UiT The Arctic University of Norway

Faculty of Health Sciences, Department of Social Education

Integration and the Voluntary Sector: An Unfavourable Pairing, or the Perfect Match?

Exploring Integration Processes of Immigrants through and in the Voluntary Sector in Norway

Barbara Sophia Stein

A dissertation for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor – July 2023

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Summary

In recent decades and in the light of growing migration worldwide, immigration has become increasingly discussed in western countries, including Norway, raising questions about how to incorporate the new residents in society. After a long period of putting integration almost exclusively on a par with employment, the voluntary sector has gained attention as an arena for integration. The aim of this thesis is to explore how volunteerism and processes of and around integration interact, and where and how the voluntary sector may facilitate – or hamper – integration processes in a Norwegian setting. This thesis thus addresses the recent shift towards *everyday life integration* in Norwegian policymaking.

Applying a critical approach to the concept of integration, this thesis scrutinizes power relations between the various actors in the field: policymakers, voluntary actors, and immigrants in the voluntary sector. To do so, the theoretical and analytical lens for the thesis is inspired by Foucauldian poststructuralism aiming to critically examine discourses and aspects of power in the 'volunteerism – integration' intersection. This thesis' ambition is *not* to contribute further to the underlying structures and power relations based on the histories of colonialism and othering within the integration field. Rather, its aim is to 'reverse' the lens and to uncover structures and power relations which affect integration processes of immigrants with the voluntary sector in Norway as arena.

This doctoral project is a multimethod study in that the three papers making up this thesis use a different method from within the qualitative tradition: **Paper 1** is a document analysis of twenty-nine governmental documents on integration and volunteerism published between 1973 and 2021, investigating how the concept of integration is understood and problematized applying Bacchi's *What's the problem represented to be?* (WPR) approach. **Paper 2** is an exploratory study and draws on one focus group discussion with eight participants with a background in volunteering and integration. This paper explores minoritizing processes in social connections and relations between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants through analysing narratives and the participants' ideas of how the voluntary sector can contribute to integration processes of immigrants. **Paper 3** draws on five focus group

discussions with immigrants exploring through a social-constructionist lens how they perceive and experience volunteering, the voluntary sector and participating in it in a Norwegian setting.

The thesis finds that integration in policy documents has been problematized as (lack of) employment, in particular with refugees and asylum-seekers in mind. The voluntary sector has come to the fore in recent years' policymaking as part of *everyday life integration*. Yet, the thesis also finds that volunteerism as an arena for integration (processes) holds its own pitfalls, including minoritization through discourses of immigrants 'in need' and unequal relationships resembling service provider/service recipient relationships. Further, immigrants' own understandings and experiences may overlap to a quite small degree with what either policymakers or voluntary actors may have in mind when it comes to integration. Thus, integration and volunteerism may be both a perfect match *and* an unfavourable pairing.

Sammendrag

De siste tiårene og i lys av økende migrasjon over hele verden, har innvandring blitt stadig mer diskutert i vestlige land, inkludert Norge, og det reises spørsmål om hvordan de nye innbyggere skal innlemmes i samfunnet. Etter en lang periode med å sette integrering nesten utelukkende på lik linje med sysselsetting, har frivillighet fått økende oppmerksomhet som arena for integrering. Formålet med denne doktorgradsavhandlingen er å utforske hvordan frivillighet og prosesser knyttet til integrering virker sammen, og hvor og hvordan frivillighet kan fremme – eller hemme – integreringsprosesser i en norsk sammenheng. Avhandlingen tar dermed for seg det nylige skiftet mot *hverdagsintegrering* i norsk politikk.

Avhandlingen anvender en kritisk tilnærming til integreringskonseptet og undersøker maktrelasjoner mellom ulike aktører i feltet: politikere, frivillige aktører og innvandrere i frivillig sektor. Det teoretiske og analytiske perspektivet i avhandlingen er inspirert av Foucault sin poststrukturalistiske tekning og sikter mot å undersøke diskurser og aspekter ved makt i skjæringspunktet 'frivillighet – integrering'. Avhandlingens ambisjon er *ikke* å bidra ytterligere til underliggende strukturer og maktrelasjoner bygd på kolonialistiske og fremmedgjørende historiske begivenheter i integreringsfeltet. Den sikter heller mot å 'snu om' blikket og å avdekke strukturer og maktrelasjoner som påvirker integreringsprosesser til innvandrere med norsk frivillighet som arena.

Dette doktorgradsprosjekt er en multimetodisk undersøkelse og består av tre forskningsartikler som anvender hver en annen kvalitativ forskningsmetode: **Paper 1** er en dokumentanalyse av 29 politiske dokumenter som omhandler integrering og frivillighet og er publisert mellom 1973 og 2021. Studien undersøker hvordan integreringskonseptet er forstått og problematisert i dokumentene gjennom å anvende Bacchi sin *What's the problem represented to be?* (WPR) tilnærming. **Paper 2** er en eksplorativ undersøkelse av én fokusgruppediskusjon med åtte deltakere med bakgrunn i frivillighet og integrering. Denne artikkelen undersøker minoriserende prosesser i sosiale relasjoner mellom (norske) frivillige og innvandrerdeltakere gjennom å analysere narrativer og deltakernes ideer av hvordan frivillighet kan bidra til innvandreres integreringsprosesser. **Paper 3** bygger på fem fokusgruppediskusjoner med

innvandrere og anvender en sosialkonstruksjonistisk tilnærming. Artikkelen undersøker deltakernes oppfatninger av og erfaringer med å være frivillig og delta i norsk frivillighet.

