). Here they emphasize the concept of inclusion which is vital when incorporating new arrivals into existing social structure of the receiving country. This definition brings out the deliberate attempt not only on the part of the receiving society, but also on the part of immigrant children something new to an already existing social structure of the receiving society. The inclusionary process might result in a significant alteration in the normal flow of activities in the receiving society. Murdie and Ghosh (2010) argue, as we already have seen that «integration can be viewed as both a process and an outcome» which might change the original. Yet, there need to be balance between the two; «a negotiated interaction between immigrant children's doings and the receiving society» to ensure the continuous functioning of the host community (ibid: 296). Heckmann and Schnapper (2003) further sift out various dimensions of integration; the structural, the cultural, the social and identificational integration (ibid).

The structural dimension of the concept deals with «the acquisition in rights and the access to membership, position and statuses in the core institutions of the settlement society», while the cultural dimension «is a precondition in participation and refers to processes of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change of persons» (Heckmann and Schnapper, 2003: 10). The identificational dimension occurs according to Gordon (1978:169 in Willians and Ortega, 1990: 700), when there is «development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society». The social dimension touches on social policies such as labour mobility. So these four dimensions must be met for the process of integration to be complete and its experience made possible.

As already mentioned immigrant children come into the Norwegian society with their experiences and culture which have shaped their personality. Immigrant children in their doing of integration might be seen as a joining at least two different cultures to form a new way of life that contains elements from these societies. Culture, according to Hannerz (1992) is the «ideas, experiences, feelings, as well as the external forms that such internalities take as they are made public, available to the senses and thus truly social» (Hannerz, 1992: 3). Mouritsen (2002)

further adds that culture «is the processed, what has been given form, what is embedded in a distinct formation that is characteristic of a particular time, a particular group, a particular society. Culture is understood as a supraindividual entity produced and reproduced by a given group» (Mouritsen, 2002: 14).

Children may not entirely throw away or cut ties with their native country yet they may need to embrace existing conditions in the host country in order to experience integration. Hagelund (2003) argues that in the Norwegian White Paper (*St. meld. nr. 74 (1979-80): 28*) on integration, «integration policies are necessary to help immigrants to maintain their own culture and identity and to counteract the pressure towards assimilation that exists in Norwegian society» (Hagelund, 2003: 179). This aim suggests that in the process of integration, immigrant children do not necessarily have to unlearn their original culture but need to make the two cultures coexist. That is, there is not going to be a complete melt away or shedding off what immigrant children have experienced in their country of origin however; they will have to learn and do things the way they are done in the receiving society for a coexistence of the two experiences.

Understanding of the concept of integration from this perspective of agency-structure relationship sheds light on the complex interplay that exists in the process. It might be argued that integration of immigrants is an ongoing process of achieving equilibrium between the actions of the individual immigrant child and the structural conditions within the host society. The relationship therefore might be seen as a two-way affair, a dual carriage rather than a one-way, unilateral action.

It cannot be argued with all certainty that the Norwegian society defines integration of immigrants and utilizes this double perspective. However, from what has been considered, the Norwegian society endeavors to include immigrant children into mainstream society through the generous structural provisions that they set in place. A close look at some Norwegian document Government White Papers (*St. meld. nr. 74(1979-80) :28*) and other studies in the Scandinavian states seems to suggest this perspective which this study makes use of. For instance, a study by Valenta and Bunar (2010) on refugee integration policies in Scandinavian welfare states suggests the idea of upholding individual agency in the integration process (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008 cited in Valenta and Bunar, 2010). The decision on whether or not to adopt the majority culture is up to individual choice (OECD 2009 cited in Valenta and Bunar, 2010). Hagelund

(2003) calls this the «freedom to choose» (Hagelund, 2003: 172). She further argues that the 1974 government white paper (St. meld. nr. 74 (1979-80): 28) mentioned that:

The government will continue to support the principle that an immigrant shall be able to choose the strength and length of the connection to and stay in Norway. One does not want to demand that the immigrant shall be as Norwegian as possible (assimilation) even if he or she wants to settle here permanently...In the government's opinion, to be anchored in their own culture and a familiar environment will ease the immigrants' possibilities to adapt and function in the majority society (integration) (Hagelund, 2003:172-173).

In the years that followed, integration policy focused primarily on the housing sector, providing a special grant to support the city of Oslo and other communities with large immigrant populations to build up infrastructures for integration (e.g. immigrant organizations, language courses, mother tongue education). In the 1990s, Norway further developed its integration policy, with an increased focus on economic integration and anti-discrimination. This was undertaken through the application of several policy documents. Perhaps the most important here are: i) the Governmental proposal on refugee policy (Stortingsmelding 17: 1994/5 in Valenta and Bunar, 2010) and ii) the Governmental proposal on immigration and multicultural Norway (Stortingsmelding 17: 1996/7 in Valenta and Bunar, 2010). In these two policy documents the Norwegian authorities focused primarily on parity between immigrants and native Norwegians in terms of social and economic rights, participation, duties and opportunities' (ibid).

As seen from the above documents, integration of immigrants which appears in some of the Norwegian documents makes use of the agency-structure approach where immigrants are given the choice to integrate while at the same time the government establishes structural conditions in the society to facilitate integration. In what follows, I would like to revisit some of the theoretical concepts associated with incorporating new members into society and to find out how these further shed light on the concept of integration. Algan et al. (2012) identify assimilation as a concept associated with incorporation. A brief look into this concept will differentiate it from the concept of integration.

2.6.1 Assimilation

When research into integration is done, a mention of assimilation might surface along the line since these concepts are «only different modes of functional incorporation into the same society» (Hagelund, 2003: 170). Yet, Hagelund (2003: 170-171) argues that «integration is not the opposite of assimilation... it is placed somewhere in the middle where customs are kept to a certain degree». But as mentioned, these concepts are used in different ways to get new members into an existing society. This is how integration is understood and made into political practice.

Algan et al. (2012:4) state that ‘in the literature on the cultural integration of immigrants, the perspective of assimilation theory has dominated much of the sociological thinking for most of the twentieth century». The theory of assimilation posits that «diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture through a natural process along which they have the same access to socio-economic opportunities as natives of the host country». Additionally the «process consists of the gradual disappearance of original cultural and behavioural patterns in favour of new ones» and that «once set in motion, the process moves inevitably and irreversibly towards complete assimilation. Hence, diverse immigrant groups are expected to «melt» into the mainstream culture through an inter-generational process of cultural, social, and economic integration’ (ibid). Hagelund (2010) defines assimilation from the «publicly commissioned report on immigration, the so-called Danielsen-commission (NOU 1973: 17) in the Norwegian white paper (St. meld. nr. 39 (1973-74)) that «The Commission understands that in this context assimilation means that a foreigner will be as equal to a Norwegian as possible. An assimilated foreigner will to a large extent be similar to a Norwegian in mind and in appearance...» (Hagelund, 2003: 169). So assimilation in the Norwegian society might be defined as a foreigner becoming as equal to a Norwegian as possible and being similar to a Norwegian in mind and in appearance and eventually loose ties with his or her original country. Hagelund (2010) further argues that assimilation connotes the idea of «the eradication of diversity, resulting in loss of identity and roots» which she defines «as a core problem for immigrants in Norway» (Hagelund, 2010: 173).

However, Algan et al. (2012: 4) argue that «though cultural assimilation is a necessary first step, ethnic groups may remain distinguished from one another because of spatial isolation and lack of contact. Their full assimilation depends ultimately on the degree to which these groups gain the acceptance of the dominant population». Yet, Murdie and Ghosh (2010) conclude from their study of the spatial concentration of ethnic groups’ integration in Toronto

that «spatial concentration does not necessarily equate with a lack of integration» which suggest that immigrants can still integrate irrespective of their location in the receiving society but still holding on to their former experiences. Hagelund (2010) argues, however, to resolve the contradiction which seems to surface from the assimilation concept that «immigrants are often referred to as being outside society even if they live in the middle of Oslo...the spatiality may not be of the geographical kind, but a mental one» (Hagelund, 2010: 163). So immigrant children's experiences of integration might not suggest a throw away of what is known to them even though they may live in the heart of the mainstream society. Hagelund argues that «even the assimilated foreigner cannot be fully Norwegian. Some degree of distinction will remain» (Hagelund, 2010: 171). Individuals with affiliations to ethnic minorities may not completely shed off their culture as a result of being in a new society. Though it might be weakened over time by the pressure from the culture prevalent in the receiving society, the cultural ties to their country of origin may not necessarily melt away, as Gordon (1964 in Algan et al., 2012) suggests.

Immigrant children may still hold on to certain practices and views that have connections with their country of origin as they live in the receiving society. In his study into racism, gender identity and young children, Connolly (1998) cited the former British Conservative government minister, Norman Tebbit who in 1991 said that «the minority ethnic communities in Britain had still not developed a positive identification with and sense of belonging to the British nation» though these had lived in Britain for ages. He argued that «many of the minority ethnic communities still supported Pakistan, India/or West Indies against England and this was evidence of their deep, almost natural, instinct to identify with people of their kind; their country of origin» (Connolly, 1998: 12). This goes to support the claim by Hagelund (2003: 171) that «even the assimilated foreigner cannot be fully Norwegian. Some degree of distinction will remain».

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at some theories and perspectives that are relevant to the study. A review of available works from different researchers on the topic under consideration has also been done. Several definitions of the concept of integration have been looked at and those relevant for the study adopted. As previously mentioned, these theories and perspectives serve as the theoretical framework for my study.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the practical steps the researcher took, the methodological reflections, the techniques and methods employed as well as the formal procedural requirements necessary for the successful completion of any scientific social research. Reasons behind the choice of methods, ethics and detailed description of processes and challenges encountered during the research process will be outlined in this chapter. Limitations to the study and summary of the chapter cap the discussion.

3.2 Research design

The research methodology is the set of procedures and techniques the researcher uses to gather the data for the study. It relates to the various steps that are generally adopted by a researcher in studying the research problem along with the logic reason behind their adaptation (Thomas and Hodges, 2010).

This study adopts a qualitative research design to understand the topic under investigation. Qualitative research is concerned with the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and description of phenomenon (Berg, 2007). It seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and individuals who inhabit these settings. Qualitative researchers are then interested in how humans make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals and social roles (ibid). The aim of the study was to get in-depth knowledge about how some immigrant children and descendants of immigrants do integration.

3.3 Sample

Sample for the study is drawn from immigrant children and descendants of immigrants who live in a city in Norway and are between the ages of 13 and 17. The unit of the study is a small sample of the population of immigrant children. Certain factors compelled me to consider and choose from this sample. One of the most important reasons for my choice was simply pragmatic

one like language. Liamputtong (2008) argues that «language and communication are central to qualitative research. Language is a fundamental tool through which qualitative researchers seek to understand human behaviour, social processes and the cultural meanings that inscribe human», especially as I did not have the language capacity or the time to do observation and use other methods during my data gathering period (Liamputtong, 2008:21). A study with little children would require a degree of knowledge in the Norwegian language and also the ability to comprehend their terminologies in their everyday language. As Christensen puts it «researchers need to enter into children’s cultural communication» during empirical study with children in order to better «hear the voices of children in the representation of their own lives» (Christensen, 2004: 165). Additionally, considerable amount of time would be required in order to be familiar with little children for the study since it might take time for them to relate well with an adult research who may be seen as a «stranger» as exemplified in Corsaro and Molinari’s (2008) longitudinal study of children in early school in Italy.

More to this reason, if I should have interviewed in Norwegian, a translator would have been required to translate the script from Norwegian to English so that the researcher could make sense of the data. The research tool (semi-structured life world interview) I planned to use would have been difficult to use with little children who may be «obviously dependent and vulnerable, and» their «ability to express» their «views verbally regarding their daily life...and to make conscious decisions is limited» (Kjørholt, 2008: 33; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). Another rationale for the choice was that the older my informants, the more experiences and reflections on the topic I anticipated to get in order to answer the research questions (even though there is no guarantee to that).

3.4 Sample Size

The sample size is relatively few immigrant children from different countries. I planned to recruit as many as I was able to within the limited time. This is consistent with the tradition in qualitative research which holds the notion that purposive sampling of one or a few cases is appropriate (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). Qualitative research does not focus on representative samples and the idea of generalizing findings to the population as a whole. On the contrary, its goal is to obtain insights, explore the depth, richness, and complexity inherent in the phenomenon that prevails within a specific location. For that reason, qualitative researchers strive to extract meaning from their data placing less emphasis on sample size (ibid).

Furthermore, Crouch and McKenzie argued that «in a qualitative framework, research based on interviews often seeks to penetrate social life beyond appearance and manifest meanings. This requires the researcher to be immersed in the research field, to establish continuing, fruitful relationships with respondents and through theoretical contemplation to address the research problem in depth. Therefore, a small number of cases will facilitate the researcher's close association with the respondents, and enhance the validity of fine-grained, in-depth inquiry in naturalistic settings» (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006: 483). They further argued that «the explanatory status of such research» makes it more relevant to consider small sample size» (ibid). An additional argument is that «from a realist standpoint, here concept formation through induction and analysis aims to clarify the nature of some specific situations in the social world, to discover what features there are in them and to account, however partially, for those features being as they are. Since such a research project scrutinizes the dynamic qualities of a situation (rather than elucidating the proportionate relationships among its constituents), the issue of sample size – as well as representativeness – has little bearing on the project's basic logic» (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006: 483).

Thomas and Hodges argued that because of limited resources and time allocation, «researchers choose to work with relatively few sample size» (Thomas and Hodges, 2010:21). This does not suggest that it is irrelevant to obtain large numbers of informants for qualitative study. But as Mason noted «qualitative samples must be large enough to assure that most or all of the perceptions that might be important are uncovered, but at the same time if the sample is too large data becomes repetitive and, eventually, superfluous» (Mason, 2010: 1). To achieve a satisfactory sample size, Mason suggests that 'if researchers remain faithful to the principle of qualitative research, sample size in the majority of qualitative studies should generally follow the concept of saturation when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation' (Mason, 2010: 1). I have done single individual interviews and for that reason do not have all the facts to justify qualitative methods in general. Qvortrup (2000) argues that «no one method alone can produce all knowledge needed» to arrive at complete conclusion about a phenomenon (Qvortrup, 2000:78). What I intend doing is to explain what I considered and did.

3.5 Sampling Method

According to Ennew et al., (2009:2) «research methods are the ways researchers and research participants communicate». Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:132) also noted that «the term method originally meant the way to the goal». So research methods generally mean ways researchers use to reach the goal of their study.

On this premise, I wanted to interview ten immigrant children. Considering the characteristics of my informants; being immigrants children and widely dispersed, I decided to use the snowball sampling method as a technique to recruit informants for the study. According to Thomas and Hodges (2010) snowball sampling is the «technique when one research participant is asked to identify other people they know who could also qualify for inclusion in the study. The method is used as the only feasible option if the people (research informants) intended to be the main data source for the project are hard to find or difficult to recruit. Gradually over time, this technique may eventually lead to the recruitment of a sufficient number» (Thomas and Hodges, 2010:22). It is this technique that I used to recruit my informants for the study since it is hard to find immigrant children who may be interest in the study and live in my research area. Moreover, the method was considered appropriate since it interferes less with their privacy; causing them «no harm» (Ennew et al., 2009:2).

I also utilized what Eide and Allen term as «culture broker» in the recruitment of research informants (Eide and Allen, 2005: 45). In their transcultural research in Hawaii and Micronesia, they describe their experiences and challenges in recruiting participants for the study. They noted that relying on a «culture broker»; a person who knows and is known by research participants is beneficial. They further argued that «in the process of snowballing, the researcher or the culture broker starts with a known group of people and recruits more participants through contacts of those original group members. In this way, each contact leads to another, thereby enlarging the potential pool of participants» (Eide and Allen, 2005: 45). They emphasized that it is an 'effective method of helping the researcher to be known to others by the process of positive recommendation' in the research process (ibid).

Commenting on the benefits of using this method to recruit research participants, they stated that «snowballing provides opportunities for the culture broker and participants to vouch for the cultural competency of the researcher to new contacts» adding that the «method include

the identification of other key contacts and helping to balance the power relations between researcher and participant» (ibid). In my case, friends who live in my study area served as «culture brokers» and led me to contact families who had immigrant children and were interested in the study.

My first informant also played an important role in locating other informants for the study. He informed other immigrant children about the study and helped me to reach them. He was a key informant and helped me so much during the interview stage. Among others, Ennew et al. stated that «key informants may also be older children or youth» not just adults (Ennew et al., 2009:2). For example my informant told me that some of his friends would like to meet me so that I could explain the purpose of the research to them and show how it would benefit them as immigrant children and descendants of immigrants. I complied with his request and met the «guys» (for that is how he called both boys and girls) who were willing to grant me interview at different dates. As a result of that, I was able to get the required number of informants I planned to talk to them.

A limitation levelled against the snowball sampling method is that it carries «the tendency to recruit people who resemble each other, limiting the diversity of the sample» (Eide and Allen, 2005: 45). However, it must be remembered that the purpose of qualitative research as Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007) argue is to obtain insights, explore the depth, richness, and complexity inherent in the phenomenon that prevails within a specific location but not to focus on representative samples and the idea of generalizing findings to the whole population. For that reason, the views of research participants must be sought on the phenomenon under investigation in order to understand and interpret the meaning they assign to them. Immigrant children's experiences and accounts of integration do not represent absolute truth. Each child might have a particular way of doing integration as the interpretive perspective postulates (Prout and James, 1990). And as Crouch and McKenzie argue «research based on interviews often seeks to penetrate social life beyond appearance and manifest meanings» and does place less emphasis on sample diversity (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006: 483).