Denne avhandlingen finner at integrering i politiske dokumenter har vært problematisert som (mangel av) sysselsetting, spesielt med tanke på flyktninger og asylsøkere, men at frivilligheten har kommet opp i nyere tids politikkutforming som del av *hverdagsintegrering*. Avhandlingen finner videre at frivillighet kan fremme integrering, men at frivillighet som arena for integrering(sprosesser) kan ha noen fallgruver, blant annet minorisering gjennom diskurser om 'hjelpetrengende' innvandrere, umake relasjoner med skjeve maktforhold, som ligner på relasjoner mellom tjenesteyter/tjenestemottaker og ulike forståelser av hva frivillighet kan være. Følgelig kan integrering og frivillighet være både en perfekt match *og* en ugunstig paring.

List of papers

The following papers are included in this thesis, and will hereafter be referred to as **Paper 1**, **Paper 2**, and **Paper 3**. All three papers are attached at the end of the thesis.

Paper 1

Stein, B. & Fedreheim G. E. (2022). Problematization of integration in Norwegian policymaking – integration through employment or volunteerism? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *45*(16), 614-636. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2118544

Paper 2

Stein, B. (2022). Minoritizing Processes and Power Relations between Volunteers and Immigrant Participants—An Example from Norway. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *12*(1), 21-37. https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.436

Paper 3

Stein, B. (n.d.). *Volunteering from an immigrant perspective – An example from Norway*. [Manuscript]. Department of Social Education, UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

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Selected abbreviations

EEA	European Economic Area
EU/ EU27	European Union/ European Union after the United Kingdom left the European Union in 2020
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMDi	The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (*Integrerings- og manfoldsdirektoratet*)
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data (*Norsk senter for forskningsdata)*
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SSB	Statistics Norway (*Statistisk sentralbyrå*)
WPR	*What's the problem represented to be?* (An analytical approach introduced by Bacchi (2009))

Preamble

Dear reader,

In this thesis you will find terms and expressions that are central both in Norwegian societal life and in this project. Unfortunately, some of them are rather difficult to translate from Norwegian to English. The following overview of some of these terms is first and foremost for you, who is not quite familiar with the Norwegian language and culture. I hope that it may serve as a form of glossary for you.

Dugnad	The concept of *dugnad* is an essential part of Norwegian volunteering and societal life. The closest translation to English would be *voluntary community work*. Usually singular events, *dugnader* are aimed at a common cause serving a community such as cleaning and fixing things in the neighbourhood after winter or baking waffles for a social event in schools or sports clubs. (https://snl.no/dugnad)
Frivillighet	The concept of *frivillighet*, sometimes also *frivillig sektor* (Engl. voluntary sector) or *frivillig arbeid* (Engl. voluntary work), is a central aspect within Norwegian society and encompasses any unpaid activity, organized or informal, outside of one's home. It comprises thus in its meaning a mixture of what in English could be called 'voluntary sector', 'volunteering' or 'civil society'. In this thesis I use the terms *voluntary sector* and *volunteerism* synonymously to cover the concept *frivillighet* and to reflect the use of terms in the original Norwegian language. (https://www.frivillighetnorge.no/fakta/hva-er-frivillighet/)
Innst. X S / Innst. St. nr. X	Report to the Parliament (Standing committees' reports to the Parliament)
Lov X	Act or statute (made by legislative bodies)
Meld. St. X / St.meld. X	White paper (Government initiated paper to report/discuss a certain topic)

NOU X	Norwegian official report (Government appointed committee report on specific topics)
Prop. X S / St. prp. X	Proposition to the Parliament (Government initiated propositions to the Parliament)

1. Introduction

In recent decades and in the light of growing migration worldwide, immigration is increasingly discussed in western countries, including Norway, raising questions about how to incorporate the new residents in society. After a long period of putting integration almost exclusively on a par with employment, the voluntary sector has gained attention as an arena for integration among others by Norwegian policymakers particularly regarding the integration of immigrant children but also to a lesser degree of adult immigrants (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017; **Paper 1**)[1]. Not least since the release of the Norwegian government's strategy *Everyday life integration – strategy to strengthen the civil society's role in the integration field 2021-2024* (Hverdagsintegrering strategi, 2021)[2], volunteerism has entered the front stage of the debate on integration in Norway (see also Integreringsstrategi, 2018; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2021).

1.1 Purpose, aim and research objectives

This thesis is situated in the gap between setting on a par integration with employment and the recent shift in focus to *everyday life integration*. Though integration and inclusion in the labour market play an important role for immigrants to settle in (e.g. Stein, 2017; Valenta, 2008), research shows that this approach is often too short-sighted and neglecting other crucial aspects of settling into and the feeling of belonging to a (new) society (e.g. Ager & Strang, 2008). The aim of this thesis is to **explore how volunteerism and processes of and around integration interact, and where and how the voluntary sector may facilitate – or hamper – integration processes.**

Integration as a concept is highly contested and has in recent years been increasingly scrutinized in particular within critical migration studies. In this thesis, I follow Klarenbeek (2019a) who proposes to see integration ultimately as an utopian goal, an ideal type, or more precisely as a "society in which there are no social boundaries between 'legitimate members',

[1] I understand immigrants as persons who are foreign-born with two foreign-born parents and four foreign-born grandparents (cf. Statistics Norway [SSB]).

[2] If not otherwise stated, all citations not originally written in English have been translated by me.

or insiders, and 'non-legitimate members', or outsiders" (Klarenbeek, 2019a, p. 2). I thus understand integration as processual since the utopian goal can never be reached. The processes linked to the idea of integration are manifold and present in a large variety of social and societal aspects (e.g. Ager & Strang, 2008). In **chapter 2.1** I provide a more detailed conceptual introduction to integration and how I apply it in this thesis.