3.6 Sources of data generation

According to Thomas and Hodges «a data source is a definable element or part of the human or natural worlds from which information relevant to a research topic is obtained or collected»

(Thomas and Hodges, 2010:18). Data for the study emanate from two sources namely primary and secondary sources. The primary source of data for the study comes from the semistructured life world interview I conducted with immigrant children and descendants of immigrants from July to September 2016 (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). It was the first hand information I received from my research informants during the interview. It is the chief information from which analysis would be done. The interview was recorded on a portable recorder with permission from informants which was later transcribed into textual form for coding, categorization, easy presentation and analysis (Saldaña, 2013). The interview conversation was with five immigrant children even though I had initially planned to recruit and interview more than this number. The longest interview session lasted 51 minutes and the shortest was 26 minutes where research informants spoke on the themes in the interview guide which covers the main research aims. The secondary source of data is the use of relevant existing literature on the topic which includes books, articles, published PhD dissertations and reports from credible sources. These sources augment each other and thus provide the necessary data needed for the study and developing the analytical concepts.

3.7 Gaining Access to Informants

Before I made contact with informants, I had to meet the approval or requirements of the Data Protection Official for Research at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). After filling out and submitting the notification form, I waited for some time before the approval came in. Before I could begin with the interviews it did take longer than expected to get the green light which caused me to readjust my schedule for the interviews. As a result of the long waiting period, it became hard to get the number of informants I had planned to conduct the study with. One obvious reason was that by the time the approval came in, most of the children who fitted the sample characteristics had left for vacation during the summer holiday. Therefore, I was not able to recruit the total number of informants proposed.

I made copies of the consent form together with the introductory letter from NOSEB for parents and guidance of informants I was going to research with. Some parents demanded to have a look at the interview guide for the research as well as proof of my studentship which I complied. This was seen as a way of building trust and good relationship with my informants and their gatekeepers. Ennew et al. argued that «researchers need to show that they are not going to

do any harm and that it helps to have letters of introduction and copies of brief descriptions of research» which may help increase the confidence in the researcher (Ennew et al., 2009:2). In their ethnographic studies in Italy referred to earlier, Corsaro and Molinari (2008) argue that gaining the acceptance of research informants «depends on the trust of a range of adult gatekeepers...and the nature of interpersonal relations» one has with them (Corsaro and Molinari, 2008: 241-242).

Ennew et al. noted that «parents and teachers may refuse access to children» if they see it necessary to do so (Ennew et al., 2009:2). More to that, «because these adults have varying degree of control over the activities of the children, they hold the options not only to prevent contact with children but to terminate relations with» the researcher (Corsaro and Molinari, 2008: 242). For these reasons, they need to be taken into consideration and to build a good rapport with them (Abebe, 2009).

I made contact with informants through some local friends. These ones helped me to accessing and identifying potential research informants. Having connection with people in the community whom research informants already know and trust increases the level of trust in the researcher who may appear to be a complete stranger; an outsider to the research informants (Liamputtong, 2008).

Liamputtong (2008) further argues that relying on «knowing the person» concept to gain access to research informants is advantageous. He further explains that «not only must the researcher know about the group being studied, he or she must be known by at least some group members to gain access that allows for trust building» (Eide and Allen 2005 in Liamputtong, 2008:9). Ennew et al. argue that «children are more likely to trust researchers who are accompanied by someone known and trusted» (Ennew et al., 2009:2).

For that matter, knowing and having good relationship and «connections with members in the community or culture is extremely beneficial since potential research participants want to identify a common person whom they themselves and the researcher know as a way for them to check the researcher's credibility and trustworthiness» (Liamputtong, 2008:9). So with this principle in mind, I utilized that opportunity of having connections with friends who understand and speak the local language and have contact with immigrant families who have children within the research age range and may express interest in the study. After the initial contact was made, parents and guidance arranged to meet with me on different dates to further learn about the

purpose of the study and how far their children would be involved in the research process. I assured them of maximum protection and confidentiality for their children.

3.8 Context of the study

In what follows, I will briefly present the concept of context as argued in the literature. Afterwards, I will present sections of what come together to form the context of my study. In a layman's language context might be construed as Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:105) put it, «a kind of container» in which items could be kept. However, it is argued that context is «something qualitative researchers (or their participants) articulate for a specific purpose and not necessarily something that exists in a definite form out there». They further note that «nothing simply happens because of the context; instead contexts are constantly made through articulations (by participants as well as researchers) and are thus the result of work» (ibid). Jensen and Qvortrup (2004) argue that context «forms the backdrop», conditions «in which phenomena arises or are found» (Jensen and Qvortrup, 2004: 814). From this angle the context of the study will include the research site, informants' characteristics as well as their cultural and social background. Consideration of these items does not suggest that it is all that could be found in the context list. Just as Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:105) argue the list for context is non exhaustive but «may go on indefinitely». I have chosen to discuss these three areas which throw light on what might best describe the context of the study.

3.9 Establishment of Research Site

The interviews were conducted during the 2016 summer holidays. Although I managed to recruit six informants for the study, I actually had five successful interviews. To locate a suitable place for the interview sessions, I accorded the informants the dignity and the right of choosing where they preferred to grant me the interview.

Most of the informants chose to grant me the interview at the city library. One girl chose to have the interview at a café in the city center. She told me that it was the place she liked. These public places were chosen by the informants free of my influence as a researcher. One reason for the choice of these public places might be that the informants probably viewed it as a «home» or a place that had less intimidating features. The place might also have been familiar to the informants since it is a library where they probably often borrowed books and know every

corner very well. They seemed to be used to the place and might have felt comfortable to narrate their stories there without any external eye watching them. Moreover, they were also far from home where they might have their parents and other family members around which could negatively influence their responses. Abebe (2009) argues that «one of the difficulties that» might arise, «especially during interviews, is maintaining privacy and confidentiality when conducting individual interviews in the family home, where space is at a premium and other household members may be tempted to eavesdrop» (Abebe, 2009: 457).

I was in favor of their choices because of at least two reasons. First, the time period they granted me the interview. It was in the afternoons (13:00-15:00) on a prearranged day that they agreed to have the interview though each had a different day and time. This period was when the informants told me that they normally would be in town with their friends. I could then meet them in the city center for the interview without going to their individual homes which could be expensive and time consuming since my informants do not live around the same area. The second reason was that since their parents or guidance would be out for work or performing other duties during the preferred time for the interview, I reasoned it would pose a threat to me, such as the temptation to go beyond the expected boundaries for a researcher and also some of my informants were girls in their teens and so reducing any chance of being alone with them was my priority. As it is suggested that «researchers should avoid being completely alone with children, because this could lead later to accusations of abuse» (Ennew et al., 2009:2).

Admittedly, being in their homes might have giving me the opportunity to observe items (birth day cards, pictures of informants and friends at parties etc) around them that could give indications of their integration level or help me to ask adequate questions in order to get insight into useful contextual information. I missed the opportunity, but the alternative was good in other ways. Though the site for the interview was a public place, there was less noise as everyone was quietly going about their activities. Also there was an open area for private discussions. Before the interview, I reminded them of their responsibilities and also the duration of the interview. I made them know that the interview would last less than one hour. However, they were free to talk if they wanted. This was to assure them of their value as informants and that it was not necessarily to stop the interview when they were willing to talk.

3.10 Overview of the informants and the interviews

The total number of informants who voluntarily agreed to participate in the research was three girls and three boys. Their age ranged from fourteen to seventeen years. All informants come from different countries and in the regions of West Africa, South Asia, Middle East and South America. They have lived in Norway for more than one year. They have all come to Norway for different reasons spanning from being refugees to parents' remarriage and work. I will present a brief table with an overview of the five informants I ended up with.

3.10.1 Table 1: Informants' Background

Name	Age	Sex	Region of Origin	Length of Interview
OLIVER	17	Boy	Asia	51 minutes
MEME	16	Girl	West Africa	33 minutes 48 seconds.
MAGNUS	14	Boy	South America	40 minutes 38 seconds
SULEY	15	Boy	Middle East	26 minutes 36 seconds
JULIE	16	Girl	South America	36 minutes 35 seconds

Table 1: Informants names, age, sex, region of origin and length of interview

In the next sections, I will present some more information about the informants, how the initial relationship was established and some experiences and reflections that emerged after the interviews were finished. All names used for informants in this study are fictitious. I previously discussed with my informants that in the final report, I will change their names to ones that would make it impossible for anyone to identify or link them to the responses which they agreed. I want to emphasize that I have much more contextual information and details that I cannot use because of the risk of displaying their identity.

Oliver (17) was my first informant. He told me that he is in Norway because his mother is married to a Norwegian man. So his step father is a Norwegian while his biological father is not and lives in his country of origin in South Asia. He also informed me that he has lived in Norway several years. Before I met the informant, his mother wanted to give me some information about her child. She told me that her child was clever and that he would be able to provide any information I needed. I did not have the chance to meet his step father. But she said

that she had informed him about the boy's participation in the study which he had agreed. This was contextual information from the mother that could, of course be biased by the fact that she wanted to present her son in a good way.

Moreover, she told me that the boy was articulate and smart and would be able to freely express himself without any hindrance. That might be valid information of him since it was this informant who suggested to me that he could tell his friends about the research so that I would meet them and explain the purpose and the benefits of the study to them. Besides, he was very instrumental in locating other informants for the study. Even though I cannot confidently assume I know much about this informant, my short time spent with him gave me the impression that he was warm and had good sense of humor. It was as if we had known ourselves for many years. He was easy going and was willing to share his narratives with me. During the interview, he showed no sign of nervousness or uneasiness. He seemed relaxed and provided very vital information to the study.

Meme (16) was my second informant. She said that she considers herself Norwegian because her parents came to Norway as refugees from a country in West African when she was very young. She attended Norwegian primary school and is now in the upper secondary school. I met her through my first informant. I met her parents and communicated and explained my research purpose to them. They also demanded to see the interview guide which I complied. They wanted to know how I was going to protect their child since they did not know me much. I assured them of not being alone with their child in a private place and also the information I receive from their daughter would be anonymous and I promised to finally delete anything that could make it possible to connect her to the data she provides. That assurance made them willing to allow their child to take part in the study.

The informant proposed to have the interview at a café in the city centre. It was likely that she frequented the shop because she spoke to me about the services provided in that shop and discount they give to customers. She also seemed to be relaxed and had a particular spot she liked to sit for the interview. She preferred to take some cookies and coffee while the interview was going on. She occasionally went and refilled the coffee cup and came back to continue the interview. She seemed neither shy nor nervous. She seemed to be in control of herself and had a good composure throughout the interview period. I had previously informed her that she had to see the interview as opportunity to teach me what I do not know (Corsaro and Molinari, 2008).

Probably this pre-information might have contributed to her being relaxed and ready to narrate her stories. She told me she was going to do window shopping in some of the shops around after the interview.

Suley (15) was my third. He told me that his parents came to Norway for work purposes. He told me his father moved to Norway before the rest of the family joined him. He has lived in Norway for some years. He goes to school and seem to enjoy his stay in Norway. He appeared to be calm and somewhat introvert. He suggested to having the interview at the city library which I complied. The parents wanted him to be around them. His parents arranged to meet me to know the reason for the study. Both parents met me in the city center one afternoon during the summer vacation. They demanded to have a look at the interview guide and get explanation about the study. I did explain the purpose of the study to them and assured them that I had followed the necessary procedures regarding protection of their son and the data. They also wanted to see the introductory letter that NOSEB gave to me as evidence of my studentship in the University.

It seemed like they were a bit strict yet I welcomed the opportunity to allay their fears and concerns with good reasons. They finally granted me access to speak to their child about the research on the condition that they would drive him to where we were going to have the interview. I had already been there for almost an hour to wait for my informant. Finally, his parents came to the city centre. We went inside the library while they waited outside in their car. Before we began the interview, I noted that my informant seemed nervous. He was biting his finger nails and to seemed to find it difficult to pay attention. So I did not immediately start with the interview. I asked him what sort of books he liked reading and whether he had come to borrow a book or film from the library before.

He suddenly jumped from his seat and happily took me around several shelves in the library where he said he likes to pick books from. He even read a portion of his favorite novel to me and explained how the story ended. It was then that I saw what I interpreted as his 'spirit' returning to him and he seemed ready with joy and enthusiasm for the interview. I took advantage of this public place which he was familiar with to get my work done. Though his nerves seemed to have calmed down I still noticed a little uneasiness in him during the interview process. It could be that his parents were waiting for him outside ready to drive him away, or the parents being skeptical to letting him be interviewed. These were my speculations since I never asked. I had little control over his parents' actions but I did what I could to make the best out of

the situation. This was possible in part because there was as Leyshon states, a «degree of planning and preparedness in terms of being ready to take opportunities as they arose» in the interview process (Leyshon 2002, p. 183 in Abebe, 2009: 457).

Anyway, I felt that we managed well during the interview and in the end he told me he would ask his parents if they could allow me to visit them one day. Other studies indicate that informants may get familiar with researchers over a period of time during the research process (Corsaro and Molinari, 2008). Also «my own understanding of the nuances and complexities of children's lives was enhanced» by this situation (Abebe, 2009: 456). From that short interaction with him, I felt he liked the interview period. I was happy since it was my desire to leave my informants feeling comfortable and appreciated at the end of the interview. His parents seemed pleased when he started to tell them how he enjoyed the interview period and many other things. They drove off as I headed home.

Magnus (14) was my fourth informant. He came to Norway because his mother is remarried to Norwegian man. He told me that he has lived in Norway for many years. I met his parents to tell them of my reason to request their child to take part in the study. They were more open than I expected and did not even demand to see the interview guide nor did they want to get proof of my sincerity. They told me that they though this could be opportunity for them to learn more about the topic through their child, and they readily gave me the permission to contact their son. I assured both the safety of their child and the data I would receive from him. I made them sign the consent form.

My informant suggested having the interview at the library on a set day. He also signed the consent form and gave it back to me. The day finally arrived and we met at the library in the city centre. The name Magnus means great in Latin, he said, and Roman soldiers used it in the olden days. He seemed to be 'full of himself' and wanted to tell me things he had watched in the movies or read in the novels. He told me his best novels were adventures. He seemed to know what he was doing and presented a good understanding of the concept of integration. When I asked him what he understood integration to be, he promptly told me that this was about being able to properly blend with a foreign culture and understand their people. I was impressed by his response and felt he was smart. Anyway, (at the same time this could be a lesson he had learned ten minutes before he met me) he was very excited to have taken part in the study as he told me he eagerly looked forward to participating in the interview several days before the actual day.

He told me that he had informed his friends about being part of a university research and said he felt he was being useful to the university community. He informed me that such thought lifted him and made him feel good. It felt good to hear such positive comments from my informant and reasoned that the topic was a good one that my informants felt relaxed and loved to talk about. As Ennew et al. (2009:2) argued, «research participants of any age should be in a balanced state when researchers leave at the end of a data-collecting session». Little did I know that my «newly found expertise» of conducting interview would be tested beyond what I expected some days ahead during the interview journey. That challenge will be seen in pages to come. This informant, however, spoke extensively about the areas we covered and was well composed and unaffected.

Julie (16) was my fifth informant. It took more than three weeks to get the fifth informant for the interview after I was done with the fourth one. She was always busy with many activities. When we finally met, she told me she came to Norway because her mother was remarried to a Norwegian man and has lived in Norway a couple of years. She also told me she has a half sister who was willing to take part in the study but because she is Norwegian she could not. Her parents invited me over to explain to them the purpose of the study and the responsibilities their child would have in the study which I did and took the opportunity to show them the ethical guidelines. The parents were impressed to see the NSD approval letter and seemed to be relaxed to allow their child to take part in the study.

However, they told me to ask their child if she was willing to take part in the study; a thought in line with what has been suggested that researchers must always seek the consent of the child even if gatekeepers grant access (Ennew et al., 2009). They were very calm and friendly in their relationship with me. They both signed the consent form as well as their child and returned it to me. The day came for me to meet the informant at the library in the city. We had the interview in a very relaxed setting. Though she was of different gender from mine, she seemed to like my company and I did likewise. I must emphasize that this did not suggest any indecent attachment to her. To be frank, I was nice to all my informants but tried very hard to maintain the professional level required of me and be morally upright in all things. This balanced view of myself helped me to rightly recognize the «boundary» and not go beyond what was expected of me attaching myself improperly to informants in any ways.

I was glad to have had that perspective clear in sight which guided me throughout the period of the field work. She was really talkative and seemed love to speak so much. She was also elaborate on the areas we covered in the interview guide. Noticing this aspect of her personality, I was very patient and made sure that she had all the time she needed to narrate her story and experience of integration. I did not unnecessarily cut in when she was talking but paid much attention to listen and showed interest in what she was saying. When she noticed that I was really listening to her, she seemed motivated to talk the more. That made the conversation lovely and stress free, the ultimate goal of my interview process. She seemed to like the environment and told me that she and her friends loved to come to the library because she was still learning many things in the Norwegian society.

The sixth and final informant was a fifteen years old girl from a country in West Africa. I met her parents who told me that they have lived in Norway for many years. They were willing to allow their child to take part in the study and signed the consent form. I then met the informant and we both arranged to have the interview on a set day. She proposed to have the interview at her favorite restaurant because she felt relaxed in that environment. I knew that restaurant very well because I used to go there for some pizza buffet. The day came for the interview to begin. With full expectation and excitement, I waited in front of the restaurant for her. She finally appeared and seemed relaxed and eager to begin the interview. She showed me her favorite spot where she normally sits in the restaurant. It was the place where one could view outside activities from the seat. She had earlier signed the consent form when her parents invited me over to indicate her willingness to participate in the study.

However, something unexpected happened that tested the quality of my patience and ethical principles I had learned in the previous semesters' course. It was just some few minutes after we took our seats in the restaurant to begin the interview that she told me she was no longer interested to take part in the study. In the beginning I did not understand what she said so I asked her to explain what she really meant. She repeated the same sentence and concluded with the words 'I must go now'. At that moment, I looked very stupid and felt I was a failure. I blamed myself for that situation even though honestly speaking I had no reason to take the blame. Maybe something went wrong along the way that I was not smart enough to have noticed. I could not probe further to know her reasons for taking that swift decision at that moment but asked if she was alright which she confirmed she was. She left me alone in my seat in the restaurant and

went away. It was a very bad experience which I would soon not forget. I still cannot understand why she did that and continue to look for reasons to explain what might have gone wrong to warrant that turn of events from my informant.

I still have not had any tangible reason for that action. I must acknowledge that the situation was not a pleasant one and wished I had at least some explanation from her. However, I remembered that she was a free moral agent who could decide to change her mind at any point in time with respect to the study without given me any reason (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Even though she had agreed to willingly participate in the study, she had the right to withdraw her participation at any point in the research process if she wished to do so. Just as Ennew et al. (2009:2) put it «informed consent might be better thought of as informed refusal». They further argued that «no participant should be enticed, persuaded or intimidated into giving consent. When a child says «No, I do not want to take part in this research», adults must respect this decision»». In line with Article 16 section 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) says in part that «no child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy...» I allowed the matter to rest.

The event has made me come to understand not only the power the researchers have, but also the power that informants have over the research process and the important part they play in a study. The incidence also helped me to appreciate, even if it was stressful at the time, how «children negotiate the adult power of researchers in many subtle ways» as they can decide «whether to contribute to the research in a meaningful way or not, or manipulate» the research process. «Children can also manipulate different degrees of engagement related to considerations such as time control, comfort with the research medium, rewards, and privacy» (Abebe, 2009: 458). I took the opportunity to order some pizza to console myself after which I went home feeling very sad. However, I felt that I had done what was right at least not forcing her against her wish. That thought at least overruled my feeling of disappointment.

3.11 Interviews

I used the semi-structured life world interview as a data generation tool. Here, the main research aims were further developed into themes on which the interview centered. Describing the characteristics of a semi-structured life world interview, Kvale and Brinkman stated that it «attempts to understand themes of the lived everyday world from the subjects» own perspectives

(Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:31, 32). This kind of interview seeks to obtain the description of the interviewee's lived world with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena. It comes close to an everyday conversation, but as a professional interview it has a purpose and involves a specific approach and technique; it is semistructured which means that it is neither an open every day conversation nor a questionnaire. It is conducted according to an interview guide that focuses on certain themes...» (ibid). Ennew et al. also stated that 'interviews are conversations with a purpose» and that «semistructured interviews use a list of themes» to direct the conversation (Ennew et al., 2009:5). And that the «interviewer is free to phrase the questions, and to ask them in any order as long as they follow the broad themes of the research» (ibid).

Commenting on the benefit of using semi-structured life world interviews, these authors stated that the «approach gives participants greater control over the direction of the conversation and allows them to tell their story in their own way» (ibid). During the interview sessions, research informants were asked to speak on a theme at a time while the interview guide 'guided' the direction of the conversation. I did not cut in when informants were speaking but temporary came into the conversation when there was the need to probe further on issues of interest to the study that informant brought out.

Although it has been stated that interview methods are not the best data gathering «methods to use with children, because they are likely to be intimidated by being asked direct questions by a researcher, and to search for the correct answer, or simply lie» (Ennew et al., 2009: 5). This method proved to be a little opposite during my interviews. As I have stated research informants for the study were older children. Informants had the capability to verbally express their thoughts and they cleverly told their stories of how they do integration in Norway. There seemed to be no difficulty with my informants to bring out any idea or experience they had. Verbal communication was no problem. Furthermore, as Solberg argues it is possible to conduct research with children using «adult centered technique» to gather data for the study when there is «ignorance of age» (Solberg, 1996:63). By adopting a certain «ignorance of age», Solberg argues «does not claim that children do not possess qualities different from adults». Rather her «suggestion is that our conception of such qualities should not influence ways of approaching children in social science research» (ibid).

Moreover, I bore in mind «the asymmetry of power between the researcher and the subject» and worked «not to overlook or eliminate it» during the use of this research tool (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 39). But as Christensen (2004) argues, there is «a move away from seeing power as residing in people and social positions towards viewing power as embedded in the process, that is in this case the «doing of research» (Christensen, 2004:166). Christensen further argued that «power is not, as such, nested in categorical positions, such as «adult» or «child», but rather in the social representations of these that we make, negotiate, work out and work with in social life» (Christensen, 2004:167). In order to deal successfully with the issues of power in the research process, researchers (Mandell, 1988; Corsaro, 1996; Corsaro and Molinari, 2008; Abebe, 2009) have suggested many roles researchers can assume during research with children in order to reduce the unequal power relation that exist between them. Abebe (2009) argues that «negotiating unequal power relations is a central aspect of ethical research. It requires the recognition by the researcher of the importance of the power differences between children and adults and of the generational relationships that may intervene in the research process» (Abebe, 2009: 458).

Bearing this in mind, I employed the «friends» role during the interview session where I made myself as a friend to the research informants by meeting them before the actual interview dates (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988 in Davis and Cunningham-Burley, 2000: 213). I showed genuine interest in the things they liked to do and talk about which were outside the scope of the study. For example, as already mentioned one informant took me around and showed me the books in the library he loved to read. This «tour» took place when the informant and I were in the library getting ready to start the interview session. Another informant spoke at length about the new online game «Pokeman go» which had caught the attention of both young and old that summer. In that case, I realized the research informants as feeling relaxed being with me, talking later freely about the topic under investigation during the interview.

3.12 Validity and reliability

According to Tingstad (2007:140) «reliability concerns the extent to which a method investigates what it intends to investigate». Before the actual interview with my research informants, I tested the extent to which the interview guide covers the main research aims and allows informants to

tell their experience of integration. Ennew et al. (2009:5) stated that «research tools must be tested before being used to collect data, so that any mistakes can be corrected and data can be collected efficiently». I conducted a pilot test using this semistructured life world interview tool with some friends to know how best it would address the themes in the guide. Ennew et al. (2009:5) further noted that it is best «researchers test the tools... on friends and revise the draft tools on the basis of this informal testing». From the responses together with adjustments suggested by my advisor, I made major changes to the interview guide until it finally captured the essence of the study.

With the issue of validity, Tingstad (2007:140) noted that it «has to do with the consistency of the research findings, with whether the findings of a study can be trusted». I made sure to be as faithful as possible to the transcription of the audio recording into a textual form for analysis. I replayed the audio recording more than once to clearly put down what the informants said. Moreover, since I conducted the interview and had my field notes handy, it was easier for me to remember the conversation and visualize the scene as I compared with the field notes. I transcribed in an honest manner that would allow me to explore informants experiences of integration and the meaning they assign to what they said (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009).

3.13 Ethical Considerations

Before the interview, I sought the consent of gatekeepers as well as research informants in both verbal and written form. I had an informed consent form approved by NSD for the study. This form was given to gatekeepers as well as informants ahead of schedule time for the interview so that they could read and fully understand the purpose, level of participation and their right to withdraw from the research process whenever they deemed it necessary to do so and were asked to sign. «Informed consent means that a participant has agreed (consented) to taking part in research, after being informed of and understanding what the research entails» argued Ennew et al., (2009:2). In addition it is argued that «all research participation must be voluntary. Voluntary means that informed consent to taking part in research must be obtained from research participants before any research tools are used» (Ennew et al., 2009:2). In that sense, I allowed «the children opt into the research more readily» without any coercion against their will (Abebe,

2009: 456). The field work commenced after informants and gatekeepers had signed the consent form.

In the consent form were sections that dealt with confidentiality and anonymity. By confidentiality, Kvale and Brinkman (2009:94) state that it is the «agreements with participants about what may be done with the data that arise from their participation. Most often it implies that private data identifying the participants will not be disclosed» (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009:94). Research informants were informed that whatever piece of information they provide would be used for the purpose for which it had been stated. The information was also going to be protected from the reach of any person not authorized to have access to it. Furthermore, after the study all information would be permanently deleted and in the final report, none of them would be identified.

Additionally, they were assured in the form that no trace of them would be made possible. For that reason, they were asked not to provide their personal names, places of residence or addresses or any information that could be used to easily link them up to the information they provide during the interview process. These were communicated to the research informant well in advance before the scheduled interview dates. Ethical issues span beyond scope of the life interview situation and are «embedded in all stages of an interview inquiry» noted Kvale and Brinkman, (2009:83). These authors further argue that matters of ethics «go through the entire process of investigation, and potential ethical concern should be taken into consideration from the very start of an investigation and to the final report» (ibid). This I took to heart and tried as much as possible to apply them throughout the study.

At every point during my interviews, I ensured that informants were not exposed to anything that could harm them in any way be it emotionally, physically or any other form. An incidence that arose and really challenged my knowledge of and preparedness to uphold issues of ethics paramount was when an informant decided to pull out of the interview process as I have already described.

3.14 Data description and analysis

Description of the empirical data was done based on systematic coding and categorisation. According to Saldaña (2013) «a code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a

portion of language-based or visual data» (Saldaña, 2013: 3). Coding helps in organising data into categories which crystallizes into themes for easy analytical work. Not only does coding helps with organising empirical data, but preparing data for coding gives the researcher a little familiarity with the contents and begins a few basic analytical processes (ibid). Saldaña (2013) refers to this process as «warming up» before more detailed work begins (Saldaña, 2013: 17). Analytical concepts were then sought after in the coded empirical data in order to focus and answer the research questions. The data analysis was done by utilizing the «bottom up» approach where emerging themes and pattern from the empirical data will be discussed. Already existing theoretical concepts were also «imported and applied» where necessary in the analysis (Nilsen, 2005:118).

A preliminary look at the empirical data from the field revealed that it was rich as it covered all the main themes which were set out in the interview guide. After coding and categorisation, some important themes relevant to the studies emerged.

3.15 Challenges

One challenge I encountered was, as mentioned, getting the approval from NSD in time to begin the study. This delay made it difficult to get the number of informants I had planned to recruit for the study. By the time the approval came in, most of my sample had travelled for vacation. So I was left to choose from the few who were still around. For that reason, I did not get the planned number of informants for the study. Yet I was able to proceed with the few informants I had on hand.

Another challenge was the incidence that I mentioned concerning my informant who withdrew from the study during the interview process. It was very hard to deal with but not impossible to handle. With the knowledge of voluntary participation in the study and informed consent coupled with other ethical principles, I successfully dealt with that challenge. I came to the realisation that one can sufficiently prepare for the future. However, because we cannot know all the incidents in future, we must expect unforeseen situations to happen. I was not totally prepared for that situation and we cannot prepare for everything, but it was a lesson to learn for an inexperienced student. There was also the challenge of scheduling appropriate time for the interview with my informants. I had to make many calls to their parents and informants

themselves to respectfully remind them of the appointment. It was costly, yet I made a budget to cover that.

3.16 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I have outlined into detail the various techniques and step by step procedures and methods. The challenges I faced during the interview and how I dealt with them are presented in this chapter. Other items such as sample for the study, recruitment of informants, ethics dealing with gatekeepers, gaining access to informants, sources of data have also been covered in this chapter.

It was seen that gaining access to informants and recruiting them for the interview involved different processes. Some were smooth while other were a little difficult than I expected. However, with the knowledge in the previous courses and the advice from my academic supervisor, I was able to navigate through those situations. I have learned that there is nothing that is to be taken for granted in the research process. Also, careful planning and expecting the unexpected are required if empirical studies would be successful. What have come out of the empirical data and how have they been analyzed? The patterns that emerged from the empirical data are the weight the informants are putting on language skills, the ways they are included or excluded in friendship relationships and social life, and finally, how their general feeling of being a citizen in the Norwegian society is expressed. I have analyzed these patterns through the lenses of the double perspective of agency and structure; children's doings and some of the structural conditions that influence their doings and with the analytical concept «generalizable procedures».

Before presenting, analysing and discussing the data, I insert a figure which illustrates the main theoretical perspective, the emergent patterns and my analytical concept.

3.17 Conceptual framework of the study

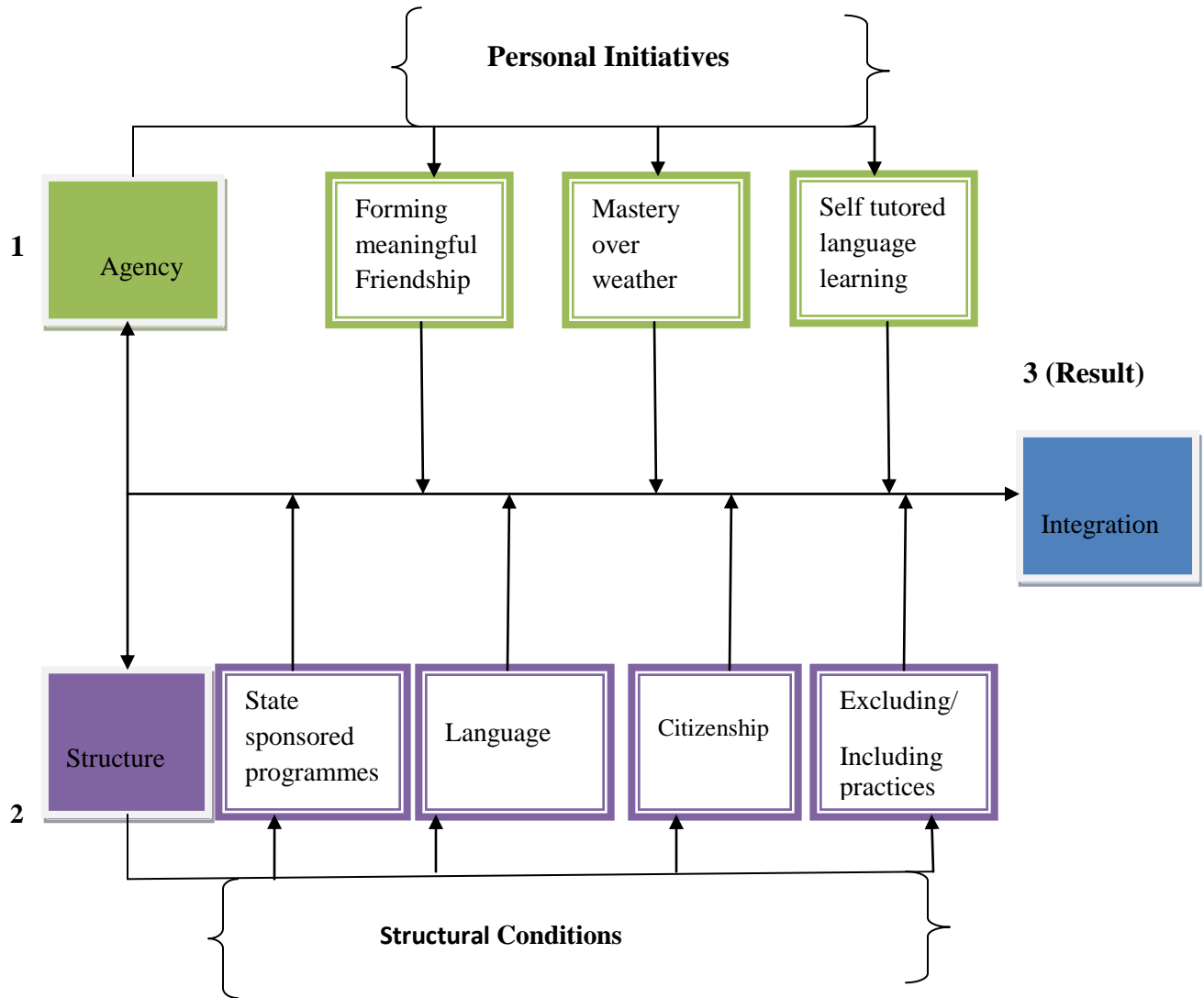


Figure 1: Conceptual framework of the study illustrating examples of generalizable procedures in the process, developed from the empirical data

The above figure illustrates some crucial present in the integration process. Agency and Structure with an arrow in both directions represent an overall theoretical perspective. This shows that there is interdependency and interrelationship between these two.

Chapter Four

To belong or not to belong? Language, inclusion and citizenship

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and analyses the empirical data from the study. They serve as the basis for the analyses and discussions in this chapter. The main findings that emerged from the interviews have given direction to the analyses and have been grouped under three broad headings: language, inclusion and citizenship. The findings have been analyzed and discussed in separate sections in the chapter. Although I make use of «some already existing theoretical concepts» in the analyses the main focus is on the themes and patterns that emerged from the empirical data, building on a «bottom up» approach (Nilsen, 2005:118). It is argued that «the relationships between theory and empirical data are of utmost importance in the analytical process» (ibid). In order to effectively answer the research questions, I «move back and forth between the empirical data, established theories and relevant literature» (ibid).

The application of theories and concepts to analyse empirical data has been beautifully described as «the intricate dance between epistemology, methodology, theory, and interpretation» (Rockquemore et al., 2009: 20). Analyses of the empirical data do not follow a chronological pattern where the genesis of integration until this study is outlined. In the analyses, efforts are directed to identify the various ways that these children devise themselves to do integration as they continue to make use of the traditional deliberate measures such as language courses, programmes and activities that the authorities have designed to help them integrate into the society.

Human actions or doings do not take place in a vacuum but within specific structural conditions which might constraint or promote the efforts of the actors. In this sense, it is argued that «social change is the result of the interplay between structural conditions, on one hand, and conscious and deliberate human interventions, on the other» (Qvortrup, 2009: 21). The researcher further argues that «the strength relation between the two largely determines the direction and rapidity of social change and it is thus of continuous interest to look for the relationship between structural forces and human agency, with the purpose of striking a balance» thereby being an appropriate approach to explore the nature of children's doing of integration in

the host society (ibid). Since it is often emphasized that research with children must strive to allow enough space for children's voices to be heard, children's agency is highlighted in the discussion (Prout and James, 1990; Alanen, 2001; Enew et al., 2009). The structural conditions that exist in the receiving society is also given due consideration in the discussion so that the two variables have become equal parts and in a balance in order for integration to occur.

4.2 "I do as they do it". Inclusion practices

Informants share similar views on how important it was to learn to do things the way natives did it. They recognize the «generalizable procedures» they needed to follow in order to get into the heart of the Norwegian society (Turner, 1986: 972). They indicate in their responses that they had to observe and imitate their friends when they did things. Although their comments may seem to differ in words, a common thread can be identified as running through what they say they do in the integration process. Oliver says:

I try to observe my classmate and when they do something, I try to copy it. So that it feels more natural for them. Errmm I think technology in Norway is also lot and in school too technology is available. I speak Norwegian every day. It makes me more comfortable and open to people (Oliver, 17).