Due to the complexity of the processes linked to the concept of integration, I use the Norwegian voluntary sector as one example of these processes. This is because the voluntary sector in Norway plays a significant role in society and is – at least in theory – open to anyone who wishes to join it. It forms an arena beyond the usual foci of language and employment to look at how integration happens 'on the ground'. When writing about volunteerism or the voluntary sector in this thesis, I refer to what in Norwegian is called *frivillighet*, sometimes also *frivillig sektor* (Engl. voluntary sector) or *frivillig arbeid* (Engl. voluntary work). The concept of *frivillighet* is a central aspect within Norwegian society and encompasses any unpaid activity, organized or informal, outside of one's home (Meld. St. 10 (2018-2019)). It thus comprises in its meaning a mixture of what in English would be called 'voluntary sector', 'volunteering' or 'civil society'. In this thesis, I use the terms voluntary sector and volunteerism synonymously to cover the concept *frivillighet* and to reflect the use of terms in the original Norwegian language. I will present the Norwegian voluntary sector in more depth in **chapter 2.4**.

I have broken down this thesis's rather comprehensive aim into three smaller objectives, corresponding to the three papers that are part of this thesis. **Table 1** provides an overview of all three research objectives, the corresponding papers, and the empirical data and analytical approaches applied to address each objective. In this thesis, I will show that the three research objectives, and the respective publications, are different sides to the same coin and that they are interconnected. Looking at the pairing 'integration – volunteerism' from different perspectives and methods allows to detangle complex relationships and connections. It is important to mention that the aim is *not* to identify what integration *is*, but rather study the processes of integration, which outer factors may affect these processes, and individual experiences of them in the context of volunteerism.

The first of the three smaller research objectives concerns the investigation of **how the concept of integration is understood and problematized in Norwegian policy documents**. The aim has been to uncover historical developments leading up to today's understandings by investigating twenty-nine governmental documents published between 1973 and 2021. During

Table 1 *Overview of the research objectives and publications*

Research objective	Empirical data	Analytical approach	Publication	Journal	Status	Co-authors
To investigate how integration has been problematized in Norwegian policy documents	Twenty-nine governmental documents published in Norway between 1973 and 2021	Policy analysis inspired by Bacchi´s `What´s the problem represented to be?´ approach (Bacchi, 2009)	**Paper 1**	Ethnic and Racial Studies (level 2)	Published	Gunn Elin Fedreheim
To explore power relations between volunteers and immigrant participants and the potential for minoritization processes in voluntary activities	One focus group discussion following a semi-structured interview guide with eight participants with a background in volunteering	Exploratory and abductive approach	**Paper 2**	Nordic Journal of Migration Research (level 1)	Published	—
To explore how immigrants perceive the Norwegian voluntary sector and experience participating in it	Five focus group discussions following a semi-structured interview guide with in total eighteen immigrants	Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2022)	**Paper 3**	—	Manuscript	—

the policy analysis inspired by Bacchi's *What's the problem represented to be?* (WPR) approach (Bacchi, 2009), special attention was paid to the increasing visibility of the voluntary sector in relation to integration in these policies. The WPR approach allows to investigate how policies rather "give shape to 'problems'" (Bacchi, 2009, p. x) instead of simply acknowledging that policies solve some kind of "social problems". Accordingly, governing takes place through these problem representations, and Bacchi (2009) argues that it is important to reflect on where those representations come from and how they operate to shape "realities". The background for this research objective is to be found in the aim to understand the development of the concept of integration in the local and social context of Norway. A policy analysis of the concept provides the background information for measures and opportunities linked to integration processes, as well as the feasibility within this frame given by the policies. In exploring the historical developments, one may further find answers in how the concept of *everyday life integration* came to be, and how the voluntary sector has been placed there. This research objective is addressed in **Paper 1**.

The second research objective is **to explore power relations between volunteers and immigrant participants and the potential for minoritization processes in voluntary activities**. Based on an exploratory approach of one focus group discussion with eight participants with a background in volunteering, the aim is to explore a side of volunteering previous research has paid little attention to in the context of immigration and integration. Exploring social connections and relations between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants through analysing narratives of the focus group participants and their ideas of how the voluntary sector can contribute to integration processes of immigrants may provide insight into potential traits leading to minoritizing of immigrants within volunteering with and/or for immigrants. This research objective aims at contributing to a more nuanced picture of integration processes in and through voluntary activities and is addressed in **Paper 2**.

The third research objective of this doctoral project pertains to the question of **how immigrants perceive and experience volunteering, the voluntary sector in Norway and participating in it**. While there is a relatively large body of publications on how the civil society and voluntary organizations may contribute to integration (processes) and how they can tackle the increasing diversity in their respective communities, there is little known on how immigrants experience and perceive voluntary activities and the voluntary sector in general. Most research seems to address the questions on *who* and *what* in addition to *why immigrants should join voluntary activities,* yet there is little literature on the question of *how* and *why* immigrants join voluntary activities and/or organizations in a new country of residence, and

how they experience volunteering in the new context. Considering that volunteering and the voluntary sector in general have been assigned growing importance for (everyday life) integration in Norway, this knowledge gap seems to be considerable and might have consequences for policymaking related to integration of immigrants. This research objective is addressed in **Paper 3**.

1.2 The thesis's contribution and relevance

The analyses in this thesis are conducted on the basis of a diverse and rich set of data: each paper applies a different method for data collection, making this thesis a multimethod study. Such a multimethod approach can be advantageous as it can provide empirical breadth to and multiple perspectives on a complex phenomenon. Though a multimethod study, the analytical lenses on the data material are all rooted in a Foucauldian-inspired poststructuralist approach. The thesis's ambition is to uncover discourses, narratives, and power relations in the intersection 'integration – volunteerism'. Thus, this thesis adds insight into the public institutions' expectations towards volunteerism, as well as critically addresses the interplay between the voluntary and public sector and integration.

This thesis's contribution and relevance should be seen in the light of increasing migration, increasing political focus on integration (processes), and economical questions in particular concerning the welfare state. As mentioned earlier, my ambition is not to identify what integration is. Rather, the focus is on the frames defining and affecting how integration is understood and takes place. Accordingly, this thesis contributes to an ongoing debate and sheds light on policymakers' aims to increasingly include voluntary actors in integration. The findings would hence be of relevance to both policymakers on a national and municipal level, but also to actors within the voluntary sector.