Oliver utilizes observation and imitation as a way to learn from his friends. He must have readily noticed that in order to have and keep these friends, he needed to do things as they did. He seems clever to recognize their way of doing things as he indicates that it makes him feel comfortable together with his friends. The child notices that there are things one needs to follow to reach the new society. These things may seem to be the «generalizable procedures» everyone must follow to be part of the society (Turner, 1986). Failure to do things as they are done by the natives might result in exclusion of immigrant children from the receiving society. They may not afford to sit on the fence; a sign that might indicate their lack of interest in the things that go on in the host society or their refusal to do integration. The boy further indicates that available resources in the Norwegian society are of help to him. He must have noticed the shape difference between Norway and his country of origin in terms of technology. The informant does not specify which technology he was talking about. However; his comments seem to suggest that the Norwegian society is flooded with modern state of the art and that schools are furnished with all sorts of new

technology. This might give children the opportunity to explore the world through these technologies and become well informed young people. They could eventually become more productive individuals in their daily lives. They might also be able to match up pace with this ever changing modern world of ours. The informant seems to like these resources which «make him more comfortable and open to people» in the Norwegian society. It no doubt might be necessary for doing integration. To Meme, enjoying the flow of life in the Norwegian society is a positive thing to her and thus includes her in the society. She says:

I just live my everyday life so I feel normal and part of the society. Doing things just daily things as everyone does make me become part of the society. It is a good feeling (Meme, 16).

To feel good might seem illusive to some because of the daily challenges that one must deal with. And more challenging it could be for immigrant children to have this positive sense of feeling since they may have to deal with new experiences in the host society. However, Meme seems to suggest how doing what she calls «daily things» in Norway makes her feel good. Different things make people feel good and to this immigrant child, it is about being able to do what everyone does in the society. This might suggest how she would carefully try to learn things in the society so that her wellbeing could be maintained and in the end get involved. Magnus also emphasized similar sentiment from how he was able to meet a challenge in school. He reveals that his friends rallied behind him which boosted his morale to accomplish that feat. He says after successfully performing a task in school:

It was nice because everyone was smiling at me and they were like clapping for me. Because you are doing the same thing as them; not doing different things makes them see that you are one of them (Magnus, 14).

It is a good feeling to notice how others appreciate you and spur you on in life. Magnus seems to indicate in his comments how he received help from his friends as they smile and clapped for him. He seems to like his group of friends since he says he does what they do. Being able to notice and do what others do call for intelligence on the part of immigrant children. This might iron out what could possibly create a difference between him and other native Norwegian children. Suley adds that his friends in Norway are what he enjoys. As if friendship were literal

food, Suley argues that he ‘enjoys’ the company of his friends and doubtless it is helping him as an immigrant child in Norway.

I actually enjoy the company of my friends (Suley, 15)

Friendship can also be seen as a positive resource that immigrant children rely on to do integration. Commenting on how sporting activities in Norwegian schools are used to engage children, Julie reveals that she learns teamwork, good cooperation with friends and that is what she enjoys in the Norwegian society. She says:

You know sport requires teamwork and so you get cooperation with others to win. You also have to communicate a lot. It is a good thing that schools in Norway have these activities to help children. It is nothing about the system. The system is just; it is fair like I said in school (Julie, 16).

The informant’s comments might suggest how these sporting activities are helping her in school and probably in the society in general. She might learn through these activities both technical and social skills relevant for everyday life as immigrant. She could also develop many positive attitudes towards others as she mingles and learns to tolerate others. The informant suggests in her comments to help me (the researcher) appreciate the point she was trying to make when she said ‘you know sport requires’ indicating that I need to realise the fact that it needs good cooperation and focus to do sport. This might suggest how the child sees sport as a good thing in the Norwegian society. She further reveals how she would defend her new society if others try to make inaccurate claims about it. She states that the Norwegian society is fair or in other words transparent. Her comments might suggest how bribery and corruption has no place in the Norwegian society and that every information is made public and accessible. Transparency and fairness are what seem to capture the essence of Julies’ comments. She reveals her confidence in the system and seems to trust the society. This is a positive thing from the immigrant child and might suggest her appreciation for the Norwegian society. Her last comment might seem to sum up the overall sense of good feeling that these children hold and what they do to get included in the Norwegian society. It is nothing about the system. The system is just. It is fair, she concludes.

The data has shown that children’s voices can be heard irrespective of their status. This is what is advocated by the social studies of children and childhood. That is, to give children

enough space to register their voices in research that involves them or is about them. And that is what I have attempted to do in this section.

4.3 Language as a key of entrance to society

Recognizing the challenges that immigrant in general and immigrant children in particular face in doing integration authorities of the receiving society strive to set in place measures to facilitate the integration process. These state sponsored programmes may include host language class, fun clubs, sports clubs, festivals and other programmes intended to usher immigrant children into the receiving society. These programmes could be thought of as continuous induction period whereby immigrant children are exposed to the people, activities, and culture of the receiving society. Without these programmes as a start in the integration process, immigrant children may find it very difficult to do integration.

The Norwegian society, which has seen phenomenal influx of immigrants in recent years, is faced with the burden of integrating these immigrant children into the society. With so much pressure on the system, the authorities initiate systematic plans to integrate them into the society. My informants revealed that without such state sponsored programmes, it would have been much harder for them to do integration. One prominent theme that features under this category is the Norwegian language programme. Informants reflect the help they received when they were made to attend the language class. Magnus argues that for him to be firmly rooted in the Norwegian society and thus enjoy the flow of everyday life as any other native Norwegian child, he sees the need to heartily embrace the Norwegian language and use it as his own. More to that point, he underscores the importance of utilizing the language class. Asked how he learns the Norwegian language, he says:

By attending the 4 hour per week Norway language class from there, I learn the basics of Norwegian (Magnus, 14).

This immigrant child recognizes that the best way to get into the receiving society is by grasping the language and confidently using it in his everyday life. From his perspective, acquiring and properly using Norwegian is the first step toward doing integration. Yet he could do this by attending the specified number of hours of language class for immigrant children. He must have realised the many benefits that emanate from being able to use the language of the

receiving society. As children whose difference in relation to their native counterpart is readily seen by their inability to speak good Norwegian, the language class provides access to a valuable resource and thus help to reduce the effect of being different. Immigrant children have a choice to either attend the language class or not. However, they choose to attend because they recognise the benefit they could gain from speaking proper Norwegian. This might highlight how as conscious individuals, they weigh the options before them before they make a choice in order to maximize the outcome. Agency at work!

The language class is expected to ground immigrant children in the fundamentals; the very necessary building block upon which the rest of social activities are laid. As the informant says, he learns the basics of the Norwegian language during the four-hour language class. It is important that the language class provides the basics which serve as the starting point in learning other things. Hennink (2008) argues that «if language is understood to be the words we use to convey messages, then communication involves the exchange of words through meaningful interaction» (Hennink, 2008: 22). To add the correct words together in order to convey meaningful messages, immigrant children need to get help from the right source. This provision could ease the pressure that usually comes on immigrant children because of their inability to comprehend and meaningfully communicate with friends in the host language. Oliver also shows that to continue learning the Norwegian language, he received help during his first year in Norway through the language class. He says:

Yeah, in my first year in Norway they taught me (Oliver 17).

Since the transition from native language to a host language can be a struggle and may take a long time to master at the right time, getting the right help might facilitate the process. Suley reflects that he received similar help during his first year in Norway. He says:

I remember my first year in Norway when my family moved here. I was supposed to be in 10th grade but because of my age I was put in Videregående (upper secondary school) and because of that I was put in a special school for foreigners «innføringsklasse» (introduction class) where immigrants learn about Norway. I was there for the whole one year (my first year). Yes, they have special subjects like those that give insight into jobs and more about Norway's history and the language. And in school, I get extra classes for my language course. And it is foreigners who take those classes (Suley, 15).

As Suley says, the language class is designed to help immigrant children get «insight into jobs and about Norway's history and the language». Such classes are helpful for immigrant children as it helps them to see beyond the surface and understand the basics in the Norwegian society. Such provision from the authorities might be considered laudable and in the right direction in the integration process.

There are other forms of classes that the Norwegian authorities use to help immigrant children. Meme mentions that because her family came to Norway when she was very little, she received help to learn the Norwegian language through certain programmes. She says:

Going to «barnskole» (primary school) and then «Ungdomskole» (secondary school); step by step like any Norwegian child so it wasn't difficult for me. But I have an older sister and she went straight to Upper Secondary School. So I saw that it was difficult for her than for me. I feel more Norwegian than her. When we came in the beginning, I was very little so I started right away going to school so I think I was blessed getting into the system at a younger age. For example in school we have something like «mottak» (to get received in Norway) a help for immigrant children to get familiar with the Norwegian society. It's like a receiving class for immigrant children, new in Norway. And I attended one «Ungdom barneskole» when we first came to Norway. We attend «mottaksklasse» in 3rd grade to get to know the system slowly then after a while, we were put in the normal class like everyone. So I feel like the «mottak» is a help (a structure) for the children get to know the system, get extra help to get to understand the language. I and my sister even had extra person who was helping us with our homework and stuff during school time and to explain things and made sure that we understood things well (Meme, 16).

Meme's ability to cope with the challenge of learning the Norwegian language was her «step by step» or her gradual induction into the Norwegian society through the programmes she mentions. Her agency to cope with the pressures that could easily come upon her as an immigrant child was successfully enhanced by the help she received as she passed through the various levels of schools in the Norwegian society. She received the needed help gradually as she moved along. This process might be another great help for immigrant children who come to Norway at early age. By gradually and consistently adding immigrant children to the flow of life in the receiving society, authorities might succeed to a relative extent in eliminating the sudden shocks that could

happen. At an early age children in primary school or day care may not readily notice the difference that exist between immigrant children and native Norwegian children; a spirit which readily may manifest itself in adults. So growing alongside their native Norwegian counterparts, immigrant children who come to Norway when they are very little might have less anxiety in dealing with issues of racism and other excluding practices.

Meme also mentions «Ungdomskole» which her elder sibling started from but could notice the struggles she had to deal with. The informant also adds that beginning at that tender age and going through the level of schools in Norway makes her «feel more Norwegian than her elder sibling’. Such sentiment might help immigrant relate positively with the receiving society since they may perceive it as the place they grew up and where they have their lives. Meme further reveals how she benefited because she started at an early age in the Norwegian society.

She sees the benefit as a blessing that has helped her to take root in the Norwegian society. All these language programmes and schools, no doubt help immigrant children do integration in the receiving society. It could be noticed that her success in doing integration was a function of both her agency and the various language programmes that the authorities have set in place for immigrant children to do integration. This might illustrate the interdependency between human agency and the structures in society which work together to cause a change. Yes the change; being able to do integration was only possible because she was able to combine her agency together with the structural help the society provided. Asked whether it is a good idea for the authorities to have established these programmes, Meme confirms:

Yes, very, very good and I would like it to be there all the time (Meme, 16).

She emphasizes the beneficial point in those programmes designed to help immigrant children get the language. She even recommends that such programmes should be there at all the time. The informant notices that her agency worked hand in hand with those programmes which made her take firm root in the Norwegian society. The data seems to provide helpful insight into how the Norwegian authorities place great emphasis on integration of immigrant children. It also helps us to get a glimpse into how matters relating to children might be close to the heart of the Norwegian government. It takes considerable amount of money and other resources to run and keep these programmes. If the authorities were not interested in the affairs of immigrant children, very little would have been done to establish and sustain such great ideas to help immigrant

children. Besides the language schools and programmes, informants also reveal that other state sponsored programmes help them in the integration process.

As part of their efforts to incorporate immigrant children into the Norwegian society, the authorities have established avenues where immigrant children can meet their peers from both within and outside the Norwegian society thus helping immigrant children form meaningful friendships and experience integration. These avenues create the opportunity for immigrant children to employ their agency as they utilise them to do integration. Meme reveals one such state sponsored programmes. She reflects:

We have also «Ungdomsklubb». It is like outside school time club. It is like a club to meet other teenagers after school (Meme, 16).

«Ungdomsklubb» is a club or a set up for social gathering that has been set in place to assist immigrant children in the integration process. But these children do not just go to such places sitting down, idle expecting to see integration happen. They make active moves by forming meaningful friendships, establishing contacts and doing other things that go a long way in doing integration. The informant reveals that such clubs help them meet other teenagers after school. To meet up with other children in those places, immigrant children need to decide whether to go or not. Here, too, we can see their agency at the forefront as they make conscious decisions to get to know others through the clubs that the authorities have set up. For Magnus, other things such as festivals that are held periodically enable him to do integration. He mentions one such festival in which he himself helps his mother make some food. He says:

Yeah, the food festivals. Because you have different types from different places and you can see different types of people there from different cultures and they are trying everything to know different cultures. Like the one recently held (ST OLAV FOOD FESTIVAL). You have friends who are Norwegians who are curious about things and they ask you questions and you get the chance to explain to them and know each other's culture. Then it makes you happy about your culture. And you see that they are enjoying what you have. Yeah, I think it is nice and you also get free food. That's the best part of it. You don't have to buy lunch (Magnus, 14).

Immigrant children may rely on this provision to establish, add to and maintain their «social, cultural and symbolic capitals» which are so vital in the social life of humans. According to Connolly capital can be «understood as a range of scarce goods and resources which lie at the heart of social relations» (Connolly, 1998: 20). «Acquisition of one or more of these types of capitals enables individuals to gain power and status within» society (ibid). For Magnus, the Saint Olav Food Festival gives him the opportunity to explain and show his curious Norwegian friends what his culture is all about. Such provision might seem trivial yet immigrant children see them as great opportunity and help in doing integration. Such capitals add to the «prestige and honour» that emanate from «relationship and connection with significant others» in the receiving society (ibid). It could serve as great source of strength for immigrant children in doing integration.

Magnus takes the initiative to walk his friend through his culture as he explains to them many things from his home country. He had to employ his agency; his capabilities and competencies in order to recognise the opportunity that the food festival presented for him to showcase his culture to his friends. The reasoning power that this immigrant child showed might indicate his awareness of his agency and how he could use it in different situations. He expresses satisfaction in being able to tell his friends about his culture. He also seemed to suggest the humour around him as he indicates that the best part of the food festival is the free food one gets which reduces spending. In all the circumstances discussed above, it could be seen that immigrant children agency to do integration does not happen in a vacuum but rather within a larger society with several structural conditions. They show their competence in many ways to demonstrate that they have agency even though the larger society does provide help in the integration process.

Yet another way that immigrant children make use of in doing integration is the structure of the school system in Norway. Here too, their agency is seen in relation to the structure in the school is manifested as they do integration. Coming from different countries some perhaps «moralist» in nature, informants indicate the seemingly relief that they get from the structural arrangement in Norwegian school systems. As an egalitarian society, Norway places high emphasis on equality for all providing whatever resources there may be to help members of society to reach their full potentials. It is therefore to expect that immigrant children who come into such society will find it welcoming and easy to do integration. They may come to trust the

system as being «fair and just», as Julie reveals in her earlier comments. When appropriate quarters are swift in response to the needs of immigrant children, they might have the reason to trust the structural arrangements in the receiving society and put their confidence in them. They could get the incentive to do integration since the school system offers equal opportunity for all with no bias. Their agency might flourish under such circumstances a situation that may encourage integration. Structural conditions have the potential to limit immigrant children doing of integration, yet some of the arrangements become a beneficial resource that immigrant children utilize in the integration process. As aforementioned, the school arrangement offers valuable help for immigrant children to feel included and sense that their rights are respected. Oliver describes how the school system offers help to him.

In school I feel like I go to a normal Norwegian school and that makes me feel like I am part of the society or one of them. And I have Norwegian friends. And the school is free which is different from where I came from. Also the teachers are really nice. They are very respectful if you respect them. You feel like they are your friends and that is also different from the country I come from where teachers are more strict and so you can't be like 'buddies', which is the case in Norway. So that system in the school is one structure that makes me feel part of the society. I feel welcome. I haven't seen any teacher who discriminates me. They rather help me when someone discriminates me (Oliver, 17).

The theoretical concept of inclusion prominently features in the informants comments. It is the deliberate act of adding something to already existing structure to make it one whole. As Murdie and Ghosh (2010) argue, the concept of inclusion and therefore the whole idea of integration involve the «process or a series of negotiated interactions between new immigrants and the receiving society» (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010: 296). A process may involve «series of negotiated interactions» or events that immigrant children have with the systemic arrangement of the receiving society. This might suggest that to be included in the society, immigrant children need to interact regularly with the structural arrangement of things in the Norwegian society. Their agency must be seen as they take active interest in doing things that indicate their willingness to get included in the arrangement of things. It is one thing to take the donkey to the riverside for a drink, but it is a different thing for the animal to take action to drink from the river. In much the same way, the school system might have the best arrangements which are immigrant friendly, yet

immigrant children need to take advantage of those arrangements. That action highlights their agency and indicates how doing integration is dependent on both their agency and the structural arrangement in the society. Having a feeling or sense of belonging is the essence of the concept of inclusion. The one being added must recognize the need to be part of the system. Furthermore, Tselios et al., (2015) argue that «integration refers to the inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes toward the society...» (Tselios et al., 2015: 416).

So the Norwegian school arrangement might be designed to include immigrant children into the society by admitting them to the same school where native Norwegian children are. This might be seen as a plausible process that the receiving society initiates to integrate immigrant children. Inclusion is at the heart of integration and might serve as indicator for immigrant children getting well along with the receiving society. Among the structural arrangements that help this immigrant child is the relationship that teachers have with students. Tselios et al. (2015) refer to this as the «relationship among individuals and their attitudes towards the society» (ibid). For inclusion to take place, attitudes and relationship of both parties in the system must agree to foster unity and cooperation. If teachers were to look down on immigrant children, they will not be motivated to get into the school system. They may have to excuse themselves and accept that they do not belong to the society a situation that highlights the otherness of immigrant children.