1.3 A reader's guide

Writing an article-based thesis can be challenging in terms of structure and showing how the three articles cohere in a meaningful manner. Though being part of one big project, each article can be read as a stand-alone (smaller) project, and the art is to show both the component parts and the bigger picture. This ultimate goal is further complicated by the time that one has spent on the project and evolved both skills, knowledge and understanding for the field and methods. I have tried my best to do justice to both the individual components of the papers, showing the connection between them and the overarching project and objective.

Chapter 2 should be understood as the background chapter for both the thesis in its entirety and the individual papers. Here, I will present a brief overview of immigration to Norway, a conceptual introduction to integration and more concretely its significance in a Norwegian – and Nordic – context. Further, I will provide an introduction to the Norwegian voluntary sector and how it has been previously put into relation with immigration. Concludingly, I will bind these three aspects – immigration, integration, and volunteerism – together, delineating the knowledge gap this thesis seeks to fill.

The following **chapter 3** provides the theoretical backdrop for this doctoral project. The theoretical approach for the project and the individual papers was inspired by poststructuralist thought. In this chapter, I will first present the poststructuralist and Foucault-inspired approach applied in the overarching project. Subsequently, I will show specifically how this approach has informed the theoretical approaches to the individual papers and the significance for the papers' analytical frameworks.

In **chapter 4**, I will present the research design for the thesis and the individual papers. This chapter includes the superordinate research strategy, which is informed by abductive logic, before subsequently presenting the individual papers' research designs, including the methods used for data collection and analytic processes. This chapter also addresses ethical considerations regarding data collection, data generation, and analysis.

In **chapter 5**, I will briefly present and summarize the findings of the individual papers, which I will then discuss in detail in **chapter 6**. In this chapter, I will discuss shared themes in the three papers, before 'stitching' it together in **chapter 6.4** to provide a more overarching discussion of the findings in the light of a Foucauldian-inspired poststructuralist approach.

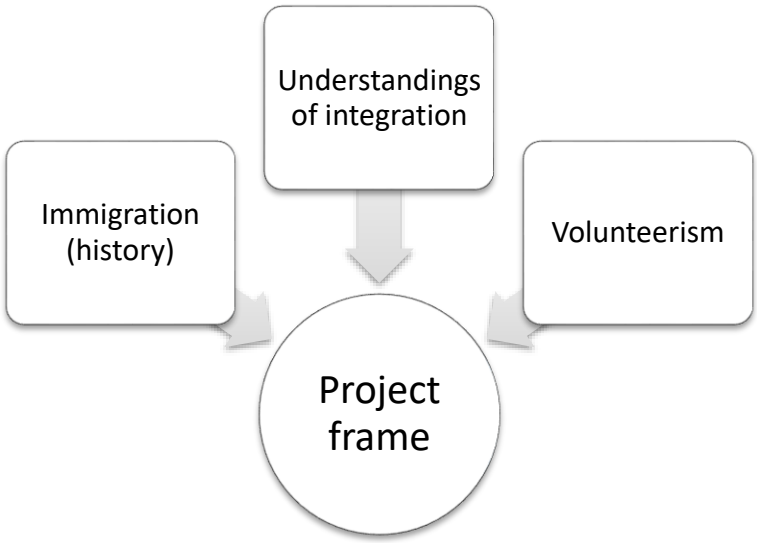
In **chapter 7**, I will present some concluding thoughts, the potential significance for the research field and future research.

2. Framing the project

In this chapter, I will outline the frame for this thesis and the knowledge gap I seek to fill with it. The frame for this doctoral project consists of three cornerstones, as illustrated in **Figure 1**: (1) the immigration history of Norway; (2) how this history has led to debates concerning the incorporation of immigrants in the Norwegian society which is commonly called "integration"; and (3) the voluntary sector in Norway and the Nordic countries, and its inclusion in the debates on immigration and integration. It is worth mentioning, that though the three aspects are visualized here as separate entities, they are connected to each other. Particularly the immigration history and understandings of integration are intertwined and to a degree even interdependent.

Though this doctoral project is based in Norway and draws on data collected in Norway, it would be too narrow to address issues concerning immigration and integration only from a Norwegian context. The Nordic countries share an intertwined history, and hence certain aspects and characteristics are very similar across borders, such as the so-called Nordic welfare

Figure 1 *Visualization of the project frame*



state model[3]. In addition, the Nordic countries closely track events and trends in their neighbouring countries which in turn affect the individual countries' reactions to these events, as will be shown for instance for the case of immigration (policies). Thus, though the main focus remains on Norway, in the following framing of the project I also touch upon developments from the other Nordic countries. I will further point out developments in the EU and European Economic Area (EEA) since Norway as a member of the EEA must act according to its regulations. Of particular interest are regulations concerning the free market leading to citizens holding the citizenship of one of the other EU or EEA countries being able to move freely across borders, including to Norway (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014).

2.1 A conceptual introduction to integration

Integration is a central aspect of this project, yet it is a complex concept and has been mentioned to be "chaotic" (Samers, 1998, p. 128) and "a conceptual quagmire" (Schinkel, 2018, p. 2). Its understanding is embedded into a wider socio-political context, framed by historical events, political ideas and ideologies, and research. Depending on the arena where the concept is used – research, policymaking, or wider public discourses – its meanings and understandings can vary quite significantly. Therefore, the concept is neither objective, nor "neutral" (Gullestad, 2002b, p. 77) or "innocent" (Rytter, 2018, p. 2), having furthermore become more and more politicized in recent decades. Still, it remains the go-to term in Norway when referring to issues related to the incorporation of immigrants into the Norwegian society covering different aspects: social, economic, political, cultural (Rytter, 2018, p. 4). Yet, underlying ideas and structures are seldom explicitly addressed and neither is the question of "Who integrates whom into what?" (cf. Castles et al., 2002). In the next sections, I will first briefly present academic considerations regarding the concept of integration before addressing debates and considerations regarding integration in the Norwegian and Nordic context.