Reciprocal relationship reveals that friendship is built on mutual consents and that all must actively seek to maintain it a showcase of agency within relationship. The immigrant child explains that this relationship in the school makes him «feel welcome» a sense of acceptance and inclusion into the society. It shows that for integration to take place, attitudes of members in the receiving society must be inviting and welcoming so that immigrants will feel at home. It is important that such respect for others who come from other nations is maintained. It could be seen from the above account that the structural arrangements in Norwegian schools encourage immigrant children to take active interest in the society. Their competence in developing meaningful friendship with teachers might indicate their agency. But this good relationship was possibly only because the arrangement in the school system allows that. It again shows how integration is achieved through the interrelated functioning of both agency and structure.

The informant further indicates the level of friendship that exists between teachers and students. He mentions that students might even consider teachers as their friends as a result of

how teachers relate to them. He compares and readily recognizes the difference that exists between his previous experience of school in his home country and that in Norway. First, he mentions the tuition free school system that exists in the Norwegian society. This might be an incentive for immigrant children to strive to reach higher height on the academic ladder. The structure of the school that is, the tuition free arrangement encourages agency of the child to thrive in order to achieve integration. This might also boost his integration into the Norwegian society since he can see the difference in his previous experience. In his home country if the parents were poor and could not afford his school provisions that could lead to dropping out from school or having to stop and wait for money to be provided before continuing his education. That could be disruption in his academic carrier or even an incentive to stop school all together.

However, he notices something unbelievably different in the Norwegian society; an invaluable resource which he could use to his advantage. The informant might consider the tuition free school system as a great opportunity to reach his final destination in the academic journey. He might even consider this arrangement as a way of assisting immigrant children who may come from poorer countries to do integration. To him that is another state sponsored initiative that promotes his agency and facilitates his integration.

Secondly, the informant notices that teachers in Norwegian school have different relationship with student than he experienced in his home country where «teachers are stricter and so you can't be like buddies which is the case in Norway» the informant reveals. Being «buddies» a terminology used to signify good friends and the warm relationship that they enjoy. That relationship cannot be expected to develop between teachers and students in his home country. It could be seen in the comment of Oliver that teachers in Norwegian schools serve to protect immigrant children from discrimination and other forms of negative acts. A fine school arrangement that the informant declares; «the system in the school is one of the structures that makes me feel part of the society».

Oliver further reveals another aspect of the school arrangements in the Norwegian society that adds to the strength he gets to do integration. He points to the disciplinary measures that the school has put in place so that students who become subject to any form of abuse can resort to. Oliver describes that the school has an arrangement where students have advisors who make sure that each student receives the maximum protection and needed help in times of difficulties. Oliver explained that he faced a situation in school where some of his Norwegian

school mates joined in to abuse him because of his race. It got to a point where he could not control himself. This evidently created a scene drawing the attention of others into the situation. To handle the situation, the informant says that he reported the case to those appointed to oversee the affairs of students. He says:

So it is a nice way the school has put measures in place to resolve issues between students like advisors and principals to talk to when something is not going well with you. Actually, I punched the guy because he first punched me. Because he took my phone without asking and slapped me when I asked why he did so and that made me go angry. I wasn't going to punch him but I got emotional and I couldn't stop myself. (Oliver, 17).

Such helpful arrangement in the school is possibly meant to resolve conflict that inevitably is present in all human relationships even those between good friends. To be able to handle conflicts between students from different cultures, advisors and principals seemed to be culturally intelligent and able to resolve feud. If this did not happen, students would probably not trust the system anymore. It could lead to chaos and disruption in the school. So while it is important for advisors and principals to respond quickly to the needs of students, it might be equally import for them to exercise great care in handling matters of that kind. The informant expresses confidence in the school arrangement and believes that «it is a nice way» of doing things in the school. It could be seen that the informant had the option to respond to the situation in many ways. He chose to rely on the structural arrangement in the school in order to resolve the conflict. This is a display of children's agency since he had a choice and responded to this particular situation in a different way (Connolly, 1998). Julie further adds to the discussion as she reflects on how the school system or the arrangement in the school helps her doing integration. She says:

School itself is part of the help. And there is anti bully programme in school and it makes you feel nice because there is something to rely on (Julie, 14).

Julie also brings out another arrangement that is set up in the school to ensure that none suffers unjustly. As a rocklike structure, she explains the anti bully programme provides support when she is going through difficult time because of abuse. This might suggest how immigrant children see the help they receive in the host society during the integration process. They might compare

it to a strong support which helps prevent them from symbolically falling to the ground; an indication of complete failure. It is important to notice how the programme seems to achieve its intended aim of supporting immigrant children and any who is abused. The school arrangement is therefore an important process that immigrant children rely on when doing integration. It is another structural condition that works together with immigrant children's agency.

So far I have analyzed and discussed some of the state sponsored programmes which are set in place with the intention of helping immigrant children do integration in the Norwegian society. Among the state sponsored programmes are the Norwegian language class, food festivals, the school arrangement, the anti bullying programme and social clubs that the state initiates to include immigrant children into the Norwegian society. This section has attempted to provide answer to the research question: what are the processes that immigrant children use to do integration. It has been shown through the discussion that integration is dependent on the relationship between immigrant children's agency and the structural conditions in the host society. The section has shown one side of the coin. The other side will focus more on personal initiatives that immigrant children employ when doing integration.

4.4 Internal resource

Besides taking advantage of the state sponsored programmes to do integration, immigrant children further show their agency as they individually initiate different ways within the host society to do integration. Children agency has been the focal point around which the social studies of children and childhood is woven (Prout and James, 1990; Robson et al., 2007; James, 2009). According to Hardman (1973), children's agency relates to «studying children in their own right and not just as receptacle of adults teaching» (Hardman, 1973: 87 in James, 2009). Acknowledging and projecting children's voice in research has been emphasized to be the goal that adult researchers and those who directly work with children must strive to attain. Considering their unique circumstances, immigrant children might be considered as individuals whose agency could be curtailed in the receiving society. Grove and Zwi (2006) state that «refugees and asylum seekers (and immigrant children in general) are rarely portrayed as individuals with agency, skill or resilience, with capacity to contribute and be an asset to their new communities» (Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1935). It must be borne in mind that these individual young people have the capacity and abilities within certain constraints to exhibit their agency in

doing integration in the receiving society as the empirical data and the above discussions suggest (Connolly, 1998). According to Robson et al. (2007), «thinking and doing are important component of any definition of agency and there is much evidence of young people as thinkers and doers throughout» this discussion (Robson et al., 2007: 135).

The empirical data reveals interesting ways that immigrant children devise to «think» and «do» integration more or less on their own. They do these things alongside the state sponsored programmes that are available to them. In this analysis and discussion, nothing is taken for granted or seen as inconsequential, but each way is seen as conscious effort and maybe sometimes unconscious on the part of immigrant children to do integration. One area where immigrant children's agency is clearly manifested is the ways in which they handle difficulties relating to the acquisition of the host language and other situations. Oliver reveals that the state sponsored programme such as the language class was short-lived in his case. He relates an experience where the language class stopped requiring his personal initiative to be at work. He says:

I try to learn the Norwegian language by myself when I have free time-to learn as much as I can. That's one thing I guess (Oliver, 17).

I was curious to know why the informant tries to learn the Norwegian language on his own even though there is help from the state. Oliver reveals the reason for his personal initiative to learn the Norwegian language.

The teachers stopped to teach so I tried to learn as much as possible on my own. I don't know why she stopped teaching us .I just find tutorials on the internet and sometimes I get books from school on Norwegian lesson (Oliver, 17).

It might be frustrating for immigrant children to find themselves in such a situation where their language instructor stops teaching them. The informant does not say what caused that action but it might leave them with no option than to stop learning the language. However, his agency; the capacity and abilities he has to influence situations and make conscious effort within certain constraint is seen as he takes the initiative to learn the language on his own. This immigrant child does not allow the situation to cripple him from making progress in his Norwegian language course. This situation illustrates the child's agency even in difficult circumstances. He did not sit

idle expecting adults and the society to chart their path in life for them. He actively got involved in things that affect them consciously making decisions to effect changes. The structural conditions in the receiving society might challenge immigrant children's doing of integration, yet their capabilities and competencies propel them to exhibit what they can do without adult influence.

Even though immigrant children may be perceived as different by the receiving society, Connolly argues that «discourses do not have a life of their own, but rely on the actions of individuals for their continued existence» (Connolly, 1998: 21). This suggests that immigrant children have the power to change the wrong notion that members of the receiving society might construct about them. Through persistence and resilience, immigrant children might come to show that they have agency. It might also inform the receiving society that being an immigrant does not take away one's personal initiatives and deftness.

As James argues, immigrant children's agency can also be seen when they are regarded as individuals «having a part to play in the lives of those around them in the societies in which they live... » (James, 2009: 41). Immigrant children do have agency to affect and even alter the notion that members of the receiving society hold about them. This confirms the work of Robson et al. in which the researchers studied agency in the lives and actions of rural people. It was found out that «the creative, active agency of young people is common across rural settings in both Majority and Minority worlds, albeit in different ways, depending on particular circumstances and contexts shaping the limitations within which they find ways to act» (Robson et al., 2007: 138). As their findings suggest, young people's agency is seen in many ways and situations even though they are constrained by different limitations.

Immigrant children face many constraints, including some structural conditions in the receiving society. Their agency may be challenged both by structural arrangements and during daily encounters with friends. So through personal initiative, the immigrant child is able to learn the Norwegian language. Oliver reveals that he makes use of the internet and other valuable resources to achieve his aim of learning the Norwegian language. This initiative might help immigrant children to gain mastery over the language and see their effort as worthwhile. This could help them expand their friendship and do integration easily. But immigrant children's agency does not surface only when they have to learn the Norwegian language on their own. It has been established that children's agency can be seen in almost every activity.

Another personal initiative on the part of immigrant children in doing integration is going out with friends. Yet as individuals having the capacity to influence processes, they carve out plans to go around that challenge. Outing as the informant refers to helps immigrant children to meet friends of their friends. This chain reaction that continues until the group has become larger with more members is one way that immigrant children use to do integration. Yet another way is having «mastery» over the Norwegian weather. It is interesting to note that the cold weather in Norway helps immigrant children to feel that they belong to the society. Julies expresses this:

The snow, where I lived before there is no snow and skiing makes me feel a lot more like I am used to the atmosphere. I learn being cold. I was not used to being cold in my home country. But when you learn to be cold, the clothes I wear when I go out in the snow, I never wore winter jackets so it makes me feel that I am in another culture. For them (Norwegian), this is normal but for me it is like this is new. I didn't know that it was a big thing. And the different winter sports like skiing and snowboarding and different stuff are nice. I also have different equipments for different winter sports and that's the thing that sets Norway apart from my home country. And when I do these things, I feel like I am now part of the society. It becomes parts of my life too (Julie, 16).

What might be considered as nothing by the receiving society could be a resource for immigrant children in doing integration. The informant indicates that «the snow» makes her get used to the atmosphere. Norway as a Scandinavian country has a lot of snow during the winter season. The snow and the weather associated with it might be a delight to watch. Immigrant children who might not have seen snow before might use it to their advantage. As the informant reveals, she «learns to be cold» in Norway and that makes her use clothes that she might not have used before. For example immigrant children who from come Africa and other tropical regions might not have considered wearing winter boots, jackets or hood in order to stay in Norway.

It might be considered nothing by native Norwegian children but for immigrant children it represents a big change in their lives. They «think» and learn to be cold so as to be able to live in Norway. Such initiatives on the part of immigrant children show their agency in doing integration. Simple as it may appear for native Norwegians, the weather could be a hindrance to their integration in the sense that because they may be freezing, they will be unwilling to utilize the many avenues available for their integration. They may prefer to stay indoors at all times.

However, these children learn to be cold and associate with their native counterparts even in the cold, doing different winter sports in order to do integration. It seems very impressive how these children are able to think around the problem and devise solution for it. It could be a significant alteration in the lives of immigrant children and a successful adaptation to these new ways of dressing and might be considered a great achievement and successful integration.

The two sections have attempted to answer the research question: what are the processes that immigrant children use to do integration? It has been shown in the above discussions that for immigrant children to do integration there is interdependency between their agency and the structural conditions in the receiving society. They utilise the state sponsored programmes while at the same time devise various ways to do integration. It might be argued that agency can only be seen when situation or circumstance calls for it. It does not work independently, but rather comes into play when the actor is faced with a challenge or sometimes she or he really wants.

4.5 Family as a resource

Immigrant children further indicate another resource that helps them to do integration. They rely on their families and significant others in the receiving society. I have limited knowledge about their respective families. However, I have reasons to believe that they are relatively well functioning and uninfluenced by recent traumatic events and experiences in their countries of origin. One informant argues that her family and friends support her to do integration. The family might be thought of as a buffer wall which protects members within it from harm. In the preamble of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, it is stated that «the child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding» (UNCRC, 1989: 1). This seems to suggest that the family has the potential to help children grow and thrive no matter where they may live. Meme reveals how her family and other significant others support her when she faces challenges in doing integration. She indicates not to give up as she says:

Because I feel like I have been quite blessed to have grown ups as friends and I have my family too (Meme, 16).

Meme feels «blessed» to have her family and that she is confident to make it in the receiving society. This indicates her agency in utilizing her family as a resource to do integration. One needs to be smart to identify potential resources which could be used to maximize outcome. In

doing integration, the immigrant child recognizes that her family and friends are vital and as such taps the strength in it to her advantage.

The doings of immigrant children prominently features in the integration process. Their agency comes to the fore as they maneuver different situations that challenge their doing integration. It might seem that they are «left with no option other than to be passively constructed and shaped by various» structural conditions «working on them» (Connolly, 1998: 16). However, immigrant children like any other human being have the choice to make conscious decisions that affect their lives. As Connolly argues «individuals are not just cultural dopes with no ability to think or act for themselves». Like any other child, immigrant children «do have the opportunity, within certain constraints, to make choices and respond to particular situations in a variety of different ways» (Connolly, 1998: 16). As the agency structure perspective suggests, integration is the product of the interdependency between human agency and structural influence. Immigrant children' agency towers well above the constraints they encounter in the host community as the empirical data shows. This highlights the free will that children in general have to influence processes and decisions that affect them. It brings out the agency in children and sheds light on how immigrant children although face many constraints still have the ability to do integration.

4.6 'They Appreciate Me More'

It might be argued that integration does not happen overnight. As a complex process, it is continuous and takes considerable amount of time to occur (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010). Yet, it has been shown that the immigrant children actively display their agency when doing integration and this might possibly draw the attention of the host community. Everyone wants to be appreciated. A sense of personal worth and achievement can be reached if the right amount of appreciation is received. The appropriate level of praise might be seen as the life blood of human existence. It could spur a person on to achieve task that might not be possible otherwise. Since immigrant children are usually «portrayed as individuals with no agency» their calculated effort in the process of doing integration could be viewed as great feat (Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1935). They might win the heart of their Norwegian counterparts and find it easy to get along with them. Oliver argues that he experiences integration when his Norwegian friends notice his progress in learning the language. He says:

Yeah, yeah, I think so because at first my friends in Norway tried to speak to me in English and they struggled a little bit and then, when I learned Norwegian then they appreciate me more because I can understand them better. Now I can go anywhere; shop, talk to anyone and do basically anything a Norwegian does. And when I finally complete school and am seeking for job, I think I can work anywhere. So basically, I think I am doing what they are doing and so I feel that I am also one of them in the society instead of doing something different from them (Oliver, 17).

Oliver shows that his being appreciated is as a result of learning the Norwegian language and making himself understandable to his friends. That probably has removed the difficulty that existed in the channel of communication. This effort on the part of the immigrant child indicates the conscious effort that he made to get into the circle of his friends and be included in the activities that go on. To feel useful and have a sense of belonging, immigrant children might want to strive to receive the recognition of their peers. The native children might therefore serve as motivating factor for immigrant children to do integration and inclusion in their activities. This peer learning is might be important for these children to adapt to the new circumstances that face. With no obstacles in his way, Oliver expresses confidence of competing with anyone on the labour market when he completes school. Such a bold stance might indicate how this immigrant child is experiencing integration.

As already mentioned, Hannerz argues that culture is closely related to «ideas, experiences, feelings, as well as the external forms that such internalities take as they are made public, available to the senses and thus truly social» (Hannerz (1992: 3). Such things that are internalized in the receiving society and made public by immigrant children illustrate how they have merged their previous experiences with what they find in the receiving society. It might take great efforts on the part of immigrant children to resolve the many conflicts that could arise from learning to do things as the receiving society does and which may contradict values and customs by parents, for instance. They might have to endure the many unsuccessful attempts at learning and the possible frustrations that come with it. It could also be argued that some children will probably adapt to parents' expectations while some will definitely oppose.

So it might be safe to suggest that agency is required on the part of immigrant children to successfully learn to do things the way they are done in the receiving society. They would have

to employ their discretion and be intuitive in every situation in order to know the acceptable way of doing things in order to adapt if they want to. This might not be done in a day but several attempts would have to be made. This also requires persistence and resilience in order not to cave in or bow down to the temptation to quit. Like Oliver, Magnus experience of integration is connected to being a solid part of the society. He says:

Like before, you feel excluded, but now you can feel included (Magnus, 14).

Inclusion has been shown to be central to integration. Immigrant children feeling included in the Norwegian society might be considered a positive sign of experiencing integration. As the informant indicates, he felt excluded and his otherness as an immigrant child was experienced when he probably could not interact meaningfully with his Norwegian friends. However, now he feels included in the flow of life in the receiving society and therefore sees himself to be part of the society. Acceptance by his group of friends is crucial to his experiencing integration. Ability to fit in the group and be recognized by its members is vital to this immigrant. To feel included in the group, the immigrant child needed to take active initiatives to convince his Norwegian counterparts that he was capable of handling responsibilities in the group. One's conscious determination to be part of a group might send a positive signal to the members that the newcomer is interested in the group's affairs. Genuine interest shown in the activities of the group might indicate how immigrant children desire to be part of the receiving society. They do not necessarily sit on the fence so to speak and passively watch what is going on. Some may actively get involved in the flow of life in the host society.

Terminologies used by children in the receiving society to mark others might exert strong influence on immigrant children's experience of integration. Terminologies may be viewed as 'codes' that a group of people use to send and receive information so that outsiders may not understand. These terminologies may come under child culture where children devise their own «language» to communicate (Mouritsen, 2002: 14). Excerpts from Tingstad's ethnographic studies on children in Online and SMS interaction show many different terminologies that informants in that study were using to communicate in a chat room. At a glance, one might think that those terminologies (such as «JIPPPPIIIIIII» and «wow») are meaningless but that is far from the case (Tingstad, 2007: 134). These terminologies are meaningful to those in the conversation. They are understood by only those who use them and are expected to be decoded

before an outsider can use and understand them. Some of these terminologies may become popular jargons and may come to stay or may remain within the parameters of the group. One informant explains that her experience of integration largely depends on avoiding to be labelled by a terminology that children in her school have adopted. Julies says:

I don't really feel a part of the society because I am shy and the girls in my school are «back talk people». And it is either «you are cool or you are not cool». And when you are deemed «uncool», that is it. It is the first impression and it stays forever (Julie, 16).

Even though the above excerpt might be considered a challenge to the immigrant child's doing integration, it is interesting to note how she mentions certain terminologies and shows the effect of earning that label. Wanting to impress their friends, immigrant children might do everything possible to avoid being termed «uncool» by others. This effort might exert pressure on them to accept the group's code of conduct and conform to what goes on within the group. Like Goffman's dramaturgical perspective, immigrant children would want to impress their Norwegian counterparts in order to receive their approval and to be accepted into the group (Goffman, 1959 in Smith, 2013: 57). As if they were on a stage performing before audience, immigrant children may strive to put on their «best performance» in order to avoid being termed «uncool» by the judges (native children). It is interesting to notice how this relates to the immigrant child's doing of integration in the receiving society. As individuals who «occupy a place in the collective imagination as desperate», immigrant children might do everything within their capacity to impress in a favorable light so that they do not receive the unwanted label «uncool». The terminology might be associated with certain acceptable or unacceptable ways of doing things which immigrant children and children in general who want to be accepted need to be aware of. The informant shows what makes a girl «cool» or «uncool»:

That you have expensive clothes, you have really good stuff, you have to be like sporty and you have to be pretty to be part of the group (Julie, 16).

The terminology may have several implications for children, and especially immigrant children who may not have the standard of living as their Norwegian counterparts have. The informant indicates that for a girl to earn the term «cool» then that person must have the latest and expensive stuff. She must also look pretty and sporty in order to earn that position. This has

material implications for the informant and might push her to get those «really good stuff» in order to be accepted into the group. The group may use that terminology to select, recruit and even induct new members constructing both inclusive and exclusive practices. The terminology might also be used to drive off those who do not measure up to the code of dress that the group wants its members to be identified with. This measuring gauge is the group's culture and might be different from what other groups may use to determine who comes in. It is interesting to know how children can actively construct their own world with different language and admit others into it.

It could be noticed that most of my informants seemed to understand the cultural code about for instance how to dress, and tried hard to adapt to it. Magnus said «when I have successfully done all these things (being able to speak the Norwegian language and imitate how your friends do things) I sense that I am part of the Norwegian society because I can understand and contribute to the conversations among my friends». As the data shows, the processes and the experience of integration is different from each informant's perspective.

4.7 Agency in two dimensions

According to Robson et al., «agency is understood as an individual's own capacities, competencies, and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their lifeworlds, fulfilling many economic, social, and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choice and possibilities for their daily and future lives» (Robson et al., 2007: 135). Recognizing immigrant children as individuals with agency is to «view them as young people» with «individual capacity to act and shape their own lives» (ibid). Here it connotes a sense of creativity, initiative and innovation on the part of immigrant children as they do integration in the receiving society. In that respect attention is shifted to how immigrant children utilize the environment coupled with their individual abilities to do integration «conceptualising them as agents, that is, competent social beings, doers and thinkers» not merely individuals at the mercy of the society (ibid).

This notion of agency «challenges the view of» immigrant children as «essentially powerless» and those who have no options in the integration process but «bullied» about by the constraints in the host society (ibid). Immigrant children «through their actions, can make a

difference to relationship, decisions, to the workings of a set of social assumptions or constraints» (Mayall, 2002: 21 in James, 2009).

This section has attempted to answer the research question: How do immigrant children experience integration in the Norwegian society? It has been shown in the discussion that they do so when they are able to do things the way the receiving society does them. This is shown in how they device various ways to do integration. The sentiments they express for being able to win the acceptance of the receiving society might be consider how they experience integration. Immigrant children efforts to measure up to the standard of doing things in the receiving society and therefore being able to reach that goal brings satisfaction, a sense of accomplishment and belonging.

4.8 A wedge of separation

Immigrant children's agency does not overrule the structural conditions within which they do integration. Agency might be considered a great endeavor on the part of these children. Yet, it must be emphasized that there are realities that they must contend with as they do integration. It might not seem all rosy, easy and pleasant as if there were not difficulties. As children whose difference in relation to the host society might be readily seen, they have to deal with everyday life challenges that come their way. These hindrances may be seen as a wedge that separates immigrant children from the host society. The next three sections will describe and discuss themes on structural levels that seem to limit immigrant children's doing of integration of in the Norwegian society

4.8.1 Ethnicization of immigrants

Language has been described as the key of entrance to society. With it, immigrant children are better able to belong to their new society. However, language may proof to bar newcomers from entering into society. This section is about how language challenges the effort by immigrant children to do integration. In the process of going through the data, I noticed that informants seemed to show difficulties in their quest to do integration. Among the recurrent themes that emerged was the challenge of properly learning to use the Norwegian language in their day to day activities and how that affects their doing integration resulting in their being seen as

different. Learning the language was a big must. This has been categorized under the theme language acquisition.

To integrate into the Norwegian society, they need to properly learn to speak and write the Norwegian language as that makes it possible to access other resources. Language it is argued is the key to understanding «the routine and sense of normality» in the receiving society (Pickering, 2001 in Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1937; Liamputtong, 2008). It is fundamental and principal tool through which members of society share and express their thoughts and feelings to one another. Language is the master key that unlocks the big door that leads to many activities in the receiving society. In order to «enter into» and join the flow of life in the receiving society, immigrant children must be able to comprehend what is being communicated by their native counterparts (Christensen, 2004: 165).

Immigrant children who do not learn the Norwegian language well may find themselves outside the circles of friends and as a result accept the view that they are different from native Norwegian children. This is well illustrated in the study by Sollund (2001 in Hagelund, 2003) about immigrants and the power that host language has to show them as «different» in the process of doing integration. In that study it was revealed that failure on the part of immigrants to learn to use the Norwegian language well ended them up in doing menial jobs and limiting themselves in finding new friends in the Norwegian society. Sollund (2001) reveals that «mostly Philippine hotel cleaners in Oslo hotels...do not speak Norwegian very well and interacting almost purely with other Filipinos» (Sollund, 2001 in Hagelund, 2003: 181). This attitude of being closely knit together with only those who spoke the same language could be attributed to immigrants' inability to properly speak Norwegian. The consequences could be negative for their integration.

In the same vein, immigrant children inability to use the language of the receiving society could result in limiting themselves to few friends; those who share similar characteristics with them and viewing themselves as different from mainstream society. If they are unable to learn and properly speak Norwegian (or the language of the receiving society) it could negatively affect their doing integration. From this, it could be argued that host language has the power to reveal them as different and that it is the key of entrance to society. This is prominently highlighted in the data I generated from the interview. A comment by Julie captures the essence of this point and indicates the power that the Norwegian language and for that matter the

language of the host society has on her doing integration and how she views herself as different. She says:

I am really, really, shy and don't approach people. I don't and when I see your face and want to be friend, I become shy. But I think it is because of the language...the language is not making me get into the society (Julie, 16).

It could be seen from the informant's comments that she wishes to expand her circle of friends by «wanting to be friend» probably in order to enjoy the company of many. She seems to show the desire to approach people in the receiving society. However, she appears limited in doing so. She attributes her predicament to the Norwegian language by saying that «is not making me get into the society». She seems barred from entrance into everyday social life. Since language has been shown to be a way new comers use to interact with natives, her inability to speak the Norwegian language could be seen as a challenge to do integration. Her repeated emphasis on being shy captured in the adverb «really» might indicate the extent of the problem. She might seem helpless in the face of the challenge and could resort to keeping to herself. It might make her feel lonely since she is not able to make new friends in the receiving society. This situation might make her feel insecure and dependent on others in everyday life in the receiving society. This might suggest that even though immigrant children do have agency, there are certain structural conditions that totally constraint them beyond their abilities. As Connolly (1998) noted, «young people have the capacity within certain constraints to exhibit their agency» as they do integration (Connolly, 1998: 16). Yet, there may be other constraints that could prove insurmountable for immigrant children. They might only have to learn to live with it. Julie seems to feel insecurity and dependence on people in her everyday life in the comments she makes:

Right now, I don't approach people and can't do anything without someone there. I still don't feel like yeah, like comfortable doing things alone. For example, if I want to borrow a book from here (from the library), I always have to ask a friend 'how do I borrow a book'? How do I get a card for myself? I am not independent; I can't speak the language very well, am not legal here. So it makes me feel am not a part here' (Julie, 16).

The sense of insecurity and dependency expressed by the informant supports the outcome of a study that Valenta (2008) conducted in Norway about the social integration of immigrants and

refugees referred to earlier. In that study, Valenta (2008) argues that «a feeling of insecurity in everyday life and a sense of cultural subordination in relation to the indigenous locals may be amplified if the mentioned experiences are combined with difficulties in communication» (Valenta, 2008: 15). This really might be a hindrance to the immigrant child's doing integration as can be seen in her anguish comments. Language therefore is one of the structural conditions with the power to constraint immigrant children exacerbating the challenge of doing integration. It also might lead them to be «othered» and seen as different in the receiving society. The issue of host language acquisition and usage has become one of the obstacles that Julie faces and possibly a stumbling block to her doing integration (Remennick, 2004). This could affect her use of other legitimate rights as a citizen and eventually force her to view herself as different from mainstream society (Hagelund, 2003).

Valenta argues that «it is easy to imagine that everyday experiences of this kind will constantly remind the immigrants (child) that they are operating in a context that is strange and unfamiliar to them» (Valenta, 2008: 15). Julie's shyness could possibly not be part of her personality even though I do not know her previous life prior to the study. Yet her inability to use the Norwegian language seems to have caused her to become shy according to her own interpretation. This assertion is expressed in her comments as she sheds light on her previous experience back in her home country. She says:

In my home country, I was outgoing but when we moved to Norway, I couldn't do that because I spoke English always and people didn't approach much (Julie, 16).

In this piece of data, something significant is unearthed. Language is seen to have the causative power to change the personality of immigrant children; a shift from being outgoing to being shy. Julie reveals that her shyness was not part of her personality, but the host language has caused it. Her «outgoing» personality is replaced by shyness because of her inability to use the host language. She expresses worry of not being able to do what she used to do. This might definitely affect her entire worldview and how she does integration. Little wonder it is argued that «the shift from home to host language is universally viewed as the key indicator of immigrant...social inclusion» (Remennick, 2004: 432). Without the usage of host language, immigrant children might be cut off from the society resulting in social exclusion. The definition of integration indicates in part that it «is about belonging and is, as such, an inclusive notion» (Hagelund, 2003:

169). Integration is a matter of being part of a group and claiming ownership of it. That is, properly locating one's place within and identifying with the group. The sense of belongingness echoes possession of and a meaningful contribution to a group. This possession, Julie is not able to achieve.

As Tselios et al., (2015) argue that «integration refers to the inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes toward the society, and the conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals and groups» (Tselios et al., 2015: 416). Without a common language, this «conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals...» would be difficult if not impossible (ibid). Immigrant children would not be motivated to interact and cooperate within the group because they do not understand the language spoken. Common language by the group allows free flow of information which the group needs in order to function and to protect itself. Without a common language understood by members of a group, there is the likelihood of differentiation or possible disintegration.

As Julie argues, her inability to get into the Norwegian society is not because she is not interested in the activities that go on in the Norwegian society, but that it is caused by her not being able to use the Norwegian language. She might not wish to exclude herself from the activities of the society, yet, she is forced to keep her distance and not being included. This might result in her being isolated. It must be noted that moments of isolation could probably happen anyway even if one could fluently speak the host language. For this reason language need not be overestimated as the solution above all. However, the data seem to suggest that language has the potential power to cause immigrant children to assume a certain posture in the receiving society contrarily to how they really were in their home country.

Oliver registered his view to substantiate the argument. He was one of my informants who also spoke on how the use of the Norwegian language affects his doing integration. He has lived in Norway for couple of years, yet, he says that the Norwegian language is

...the only thing that tries to limit my integration in some way because I can't speak more Norwegian as those born here (Norwegian kids). And in school it is only Norwegian language that is used so if you can't speak well or understand much, then that's a problem... (Oliver, 17)

Generally and like racism, the host language has both the «real material» and the social implications for immigrant children. As find it difficult to use the foreign language, the likelihood of settling with any future job opportunity that comes their way which requires less usage of the Norwegian language (Connolly, 1998: 13). Socially, it could also widen the gap between them and their potential friends; other children who speak Norwegian well and negatively affect their access to practical information for their benefit. This «problem» could result in the child's withdrawal from activities taking place in the school and in the Norwegian society as a whole helping to affirm his difference. This kind of isolation may be reinforced by parental restriction to be part of a youth culture in the host society.

Suley also argues that the language determines how far he must go with other children who speak Norwegian well. He says:

Because my Norwegian is low, it limits my association with them. But sometimes when they know English they talk to me. For one thing it is the language barrier...And in school, the same things; the problem is the same in school. The language and the tendency to avoid people. These are the only limitations to my integration in Norway (Suley, 15).

On one hand, it could be stressful when one cannot put his or her thoughts across and meaningfully express his feeling to others. This could «disturb the immigrant child's self-presentations in interactions» and «may appear as ethnic markers that emphasize (or can lead to the confirmation of) difference between immigrant and indigenous locals» (Valenta, 2008:15).

On the other hand, frustration may set in when one cannot comprehend what is being communicated to him or her. It might lead immigrant children to «feel that the hosts perceive them as boring, simple minded or even stupid» (ibid). Valenta (2008) «learned» in the study mentioned above, «that problems with inadequate familiarity with the dominant culture and language may also be seen in the light of immigrants and refugees' stigmatized ethnic identities». The researcher continues to argue that «reduced communication abilities and an inadequate knowledge of implicit and explicit cultural codes in the host country, combined with insecurity about how they are perceived recognized and classified, often leads to ethnicization of immigrants» everyday life (Valenta, 2008:15).

These negative encounters in immigrant children's everyday life in the host society may add to their «feeling that they are strangers who do not necessarily belong to the mainstream society»; a sense of otherness (ibid). Clearly, the language of the receiving society has the power to construct and affirm immigrant children as different, restrict their creativity or agency and negatively affecting their doing integration especially, when they find it difficult to use the language in their everyday lives.

4.8.2 Excluding practices, bullying or racism?

Racism is not tangible object that can be held or seen. Yet its power for those who are the victims of racism is felt in every aspect of human life. Like power, racism reaches into the very «capillary» of humans «inserting itself into their actions and attitudes...» (Foucault, 1980:39 in Connolly, 1998). Knowingly or unknowingly, racism can entangle an individual affect the way of life and influence how others are treated. Several situations can cause a person to become victim of racial abuse. As people who differ in many ways from people in the host society, immigrant children can easily fall prey to racism or at least feel as victims of racist attitudes since they in most ways are vulnerable. It could be verbal, physical, attitudinal or even intentionally depriving access to information, social life and privileges.

Curious of knowing structural conditions that could limit immigrant children doing of integration, I noticed hints that provide clues to the challenge of racism as a theme in the empirical data. In his study of racism, culture and identity, Connolly argued that racism though has been proven time and again to be «scientifically bogus» it continues to shape how people are treated and may be part of what forms the basis for social strata (Connolly, 1998: 12). In effect, racism is used to reaffirm immigrant children's differences in the receiving society and to curtail their agency. I set out to test the outcome of that study. Several concepts such as discrimination, exclusion, name calling, teasing and bullying were identified. The fact that Norway is a welfare state and has one of the best human societies in the present world and being egalitarian in nature, coupled with the state's ratification of the United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, I assumed that immigrant children would face no problem with racism (Hagelund, 2003). My assumption is beautifully expressed in the Norwegian government White paper (Storting-meldinger number. 17(1996-97): 45 in Hagelund, 2003: 242) which states in part:

Norwegian society is to a high degree characterized by a just distribution and equal opportunities for all (Storting-meldinger number. 17(1996-97): 45.

In spite of this noble motive of creating conducive environment for all to reach their full potential, the above document sincerely acknowledges that there exist discrimination which could be as a result of racism. The paper concludes:

It is therefore an important task to disseminate an understanding of the fact that some people actually are being discriminated against and exposed to harassment because of their skin colour, faith or origin (Storting-meldinger number. *ibid*).

Although it might not be verbal attack on a person, any form of «racism is a problem that must be taken seriously». It constitutes «a moral wrong for which there is no excuse» (Hagelund, 2003: 219). The empirical data confirms acts of discrimination and acts with racial undertones. All informants, except one, have encountered racism of a sort either in school among peers or friends during social gathering such as name calling and not being invited to parties organized native Norwegian children as the empirical data will show. Discrimination of immigrant children might result in their being constantly sidelined and considered «they» from «us». Since acts of racism and discriminations are condemn in Norwegian documents, immigrant children may not necessarily clash with native Norwegian kids about racism openly. It might take another form other than verbal or physical assault. Even if it is not meant as racist or exclusion action, not to be invited to a birthday party, it may be interpreted as racist. It could be painful for immigrant children to realize that their not being invited was as a result of where they come from or the colour of their skin. One informants revealed that racism is another structural condition that challenges her doing integration in Norway. Meme said that her encounter with racism from her Norwegian counterpart was more subtle. She relates:

Actually, I don't have concrete example but you can sense it. Because most Norwegians, if you ask them: are you racist? They would say “no” we are not racist because we have all kinds of ethnic groups living here in Norway. But you can notice it through the way people behave towards you. Not what they say, but how they behave. So it is more of their actions; the unspoken words. One thing is that they would say “I am not racist”.