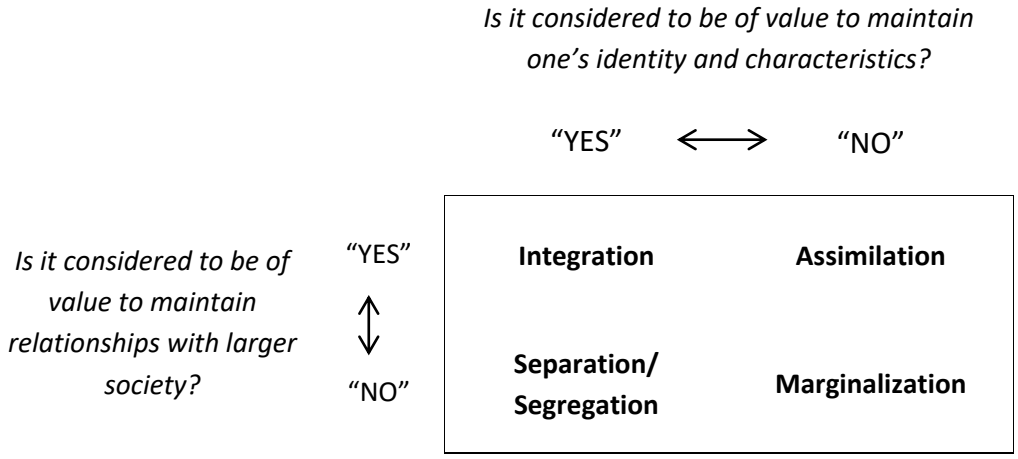
The roots of the concept of integration lie in sociological scholarship and its considerations on the compositions of society consisting of different groups, and more precisely the incorporation of marginalized groups into society. Based on this scholarship, integration as a notion is closely related to the concepts *segregation*, *assimilation*, and *inclusion* (Martiniello & Rath, 2014). Psychological scholarship addresses similar issues under the concept of *acculturation* (Berry, 1997). In this line of scholarship, Berry (1997) suggests that integration,

[3] The category 'Nordic countries' usually encompasses Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, while the category 'Scandinavia' encompasses only Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

assimilation, segregation and marginalization are different *acculturation strategies* which can be placed in a matrix along two axes addressing the value of maintaining one's identity on the one hand and the value of maintaining relationships with the larger society on the other hand, as shown in **Figure 2**. Integration in this model is understood as the strategy where both maintaining one's own identity and maintaining relationships with the larger society are considered to be of value. On the opposite end, Berry sees segregation where neither maintaining one's own identity nor maintaining relationships with the larger society are considered to be of value.

In recent years, the concept of *immigrant integration* and approaches to study it have increasingly been under scrutiny in academia (see among many others Korteweg, 2017; Rytter, 2018; Schinkel, 2018; Sjørslev, 2011; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). Usually used in context of immigration, integration refers to processes of accommodation and settlement of immigrants. In an applied sense, these processes can cover various aspects, from housing and health to employment and citizenship (Ager & Strang, 2008). The problem however in many discourses on or about integration is often that the 'natives', 'non-immigrants' or 'insiders' become the benchmark for the 'immigrants' or 'outsiders' more generally (Klarenbeek, 2019a; Rytter, 2018; Schinkel, 2018). One could hence argue that the concept of immigrant integration has a directional connotation to it and seldomly describes a two-way process as which it is conceived (see e.g. the Norwegian government's integration strategy, Integreringsstrategi (2018)). On the contrary, more often than not, integration is a one-way process in which it is the immigrants' task to integrate whereas the society at large does not get involved (Klarenbeek, 2019a). The 'immigrants' – whoever they are – are to integrate into 'the society' – whatever that is. The

Figure 2 *Acculturation strategies (adapted from* Berry (1997)*)*



danger therefore when talking of or about integration is that 'the society' reflects a concept representing a norm of how social life should look like (Schinkel, 2018). Thus, 'integration' or 'integrating' becomes a process in which the outsiders should aspire to that norm.

This critical understanding of integration reaches further than the model by Berry (1997). One could argue that it is also a critique of the model in that suggests that integration is an ideal that immigrants cannot reach, and the question of whether it is considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics becomes obsolete. In this critique of the concept integration, the argument is that there is an underlying power imbalance allowing 'the society' to stay 'as it is' whereas 'the immigrants', and anybody else deemed "too foreign" (Klarenbeek, 2019a, p. 905), are to adapt to this norm. Integration may even create a "host-guest scenario" in which integration always favours the majority population in an asymmetrical cultural model (Rytter, 2018, p. 10). At the same time, there is the danger of perpetuating an underlying connotation of 'you are here, but you do not truly belong (yet)' (Rytter, 2018). In addition, understandings of and approaches to integration may be embedded in racialized structures, putting some immigrants more into a position of 'needing to integrate' than others, as has been shown by among others Korteweg (2017). Thus, the concept of integration, and not least *reaching* integration, seems to be a hopeless endeavour that the minority which is to be integrated cannot win. Yet, the question remains how one can create it, if one assumes integration ultimately is an ideal goal, as Klarenbeek (2019a) proposes, seeking to create a society in which there is social justice and there are no social boundaries.

Though integration as a concept has its roots in sociological scholarship, it is equally important to address the usage and understandings of the concept in 'real life'. As I have mentioned earlier, the concept is affected and shaped by the wider sociohistorical and political context, in addition to the theoretical considerations. Though the understandings of the concept integration can vary widely, the term has in most western countries become the go-to term when talking about the processes revolving around the incorporation of immigrants into society. As I have shown, this understanding is based on several problematic underlying assumptions such as power imbalances. I follow Korteweg's suggestion

> that as researchers we take as our starting point that when it comes to settling or settled 'immigrants' they are always already fully part of the society they live in—even the most racialized discourses are only possible because 'immigrants' are deeply embedded in contemporary societies in which they are racialized; if they were not already part of these societies, then racialized discourse would be illegible. (Korteweg, 2017, p. 439)

Compliant with this notion, I assume in this thesis that immigrants already are part of society in Norway, irrespective of their (assigned) status as (not) integrated.