Everyone is welcomed to my house, but when you have ‘get together’ you invite only Norwegians and not me or other friends from other countries for example (Meme, 16).

Many kinds or interpretations can be gleaned from the above extract. One is that racism in the Norwegian society takes non verbal form; the type that could be viewed as «soft» in nature. Soft in the sense that it does not hit hard (not physically) on the victim in the beginning. However, the victim needs to discern and put meaning into what before he or she can understand it as a racial act. In Meme’s words, it might not be «concrete» yet one can «sense» it. The victim had to interpret the act of racism of this kind. As MP Lars Roar Langslet (of the Conservative Party, Stortinget 10.12.74. p. 1978 in Hagelund, 2003: 221) states «...prejudices and isolationist moods...unfortunately also exist in our people».

So it could be expected that immigrant children would be «softly» treated in relation to the issue of racism in the Norwegian society. Even though some analytical concepts (such as citizenship, rights and bullying) have emerged from the empirical data that lean towards the bottom-up approach, it is not the intention in this chapter to develop or generate new theoretical concepts as it might seem to suggest. The emerging themes together with already existing theoretical concepts are being used to analyze and discuss the empirical data. The endeavour to develop new theoretical concept might require much work and «space as it includes a more fuzzy and complicated process» (Nilsen, 2005: 118). But my use of the word «soft» in relation to racism emanates from how the informant needed to discern the act by connecting the pieces together.

The tendency of separating people based on their racial background is not limited to the Norwegian society where I conducted my interview. Instead it could be identified in almost all known human society (Connolly, 1998; Grove and Zwi, 2006). Meme says that among her peers, racism is more of «their action not what they say, but how they behave» towards others. They may verbally proclaim they are not racist because the host society is made up of many different ethnic groups. Yet, the way they behave towards these different ethnic groups contradicts what they say. At least, their behavior works as exclusion. One can notice discrepancy between words and action here. It might suggest that to cover up any racial inclinations, members of the host society might pretend to be what they really are not, an incongruent behaviour. This does not suggest that everyone in the receiving society behaves in this way. There may be variations.

However, in real situations; members of the host society's encounter with immigrant children might test the honesty of what they say about racism. Could the view of this immigrant child as «different» be by chance or intentional? Could it be only excluding practice? Will it be premature to read meanings into this act of discrimination and suggest it is influenced by racial thought? Hagelund (2003) reflects that «discrimination is not necessarily caused by racism or by racists; but can be caused by many factors, whereof racist ideas can be one of the reasons» (Hagelund, 2003: 243). So it is important to exercise restraint in rendering meaning into a matter because only those who experience the situation can truly express their emotions but this is not the same, necessarily, as the intention. As the informant reveals, she is not the only person who is not invited to the «get together», but «other friends from other countries» are not. «Only Norwegians» are invited to this gathering. She labels this act racist. Such discriminatory act affirms that they are different from native members in the host society. It could be a practice of being isolated from such gatherings many times and that she has now come to terms with the fact. Asked how such excluding acts affect her, Meme adds that...

...you feel left out and you begin to think that «oh maybe because I am not Norwegian» and that is racist I think. I think is not because of me as a person but because of my ethnic background. Because if you have particular issues with me, I will understand, but if the reason is that I am not Norwegian, then that's racism (Meme, 16).

As her comment suggests, her being discriminated is not attributed to her personhood, rather things outside of her; her ethnic background, the ascribed things. She feels «left out» and excluded from the social gathering of her peers. She seems to have difficulty comprehending the basis of such discriminatory or excluding attitude. Immigrant children may have to deal with issues of this nature as long as they live in the receiving society. Even though they do have agency as established, they might not be able to control the actions of others and completely change their views about them. They may always feel sidelined and unworthy of the love and recognition from the native children. This might possibly affect her overall self esteem and she could begin to develop an attitude of self pity. Discriminatory acts have negative consequences on the victim, both physically and emotionally. As the informant suggest, she would come to terms with the discriminatory act if it were as a result of her as a «person». It could be deformity or any personal shortcoming. But to be discriminated because of her ethnic background, she does

not seem to understand. It is possible that changing political discourses in society could also influence people's attitudes to foreigners.

As the above comment suggests, sometimes the reason for discriminatory acts are not tangible. One just has to accept it. This might shape Meme's perception and attitude about other Norwegian children who may not be quick to discriminate. Additionally, she might conclude that it is of no use to make the effort to get included in activities that go on in the society. From the other side of the picture, one can think of discriminatory acts as a means to protect a group's boundaries thereby warning encroachers of approaching foreign territory. The group might use these acts to solidify the bound between them. Immigrant children can be viewed as «they» are encroaching on «our» territory and therefore must be stopped. Julie reveals in her comments to confirm the unspoken type of racism that Meme mentions in her earlier comments. Julie says:

I think there is an unspoken word that those from other lands are bullied for other things and because they are coloured. It is unspoken, but you can sense it. I also think because the foreigners come from poorer countries to Norway, the Norwegians look down on them and that's not helping the immigrants. It is nothing about the system. The system is just; it is fair, like I said in school. So it is the people and their attitude. It is the atmosphere here. They are not direct but indirect. The system is fair, it is just the people (Julie, 16).

Julie further reveals that racism in the Norwegian society might be attributed to the country that immigrant children come from. She believes that immigrant children from poorer countries are looked down by their Norwegian counterparts and it «is not helping» them to do integration. Grove and Zwi reflect that racism and the concept of other that is, “us” and “them” help to build the idea that immigrant children's «responses must always convey gratitude for the generosity of the receiving society» (Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1935). Immigrant children are «by definition victims of adversity and the fact that there are not inevitably poor, nor as pure or grateful as their hosts might wish, can be a source of difficulty» (ibid). Such difficulty is reflected in Julie's comment as «not helping the immigrants». So the Norwegian system is fair, as she concludes, by referring to the school system. However, she adds that it is the people who fill in the system that create that problem. The attitude of the people which she refers to who make it difficult for her in the integration process.

With regards to what I call «hard racism» in this study that is the verbal and physical type, Magnus relates an experience of that kind. He says:

In school, someone called me something that sounded racist that made me feel bad and made me think about what people think about me. But when I complained they stopped. But it really hurts me and affects me greatly. It might seem you are not good person and someone might mistaken you for a thief or something bad (Magnus, 14).

In this case, what Magnus interpreted as «hard racism» was easy to identify. He did not have to piece parts of the event together to understand that he was a victim of racism. He complained to signal that he understood the verbal assault to be racist and those perpetuating the act stopped. They probably noticed their action to be wrong that it was affecting him and that he was able to resist. Racism influences and shapes peer-group interactions (Connolly, 1998). This boy might not necessarily stop playing with the other children, but «it affected him». He also showed concern for how he might appear in the eyes of others and began to question his own self worth. He was worried of being mistakenly misrepresented as a «thief or something bad».

Oliver describes that his experience of racism in school took a different turn and was much more physical in nature. His abusers were very specific in labelling him and became more aggressive toward him. This he says made him in a way that respond in kind and created a scene. He describes his experience by saying:

Yeah, in school there was one boy who called me names like «black», but I am not black and he used more strong words until I couldn't bear it. Yeah they were Norwegians. And they were boys. One person started and others joined, though some of them tried to defend me, but the majority were teasing me... Actually, I punched the guy because he first punched me (Oliver, 17).

One can only imagine what emotional stress this informant went through as he became the subject of racism. It made him very emotional to the point of taking a physical action to register his displeasure of the situation.

We could also think of the gender dimension of the racial abuse. Distinction between more subtle exclusion practices to physical or verbal assault. From Meme's experience, her friends did not invite her and others who are not Norwegians to the get together. She concludes

that the racial abuse was not explicit, but could be seen by the way they behaved towards her and others who are not Norwegians. Julie speaks of unspoken words but which could be sensed in people's actions. Magnus' experienced his friends calling him something that sounded racist that is, «black»; a verbal abuse with racial undertone. Oliver indicated that one boy called him «black»; a labelling which he refuses to accept because he sees himself as not black.

In these four experiences, though some of the informants did not indicate that all involved in the situation were only girls (in the case of Meme) or boys (in the case of Magnus), it might seem to suggest a difference in how immigrant girls encounter racism from immigrant boys. The sample is too little to make this deduction, it will seem overly simplistic and for that reason further research needs to be done to substantiate this finding. Moreover, I realise that one needs to exercise caution when drawing attention to social relations between boys and girls in order not to create a separate world for children. Thorne (1993) argues that such endeavor presents a whole range of problems and might «not be so total as the separate worlds rendering suggests' since 'the amount of separation varies by situation» (Thorne, 1993: 103).

The racial theme in the empirical data, its analysis and discussion confirm Connolly (1998) theory of practice on racism, culture and ethnicity. Racism continues to shape how people are treated and may be part of what forms the basis for social strata (Connolly, 1998: 12). The empirical data also refutes my assumption that Norway, being a welfare state and egalitarian in nature, is devoid of traces of racism. The data proves that racism exists in the Norwegian society even though official documents condemn racial acts. Racism has been shown to be a strong structural condition in the receiving society that negatively affects immigrant children doing integration. In effect, racism reaffirms immigrant children differences in connection with their native counterpart and works against their agency. Moreover, it has been revealed that acts of racism are not limited to the Norwegian society but it can be seen in all known human societies.

4.8.3 Life on hold: Citizenship in a welfare state with egalitarian traditions

Another vital theme which was identified in the empirical data was citizenship, and the extent to which these children felt as being part of a society. This structural constraint creates a sense of insecurity as one of my informants revealed. Julie argued that her insecurity does not only stem from her inability to use the Norwegian language, as earlier discussed, but from another source.

She explained that sense of insecurity relates to legal issues. Asking further what she meant by «legal», Julie explains:

I think if I am really secured here, I will truly feel part of the society. Because now if my mum commits crime or something wrong, we would be sent back to where we came from. So if I really become secure and get a Norwegian passport, then maybe I will start to feel like I am part of the society. am not legal here. So it makes me feel I am not a part here (Julie, 16).

Julie's insecurity is partly related to her not being «a full citizen» in the receiving society; not having Norwegian passport. She seems to live in constant fear of repatriation to her home country and that makes her not «feel a part here». According to Berg (2002), this situation is part of the immigration policy which withholds the permanent residence rights of immigrants and therefore is used by the government of the receiving society as a control measure of immigrants. It is called the 'return perspective' where immigrants face the threat of repatriation and are not certain of their residence in the receiving society (Berg, 2002: 56). It is as their lives are on hold without knowing where they are going (Heckmann and Schnapper, 2003; Kjørholt, 2008). This situation I consulted with one expert of the Norwegian language where she told me that it is termed «Livet på vent», meaning “‘Life on hold’” in English.

Hammer also refers to this control measure as «alien (foreigner) control» where immigrants are «vulnerable to arbitrary expulsion» (Hammer, 1985:9, 10). This situation might create a sense of insecurity, fear and restriction in the lives of immigrant children and certainly constraint their doing of integration in the receiving society (Kjørholt, 2008). Deliberately refusing to or delaying in granting permanent residence status or full citizenship to immigrants could be seen as a means to control who comes in and who stays. This action might leave immigrants and their families in a state of uncertainty and insecurity, which might cause them anxiety almost all the time. It is as if their lives have been paused, waiting to be told by the receiving society where in the world they could live.

The government of the receiving society can use this legal measure to oust immigrants from his territory, claiming that these ones do not qualify to stay. This action could affect immigrants and their families because they cannot settle or they would have to be looking elsewhere to resettle. They would also have to be prepared to move out of the receiving society

any time. Immigrant children who become victims of this situation might have to begin school all over again, find new friends and start to learn the culture of the new society. It could be very stressful for such children and might even disrupt their childhood. Because immigrant children need to reorient themselves after relocation, they might coil in or simply stop doing integration.

Furthermore, this situation could affect immigrant children's rights in the host society since they might consider themselves as not full citizens, illegal and not a part of the receiving society. Kjørholt (2008) argues that immigrant children «marginal position, the result of their belonging to different groups and communities, also indicates that their citizenship status may not be recognized and thus participation rights in decision-making, which are closely related to competence, inclusion and belonging in everyday life, may also be lacking» (Kjørholt, 2008: 33). Moreover, as noted by Grove and Zwi (2006), the situation «limits immigrant children's ability to assert their rights, to question and contest their treatment, to articulate different rules of engagement» (Grove and Zwi, 2006: 1936).

4.8.4 Culture as the umbilical cord to the country of origin

One informant describes how the experiences and the things she used to do back in her home country still manifest themselves and that it affects her doing integration. Immigrants may have lived in the receiving society for many years. Yet, it is possible to find traces of their former ways of doing things in their native country such as eating meals and wearing from their country of origin. As Connolly (1998) argues, some immigrants in Britain still lean toward their home country when they play in sports tournaments against England. Hagelund (2003) also observed that in the process of integration, immigrants could still hold on to what they already know before coming to the receiving society. Finding from my data seems to support what has been found in these studies. Julie reveals that there are certain parts of her former culture that she is not able to undo even though she has lived in Norway for many years. She says:

Their normal routines are not my normal routine. Like back in my country, you will eat the whole fish with the head and bones, but here they will ask «oh are you eating the head and bones? Just throw it away». That's what I mean by normal routine. So I still don't think I fit in their culture. And culture is a big part of the society or system. And I still don't feel comfortable doing their culture. Like my mum brought dry fish which is normal to eat back in my home country and it has really strong scent. So we only eat it

when people are not around. We also eat a lot of spicy stuff. I still have my culture and that's why I say I feel that I am not part of the Norwegian society (Julie, 16).

Like umbilical cord, her former experiences are strongly tied to her home such that she is not able to sever it. Julie argues that she still eats certain food from her home country. However, that is not routine in her new society. She shows that it makes her uncomfortable and hinders her doing integration. She thinks that she and the mother will create the opportunity to practice what they know before they came to Norway. To avoid questions and possible embarrassments from the natives, the informant reveals that they «only eat their dish when people are not around». In this way, the informant's former culture came in the way of her doing integration. She shows to still have her previous experiences and those are not compatible with the normal routine in the receiving society. Compatibility might not suggest that two things must be the same in order to coexist. It might indicate a balance between two different things which in the case of this immigrant, she is still finding it difficult to do. She might find it a bit difficult to strike a balance between some of her previous experiences and the current ones. This is evidence of her «deep, almost natural and instinct to identify with» the things she knew before coming to Norway (Connolly, 1998: 12). This confirms what Hagelund wrote that even the integrated «foreigner cannot be fully Norwegian. Some degree of distinction will remain» (Hagelund, 2003: 171). Though it is a challenge that immigrant children might face in doing integration, it has nothing to do with the structural conditions in the Norwegian society. The informant does not indicate that the receiving society forces her in a way to accept what is new. This confirms what is written in the Norwegian Government White Paper St. meld. nr. 39 (1973-74 in Hagelund, 2003: 171). The document states that in the «approach to integration is the emphasis on choice» (ibid). So Julie immigrant child might choose the extent to which she wants to integrate into the Norwegian society. The Norwegian society does not force any immigrant to get integrated. Yet, immigrants may have to notice that to join the flow of life in the receiving society, they need to get involved. It could be seen that it is the immigrant child who might be unwilling or find no reason to fully embrace her new environment. It could be true that some indications of former experiences will surface, immigrant children need to find ways to adapt to the new conditions in the host society when doing integration.

This section has attempted to answer the research question: what structural conditions limit immigrant children's doing of integration in the receiving society? The analyses and

discussions have identified some structural constraints that exist in the host society and that seriously challenge immigrant children doing of integration and their agency. The discussion has also demonstrated that although immigrant children are «thinkers and doers» they can only operate within certain constraints. Other things are just beyond them and may be part of the larger society.

Chapter Five

Concluding reflections

5.1 Introduction

The study was done with the aim to find out what immigrant children do to do integration. Two main research questions were the driving force for the research. One was to find out what various ways immigrant children use to do integration in the receiving society. The second research question was to find out the structural conditions that promote and limit integration. Main findings from the study have included language, inclusion and citizenship. Other findings were seen as emerging from the data. On the bases of the analyses in the previous chapter, some reflections are going to be made to determine whether the research questions are well addressed.

5.2 Reflections on main findings

The study was conducted to attempt to find answers to the two research questions on the outset. These were; what do immigrant children do to get integrated into the Norwegian society and what are their experiences? And what structural conditions promotes and limits integration of their doing integration in the Norwegian society?

From the analyses of the empirical data, it was seen that these children do integration from two main angles. First, they utilize the state sponsored programmes such as language classes, food festivals and youth clubs and the structural arrangements in the Norwegian school system. They take advantage of these generous structural provisions in the Norwegian society in to do integration. These deliberate measures are set in place to facilitate integration and to help the children to learn the culture Norwegian faster. For example, it was seen from the analyses that the Norwegian language classes offer invaluable help to immigrant children in doing integration. The informants indicate that without such helpful structural provisions, it would have been much difficult to do integration.

An informant describes that the language programme made it easier for her to get along with the flow of life in the Norwegian society. She shows that because she came to Norway as a little girl, she was able to go through all the levels in the Norwegian school which ensured her gradual inclusion into the society. She compares herself to the elder sister who came to Norway

when she was much older and notices that she handles everyday matters better than her sister because she was able to get the language from the very beginning. This experience shows that children who enter the receiving society at a younger age may, not surprisingly, do integration better than those who are much older. It might also indicate that young immigrant children learn host language faster and may be well conversant with the language than older immigrant children. Additionally, the language class is shown to be the secure way to get into the society. Informants argued that in order to form meaningful friendship, they had to learn the Norwegian language and that became the basis for making friends in the society. As one informant argues, the language determined the extent that he could communicate with his friends. Since he could not speak the Norwegian language in the beginning, he was limited in making many friends. However, this changed when he attended the language class that authorities have established for immigrant children. He said that he now has many friends and he is able to go anywhere that he wanted because he can speak the language.