I will now provide a historical overview of modern immigration to Norway as previous developments and historical events shape present structures and discourses.

2.2 Immigration to Norway: A historical overview

The modern history of immigration as well as research on migration to Norway starts in the 1960s (Midtbøen, 2017). In the period since the end of World War II, only a smaller number of refugees arrived in Norway and in 1970, most immigrants came from other OECD countries, respectively Denmark, Finland, Great Britain, Germany, Netherlands, and USA. It was not until 1967 that the number of immigrants in general exceeded the number of emigrants, though immigrants still only made up short of 2% of the total population (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014, p. 202). At that point in time, Norway's economy was growing and the industry's need for workers grew alongside it. Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2014) point out, that immigration was not seen as important or problematic by neither researchers nor politicians, and there is little research or other documents on immigration from that time. At the turn of the decade, the situation became more complex. In the beginning of the 1970s, immigration had become a highly discussed topic in the media due not least to the developments in the neighbouring countries Denmark and Sweden, though the numbers of immigrants to Norway remained small (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014). Concurrently, research on topics related to migration gained traction (Midtbøen, 2017).

In 1974, the government proposed a (temporary) immigration stop though it also provided exceptions. In the wake of finding oil and a general economic growth in the country, the rules allowed for desperately needed workers to migrate to Norway, while those that were seen as "superfluous, or worse: seen as a burden for society" (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014, p. 225) were restricted entry. Thus, immigration became more regulated, and these events set the tone for the coming decades' immigration policies. Simultaneously, growing numbers of immigrants – in particular guestworkers who decided to stay in Norway – raised the question of integration and processes regarding the adjustment to the Norwegian society came to the forefront politically (e.g. St.meld. nr. 39 (1973-74))[4]. One of the reasonings behind the immigration stop was hence "to give breathing space to improve the conditions for foreigners who already are in

[4] Check the **Preamble** for explanations and translations of the abbreviations used in Norwegian political documents.

the country and to create better conditions for future immigrants" (St.meld. nr. 107 (1975-76), p. 21). This could be seen as one of the earliest political advances to ensure and facilitate integration of immigrants in Norway.

Throughout the 1980s, the numbers of immigrants rose slowly but steadily, notwithstanding the politically imposed immigration stop. Especially the number of people coming as refugees to Norway from countries such as Vietnam, Chile, Iran, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia had risen compared to the previous decade, in part because more refugees arrived on their own and not through a quota (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014; Midtbøen, 2017). In 1990, immigrants made up 3,6% of the Norwegian population (Statistics Norway [SSB], 2022a, 2022b).

With the end of the Cold War in 1991, immigration to Norway changed once again, concurrently with the development of the European Single Market and the resulting facilitation of inner-European mobility (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014). Though Norway was and is not a member of the European Union, a close relationship and cooperation with the EU meant that it has still been affected by developments made on the EU and EEA level. The 1990s brought in addition another increase in asylum-seekers from among others Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014). Growing numbers of immigrants living in Norway affected furthermore academic discussions and research. In the 1990s, the notion *multiculturalism* was introduced, in particular in the academic discourses at that time (Midtbøen, 2017). In a nutshell, the debate revolved around the difficult balancing act between cultural relativism on the one hand and assimilation on the other (Midtbøen, 2017); or more precisely, between liberal ideals; that is the freedom to live one's life as one wishes, on the one hand, and democratic values and ideals of equality on the other hand (e.g. Brochmann et al., 2002). By the year 2000, immigrants made up 5,3% of the total population in Norway (SSB, 2022a, 2022b).

The start of the new millennium was marked by the terror attacks of 9/11 which left its impression on Norway's immigration and integration policies such as tightening refugee and asylum policy and the publication of the so-called Introduction Act (Midtbøen, 2017). Another incision in Norway's immigration history in this time period is the expansion of the EU in 2004 and 2007 which brought with it a significant number of immigrants from Eastern European countries leading to Polish immigrants becoming the largest group of immigrants in Norway within a relatively short time span (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014; Midtbøen, 2017). By 2010, immigrants made up 9,4% of the total population compared to 6,5% five years earlier (SSB, 2022a; SSB, 2022b). Twelve years later, in 2022, 819.356 immigrants live in Norway making up 15,2% of the population (SSB, 2022a; SSB, 2022b). The largest portion of immigrants,

namely 7,7%, come from the EU27/EEA/UK. The remaining 11,2% are made up as following: Asia with Turkey 6,3%, Africa 2,7%, Europe excluding EU27/EEA/UK 1,9%, the Americas 9,7% (SSB, 2022c).

I have already peripherally addressed the development of Norway's immigration and integration policies. These, of course, have had a strong influence on who and how many have been migrating to Norway, just as the factors of *who* and *how many* have been influencing said policies. The development of Norway's integration policies since the 1970s is a central aspect of **Paper 1** (see also **chapter 5.1**).

2.2.1 Immigration's impact on the Nordic welfare state model

With growing international migration after the end of World War II, not only in the Nordic region but worldwide (de Haas et al., 2020), and increasing numbers of persons with immigrant background residing in Norway, the interest grew in achieving and facilitating integration (Midtbøen, 2017; see also **Paper 1**). At the same time concerns arose regarding the incorporation of immigrants into the welfare state.

The Nordic welfare state model is universal and thus rather comprehensive and not least costly. It is founded on the basic ideal of equal treatment and applies in theory to any legal resident (Brochmann, 2014; Hagelund & Brochmann, 2007). This universalistic approach has led to concerns in Norway regarding the sustainability of the welfare state with increasing numbers of immigrants (NOU 2011: 7; NOU 2017: 2). According to Brochmann and Hagelund (2011), the main reasons for these concerns have been that increasing immigration, and especially growing numbers of refugees, may lead to increasing numbers of welfare recipients who do not necessarily contribute to the welfare state by for instance paying taxes. Thus, the welfare state model faces a paradox: On the one hand, its perquisite is to support any of its residents, yet on the other hand, it is only sustainable if as many of its residents as possible are active members of the workforce to support the system financially through paying taxes. Another challenge concerns the availability of welfare state measures to different groups. For Norway, Valenta and Strabac (2011) show that many of the state-assisted integration services apply only to certain immigrant groups. They show that labour migrants, especially from the then new EU-countries mainly in Eastern Europe, tend to not receive the same amount of assistance as other immigrant groups do. The authors argue that this in fact is challenging the notion of universality of the welfare state.

It is important here to point out that though the welfare state model is quite similar across the Nordic, and especially Scandinavian, countries, the countries' approaches to how to tackle

immigration and integration in light of their welfare state models have been diverse (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011; Hagelund, 2020; Midtbøen, 2015). Sweden has been known to follow relatively liberal immigration and integration policies, which has been standing in contrast to Scandinavia's most restrictive approach in Denmark, while Norway has been placed somewhere in-between these two 'extremes'[5]. These approaches have among others affected requirements and support in immigrants' integration processes.

2.3 The Norwegian voluntary sector and immigrants' volunteering

Generally, volunteering refers to any non-obligatory, unpaid work performed outside of one's own household (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2011). Yet, volunteering is an act that is deeply embedded into historical, social, political and traditional structures (Wilson, 2012), which makes comparisons not least across borders difficult. In Norway, and the Nordic countries more generally, volunteerism has traditionally played a central role in societal life (e.g. Karlsdóttir et al., 2020). Roughly two thirds of the Norwegian population reported in 2021 that they had done voluntary work the previous year (Frivillighet Norge, 2021b). Though these numbers have been considerably lower during the COVID19-pandemic and the subsequently imposed restrictions to contain spreading, the voluntary sector is recovering, and participation and contributions are nearly back to pre-pandemic levels (Frivillighet Norge, 2021a, 2021b; Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig sektor, 2022).

Volunteering can come in a wide range of forms and there are several ways to get involved in the voluntary sector in Norway. Regarding voluntary activities and organizations, one can distinguish between members, volunteers, and participants. *Member* means that one usually pays an annual membership fee to a voluntary organization. Being a member however does not necessarily mean that one gets actively involved in what is happening within the organization. At the same time, it is not strictly necessary to be a paying member to volunteer for something though it often is the case especially in more formalized settings, such as sports clubs. As to the category *participant*, I refer here to persons participating in activities without actively organising the activity, that is a recipient of an offer organized by volunteers or a voluntary organization. Further, *volunteers* are usually persons performing any non-obligatory, unpaid work outside of one's own household (ILO, 2011). In many surveys and studies, among others

[5] This is of course an over-simplification of the different countries' approaches to immigration and integration, and they have been under constant development. It remains for instance to be seen how the autumn 2022 elections in Sweden will affect the country's immigration and integration policies as the government changes from a liberal-left to a conservative-right government.

with a geographical focus on Norway or the Nordic countries, there is a tendency to not clearly delineate what is meant when speaking of volunteering. This may cause further complications to studying it.

Regarding the voluntary sector, one can distinguish three categories of organizations (Ødegård et al., 2014): Leisure organizations and humanitarian or aid organizations form the largest part of the Norwegian voluntary sector. The third category encompasses faith groups and organizations, though it can be argued that they fall somewhat in-between the first two[6]. Roughly speaking, within leisure organizations, all members and participants come together over a common interest, such as sports clubs or other interest groups. Aid or humanitarian organizations in turn offer a service or are there to help and support. Examples of such organizations are The Red Cross, Save the Children or Amnesty International. The three categories are not always very distinct and may overlap. For example, faith groups may offer both leisure and aid activities while organizations usually focused on leisure activities may also provide aid or humanitarian offers.

Alongside the trisection as suggested by Ødegård and colleagues (2014), one could also differentiate between what could be called 'traditional' or 'mainstream' organizations and 'immigrant organizations'. The latter describes groups organized by immigrants for immigrants, but thus do not reflect the diversity of the Norwegian society at large. The former category by contrast encompasses organizations that are well established both within the Norwegian society and the formalized voluntary sector, and are made up largely by the non-immigrant population.

2.3.1 Immigrants' participation in the voluntary sector

When it comes to immigrants' participation in the Norwegian voluntary sector, studies show that immigrants tend to participate less in and/or in different areas of the voluntary sector compared to the majority population (e.g. Eimhjellen, 2016; Eimhjellen & Segaard, 2010; Enjolras & Wollebaek, 2010; Vogel & Triandafyllidou, 2015; Voicu & Şerban, 2012), though it needs to be mentioned that the umbrella 'immigrant population' encompasses a large variety of groups and people. Furthermore, statistics on volunteering can be quite inaccurate, as understandings of what constitutes volunteering vary or volunteering can carry a negative

[6]See Handy & Greenspan (2009) for a more detailed study on immigrants' volunteering involvement in religious congregation and how immigrant congregations can serve as social and communal centres instead of only being exclusively worship oriented.

connotation based on historic events (Hustinx et al., 2010, p. 414; ILO, 2011, p. 11). One recent survey from Norway shows in fact that participation rates are relatively similar among the majority and minority population (Dalen et al., 2022) pointing towards different understandings or assumptions in surveys and responses. It thus remains unclear, how the different population groups actually compare to each other, resulting in another challenge when studying volunteering.