Another way that immigrant children use to do integration is the structural arrangement of the school system in Norway such as the appointment of student advisors and principals who help students in difficulties, the friendly attitudes of teachers and the anti bully programmes. Informants show that such arrangements in the school make it comfortable for them to do integration. They indicate several positive aspects of the school system that they use to do integration such as the friendly relationship between teachers and students. One informant mentions that such a situation does not exist in his country of origin where teachers are much stricter and would consider such idea repugnant. Furthermore, the school arrangement to handle possible feud between students and the appointment of student advisors is shown to be another help for doing integration in Norway. The tuition free school system in Norway is also seen as a very good initiative from the state.

It was mentioned that the anti bully programmes that school authorities have put in place to protect victims of unjust treatments. No wonder the informant showed that it serves as support when one is going through hard times. Like a strong wall, immigrant children can lean on this programme as they do integration. Youth clubs were also identified as another structural condition that helps them to do integration. It was noticed in the analyses that Norwegian authorities have set up these places for children to meet friends in order to learn many things

about different cultures. All these state sponsored programmes are important structural conditions that immigrant children use to do integration.

The other side of doing integration came from personal initiatives where they devised different ways to do integration such as learning to have mastery over the cold Norwegian weather, surfing the internet to help to learn the language and initiating meaningful friendships with Norwegian children. Together with the state sponsored programmes, immigrant children's agency comes to the fore as they employ their capabilities and competencies to show that they are thinkers and doers and do have the abilities to an extent to do integration. What is of interest in the finding is that these children use their creative abilities to overcome challenges which could cripple the efforts and progress they made to do integration.

Other major findings included language as a constraint to doing integration. Although the host language is seen as a key of entrance to society, it becomes problematic when immigrant children are not able to use it. Without the language, these children will continue to remain outside of mainstream society and their difference in relation to the host society will always be seen.

Including and excluding practices such as discrimination and bullying were seen to challenge immigrant children's doing of integration. Their differences are often highlighted by the receiving society signaling to them that they do not belong where they currently are. Informants show that such negative attitudes really affect them and make them begin to think about how others view them.

Finally, citizenship was identified as another structural condition which immigrant children deal with. It is seen from the discussions that immigrant children security partly rests on their legal status in the receiving society. This affects their rights and curtails their agency and inclusion into the receiving society.

The research question; what promotes and limits integration of immigrant children in the Norwegian society can be answered from the analyses and discussions of the empirical that the host language serves to bar immigrant children from entering the society causing them to see the difference between them and the host society. And issues related to racism, bullying and excluding practices challenge immigrant children as they do integration. Citizenship which has a link to children's rights is another structural constraint that faces immigrant children as they do integration in the Norwegian society.

5.3 Conclusion

Language: the key issue both as understanding what happens, becoming part of the society, and get friends, being included and settle is paramount to integration.

Presupposition for friendship, education, citizenship, tackles exclusion and their general well-being in their host society.

Further research: gender dimensions- whether girls and boys experience being immigrant differently. In-depth studies of how children who come with traumatic events in their luggage cope in their new countries.

5.4 Recommendations

On the bases of the main findings from the study, the following recommendations are made:

1. Authorities in the receiving societies must strengthen the already existing state sponsored programmes which immigrant children use to do integration.
2. That a review in the immigration policies could be made to reduce the insecurity and anxiety that immigrant children face because of fear of being sent back to their home country.
3. There should be increased awareness through education on how immigrant children are negatively affected by racial abuses in the receiving society.

Reference

- Abebe, T. (2009). Multiple methods, complex dilemmas: negotiating socio-ethical spaces in participatory research with disadvantaged children. *Children's geographies*, 7(4), 451-465.
- Akkerman, T., and Hagelund, A. (2007). 'Women and children first!' Anti-immigration parties and gender in Norway and the Netherlands, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 41:2, 197-214
- Alanen, L. (2001). Explorations in generational analysis. Chapter 2. In: Alanen, L. and Mayall, B. eds. *Conceptualizing Child-Adult relations*. London: Routledge Falmer
- Alanen, L., & Mayall, B. (2001). *Conceptualizing child-adult relations*. Psychology Press.
- Algan et al., (2012). Chapter 1. Perspectives on Cultural Integration of Immigrants. In: *Cultural Integration of Immigrants in Europe*. Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP, United Kingdom.
- Amundsen, B. (2017). Do immigrants get better lives? <http://sciencenordic.com/do-immigrants-get-better-lives> (Sourced 27.04.2017)
- Berg, B. (2002). From Temporary Protection to Permanent Residence. *Bosnians Refugees in Scandinavia*.
- Berg, B. L. (2007). A dramaturgical look at interviewing. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*, 6.
- Bernays et al., (2015). What am I 'living' with? Growing up with HIV in Uganda and Zimbabwe. *Sociology of health & illness*, 37(2), 270-283.
- Brochmann, G., and Hagelund, A. (2012). *Immigration policy and the Scandinavian welfare state 1945-2010*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Christensen, P. H. (2004). Children's participation in ethnographic research: Issues of power and representation. *Children & society*, 18(2), 165-176.
- Connolly, P. (1998). Racism, gender identity and young children.
- Cooper, B. (2005). Norway: Migrant quality, not quantity. *Retrieved February, 22, 2007*.
- Corsaro, W. A. (1996). Transitions in early childhood: The promise of comparative, longitudinal ethnography. *Ethnography and human development: Context and meaning in social inquiry*, 419-456.
- Corsaro, W. and Molinari, L. (2008). Entering and observing in children's world: A reflection on a longitudinal ethnography of early education in Italy. In: Christensen, P. and James, A. (eds.) *Research with children: perspectives and practices*. London: Routledge.

Crouch, M., and McKenzie, H. (2006). The logic of small samples in interview-based qualitative research. *Social science information*, 45(4), 483-499.

Davis, J., Watson, N., & Cunningham-Burley, S. (2000). 10 Learning the Lives of Disabled Children. *Research with children: Perspectives and practices*, 201.

Eide, P., and Allen, C. B. (2005). Recruiting transcultural qualitative research participants: A conceptual model. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 4(2), 44-56

Ennew et al. (2009). The Right to Be Properly Researched. How to Do Rights-Based Scientific Research with Children. Black on White Publications, Knowing Children.

Ersanilli, E. and Koopmans, R. (2010) Rewarding Integration? Citizenship Regulations and the Socio-Cultural Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36:5, 773-791

Fangen, K. and Lynnebakke, B. (2014). Navigating Ethnic Stigmatization in the Educational Setting: Coping Strategies of Young Immigrants and Descendants of Immigrants in Norway.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Univ of California Press.

Grove, N. J., & Zwi, A. B. (2006). Our health and theirs: forced migration, othering, and public health. *Social science & medicine*, 62(8), 1931-1942.

Hagelund, A. (2003). A matter of decency? The Progress Party in Norwegian immigration politics, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29:1, 47-65,

Hagelund, A. (2003). *The importance of being decent: political discourse on immigration in Norway 1970-2002*. Oslo: Unipax.

Hammar, T. (1985). *European Immigration Policy: A comparative Study*. Stockholm University, Center for International Migration and Ethnicity. Cambridge University Press.

Hammersley, M. (2016). Childhood Studies: A sustainable paradigm? *Childhood*, 0907568216631399.

Hannerz, U. (1992). *Cultural complexity: Studies in the social organization of meaning*. Columbia University Press.

Heckmann, F., and Schnapper, D. (2003). The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies. National Differences and Trends in Convergence.

Hennink, M. M. (2008). Language and communication in cross-cultural qualitative research. In *Doing cross-cultural research* (pp. 21-33). Springer Netherlands.

- James, A. (2009). Agency. In *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 34-45). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- James, A., Jenks, C. and Prout, A. (1998) *Theorizing Childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jenks, C. (1982). Introduction: constituting the child. *The sociology of childhood: Essential readings*, 9-24.
- Jensen, A. M., and Qvortrup, J. (2004). Summary—A Childhood Mosaic: What Did We Learn?
- Kehily, M. J. (2004). Understanding childhood: An introduction to some key themes and issues. MJ Kehily (red.), *An introduction to childhood studies*, 1-21.
- Kjørholt, A. T. (2008). Children as new citizens: In the best interests of the child?. In *European Childhoods* (pp. 14-37). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research. California, US: SAGE*.
- Lauglo, J. (1999). Working Harder to Make the Grade: Immigrant Youth in Norwegian Schools, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 2:1, 77-100, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.1999.10593025.
- Lee, N. (2001). *Childhood and society: Growing up in an age of uncertainty*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Liamputtong, P. (Ed.). (2008). *Doing cross-cultural research: Ethical and methodological perspectives* (Vol. 34). Springer Science & Business Media.
- Mandell, N. (1988). 'The least adult role' in studying children, *Journal of contemporary Ethnography*.
- Manicas, P. (1980). The Concept of Social Structure. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, vol. 10 (2), 1980, pp. 65-82. In: Anthony Giddens *Critical Assessments* edited by Christopher G. A. Bryant and David Jary. Volume II p. 10
- Mason, M. (2010, August). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. In *Forum qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: qualitative social research* (Vol. 11, No. 3).
- Mayall, B. (2002). Relations with parents. *Towards a sociology for childhood*, 42-62.
- Mirsadeghi, R. (2013). Immigrants children and descendants of immigrants experiences of school. A case study of Iranian children in Trondheim, Norwegian. A master's thesis at the Norwegian Center for Child Research (NOSEB).
- Montgomery, H. (2003). Childhood in time and place. Ch. 2. In: Woodhead, M. & Montgomery, H. (eds.) *Understanding Childhood. An Interdisciplinary Approach*. (1st edition). Pp. 45-83

- Mouritsen, F. (1998). *Child culture-Play culture*. Department of Contemporary Cultural Studies, Odense University
- Murdie, R., & Ghosh, S. (2010). Does spatial concentration always mean a lack of integration? Exploring ethnic concentration and integration in Toronto. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), 293-311.
- Nilsen, D. R. (2008). Children in Nature: Cultural Ideas and Social Practices in Norway. In: James, A and James, A. L. eds. (2008). *European Childhood*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Nilsen, D. R. (2009/2014). The Sociology of childhood's critique of the socialization concept and an alternative understanding: Socialization as adaptation and resistance.
- Nilsen, R. D. (2005) Searching for analytical concepts in the research process: Learning from children, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8:2,117-135,
- Onwuegbuzie. J. A., and Leech, L. N. (2007). A Call for Qualitative Power Analyses._Quality & Quantity.
- Özden, C., & Schiff, M. (Eds.). (2007). *International migration, economic development and policy*. Banco Mundial.
- Pettersen, S. V. and Østby, L. (2014). Scandinavian comparative statistics on integration. Immigrants in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. This article was first published in Norwegian, in Statistics Norway's journal *Samfunnsspeilet*: Pettersen, Silje Vatne og Lars Østby (2013): Skandinavisk komparativ statistikk om integrering. Innvandrere i Norge, Sverige og Danmark. *Samfunnsspeilet* 5/2013. Statistisk sentralbyrå.
- Prout, A. and James, A. (1990). A New Paradigm for the Sociology of Childhood? Provenance, Promise and Problem. In: James, A. and Prout, A. eds. *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Punch et al., (2007). Power and place for rural young people. In: Panelli, R., Punch, S. & Robson, E. eds. *Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth. Young Rural Lives*.
- Punch, S. (2003). *Childhoods in the Majority World: Miniature Adults or Tribal Children?* BSA Publications Ltd. Volume 37(2): 277–295 SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi
- Qvortrup, J. (2000). Macroanalysis of childhood. *Research with children: Perspectives and practices*, 77-97.
- Qvortrup, J. (2009). Childhood as a structural form. In *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 21-33). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

- Ramet, P.S., and Valenta, M. (2011). Chapter 16. Changing Places, Changing Identities. A conclusion: In: *The Bosnian Diaspora: Integration in transnational communities. Daily life and social integration in city and small town- Evidence from Norway.*
- Remennick, L. (2004). Language acquisition, ethnicity and social integration among former Soviet immigrants of the 1990s in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27(3), 431-454.
- Robson et al., (2007). Conceptualizing agency in the live and actions of rural young people. In: *Rural Childhood and Youth. Young Rural lives.* New York/Oxon Routledge.
- Rockquemore et al., (2009). Racing to theory or retheorizing race? Understanding the struggle to build a multiracial identity theory. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(1), 13-34.
- Saldaña, J. (2013). An introduction to codes and coding. In: *The coding manual for qualitative researchers.* London: Sage, 1-40
- Smith, G. (2013). The dramaturgical legacy of Erving Goffman. *The Drama of Social Life: A Dramaturgical Handbook*, 57-72.
- Statistics Norway (SSB. no). Published 17 June 2016. Immigrants by reason for immigration. Sourced 21 November 2016.
- Thomas, D. R., and Hodges, I. D. (2010). *Designing and managing your research project: core skills for social and health research.* Sage Publications.
- Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender play: Girls and boys in school.* Rutgers University Press.
- Tingstad, V. (2007). New technologies, new methods? Representing children in online and SMS ethnography. *Ekström, KM og B. Tufte. Children, media and Consumption. On the front edge. Yearbook*, 127-143.
- Tselios, V., Noback, I., Dijk, J., and McCann, P. (2015). Integration of immigrants, bridging social capital, ethnicity, and locality. *Journal of Regional Science*, 55(3), 416-441.
- Turner, J. H. (1986). Reviewed Work(s): *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* by Anthony Giddens. Source: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 91, No. 4. The University of Chicago Press. Accessed: 21-12-2016
- United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 25 November 1989
- Valenta, M. (2008) A study of the social integration of immigrants and refugees, their personal networks and self-work in everyday life PhD-thesis Department of Sociology and Political Science Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management Norwegian University of Science and Technology, NTNU Trondheim

Valenta, M. (2008) Finding friends after resettlement. A study of the social integration of immigrants and refugees, their personal networks and self-work in everyday life. Trondheim: NTNU.

Valenta, M., and Bunar, N. (2010). State Assisted Integration: Refugee Integration Policies in Scandinavian Welfare States: the Swedish and Norwegian Experience. *Journal of Refugee Studies* -The Author 2010. Published by Oxford University Press.

Williams, J. A., and Ortega, S. T. (1990). Dimensions of ethnic assimilation: An empirical appraisal of Gordon's typology. *Social Science Quarterly*, 71(4), 697.

Appendix 1

Letter of participation

Request for participation in research project

Project Topic: **Exploring Processes of Integration among Immigrant Children in Norway.**

Background and Purpose

The purpose of this research is to gain insight into the processes that immigrant children use to do and experience integration in their new or host society. It is to understand the stories and narratives of this children and how they go about their activities as they endeavour to situate themselves within the everyday lives of their host society. The study will therefore explore the following themes through the narratives of these children.

1. To find out the various processes that immigrant children use to do integration.
2. To find out the structural conditions that promotes and limits integration.

The research is a Master's project, a part of the academic requirements by NTNU. It is purely academic work and all data collected will be used as such. The project is under the full supervision of Norwegian Center for Child Research (NOSEB).

Description of how the sample has been selected and/or why the person has been requested to participate.

The sample for this project has been selected by snow ball method. That is, contact will be made with the first sample who will then direct the researcher to others who may be interested in the study. The request by the researcher for you to participate in this study is that you are considered the best person who has knowledge into the topic under study and therefore you will be in the best position to provide rich and insightful understanding into the topic. You will then be considered the 'expert' who leads the researcher to understand the topic better.

What does participation in the project imply?

Data collection of this project will be done by interviews with you. The duration of the interview is approximately 45 minutes. The questions will concern general knowledge about your hobby, what you do to get integrated, what aids/limits your integration and how you experience integration. The data will be collected by notes and audio recordings.

Note for parents:

Please you are free to request to see the interview guide and ask questions regarding the project if you feel the need to do so. Be assured that your child will be granted separate interview and no other task would be regard of him or her. The interview will not be in groups.

What will happen to the information about you?

All personal data will be treated confidentially. Data collected will be handled only by the student and supervisor and no other person can have access to your data. Your ‘project name’ will be stored separately from the data so that a trace cannot be made to what information you provide

No personal identifying data (name, residence, school) will be linked to the data collected. All such direct personal data will be deleted. For that reason, you will not be recognizable in the publication therefore ensuring that maximum confidentiality and anonymity of data is provided.

The project is scheduled for completion (15.05.2017). At the end of the project, all personal data and any recordings will be made anonymous. No data would be stored in any form since the purpose for collecting data would have been accomplished.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.

If you would like to participate or if you have any questions concerning the project, please contact (Student's name: Gershon Piedu, Telephone number: +47 97 39 26 72; Supervisor: Professor Vebjørng Tingstad, Telephone number: +47 73 59 62 49).

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Appendix 2

Consent form

Consent for participation in the study

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate

(Signed by participant, date)

Parent(s)/Gate Keeper(s)

I have read the above information and agree that my child take part in this project

.....
(Signed by parent, date)

Appendix 3

Profile of immigrants in Norway for the year 2016

According to Statistics Norway, the total number of immigrants in Norway as of January 1, 2016 was 848, 207 accounting for 16.3 per cent of the total population. This figure is made up of 698, 550 immigrants (first generation immigrants including children) and 149, 657 Norwegian-born to immigrant parents (referred herein as descendants of immigrants/second generation immigrants including children) (Statistics Norway, 2016).

Out of the total figure, 359, 508 immigrants including children come from the 28 European Union (EU) and European Economic Area (EEA) countries. European countries outside of EU/EEA have 71, 163 immigrants including children. Immigrants from Africa are 114, 304 including children. Immigrants including children from Asia including Turkey are 265, 721. Those from North America are 11, 072 including children. South and Central America has 24, 256 immigrants including children. Last but not least are 2, 183 immigrants including children who come from Oceania (Statistics Norway, 2016).