One key reason for lower participation of immigrants in some areas of the voluntary sector has been mentioned to be socio-economic circumstances as immigrants tend to have a lower income compared to the non-immigrant population in Norway (Eimhjellen & Arnesen, 2018). Some organizations try to tackle that problem by offering reduced memberships for refugees. In addition, some municipalities or voluntary organizations have support mechanisms in place to allow children from low-income families to participate[7]. Furthermore, studies show that there are other barriers in place making it difficult for immigrants to join voluntary activities and organizations. These barriers can be found on an individual, organizational and systemic level (Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig sektor, 2016), thus ranging from health-related issues, difficult work circumstances, lack of economic means, and lack of knowledge on how to become part of the Norwegian voluntary sector (Eimhjellen & Segaard, 2010; Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig sektor, 2016), to recruitment strategies reaching immigrant populations to a lower degree (Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig sektor, 2016).

The aim to facilitate participation in voluntary activities and organizations is rooted in the argument that lower participation among certain groups, including immigrants, can be problematic in a democratic setting, as the voluntary sector represents its members and participants in democratic processes and thus these groups become underrepresented in said processes, too (e.g. NOU 2011: 14). Studies show that factors such as residence time, language proficiency, reasons for migrating, regions of origin, age, gender, and education affect the degrees of volunteering. Surveys further show that the longer the residence time the smaller the gap to the majority population, and the same applies for persons with higher education (e.g. Eimhjellen, 2016). Moreover, immigrants are not underrepresented in *all* areas of the voluntary sector. In religious organization they tend in fact to be overrepresented compared to the majority population (Eimhjellen, 2016).

[7] For example: http://www.allemed.no/

2.3.2 The voluntary sector and integration

There is a large body of literature addressing various aspects immigrants' volunteering and participation in the voluntary sector more generally, both from Norway, the other Nordic countries, and western countries in general. In academic literature, volunteerism's contributions are scrutinized showing that volunteering can serve as one entry point to society and societal participation (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017), that one may learn about (democratic) values through participating in voluntary activities (Lee, 2020; van der Meer & van Ingen, 2009), establishing a feeling of belonging (Cattacin & Domenig, 2013), and that volunteering generally contributes to forming social capital and to building trust and social networks (Ager & Strang, 2008; Dahle et al., 2011; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Voicu, 2013; Ødegård, 2010; cf. Putnam, 1995; Putnam, 2000). Yet other studies show that voluntary organizations may improve employability of immigrants (Collini, 2022). More generally, the voluntary sector is argued to provide potential arenas for networking, increasing language proficiency, and building trust (Garkisch et al., 2017; Ødegård et al., 2014), a notion that is also taken into account in the Norwegian government's *Everyday life integration-strategy* (Hverdagsintegrering strategi, 2021).

In light of the (suggested) beneficial aspects of volunteering and volunteerism for integration, the voluntary sector's role in integration has in the last two decades been increasingly included in Norwegian integration policies, with policies actively seeking volunteerism's contribution to integration (**Paper 1**; see for an example from Denmark Agergaard & Michelsen la Cour, 2012). Recently, in the Nordic countries, and perhaps specifically in Norway, there is an increased political focus on so-called *everyday life integration* (*hverdagsintegrering*). In Norway, *everyday life integration* was introduced in the government's Integration strategy in 2018 (Integreringsstrategi, 2018) alongside education and qualification, employment, and the right to live a free life, as one of four areas for action. The strategy states that

> everyday life integration happens where people meet in small and big communities, in formal and informal arenas such as workplace, in kindergarten and school, in the neighbourhoods, in cultural life, and through engagement in voluntary organizations and other parts of the civil society. (Integreringsstrategi, 2018, p. 43)

Increasingly, the voluntary sector and volunteering more specifically has usually been covered in Norwegian policy documents under the umbrella of *everyday life integration*, and this terminology has also entered research and surveys (e.g. Dalen et al., 2022).

When speaking about the role of volunteering in integration processes, Frivillighet Norge (2008, p. 7)[8] suggest to differentiate between *integrative activities*, that is activities targeting refugees and immigrants to support them on their way into the Norwegian society; refugees and immigrants here are simply 'recipients' of the volunteers' efforts, and *inclusive measures* in that voluntary organizations adjust in a way that more persons with a minority background join their activities and causes. These inclusive measures would then be aimed at reducing the gap between number of volunteering immigrants and non-immigrants and could for example take the form of one-off events specifically targeting immigrants to get to know more about the respective organizations.

In terms of integrative activities, organizations from both 'mainstream' and 'immigrant' organizations may offer activities, or even have as their main goal, to create spaces for both immigrants and non-immigrants to meet or to provide assistance. Such activities may for instance be specifically aimed at (recently arrived) immigrants or to bring established and newly arrived people together on a regular basis thus creating space for, in the best case, long-lasting social connections. Such activities can take various shapes such as multicultural festivities with cultural performances and food from different countries (organized among others by volunteer groups or city councils) or international cafés (often organized by local public libraries or The Norwegian Red Cross). Herslund and Paulgaard (2021) and Naguib (2017) show two examples of how voluntary organizations can provide support for (newly arrived) immigrants in Norway.

Generally, it is assumed that volunteering is beneficial to integration processes, thus serving and seen primarily as a *means* for integration, though the fact that comparisons between immigrant populations and the general population continuously highlight the gap between the two, may point towards an implicit understanding of volunteering as a *marker* for integration, too (cf. Ager & Strang, 2008).

2.3.3 The civic turn

In recent years, the voluntary sector has gained traction due to its potential positive effects on integration and has been increasingly included in policy documents (see also **Paper 1**). In Denmark, for instance, voluntary engagement has been included as one criteria to demonstrate active citizenship, which, along other criteria, may shorten the wait for refugees to receive

[8] *Frivillighet Norge* (Engl. *Association of NGOs in Norway*) is a forum organisation for the voluntary sector in Norway. The mission of the Association is to coordinate the voluntary sector's dialogue with the authorities on issues that are common to the voluntary sector, and to voice the voluntary sector's opinions to the public and the authorities. (www.frivillighetnorge.no)

permanent residence from eight to four years (Agergaard et al., 2022). This development has been scrutinized under the term *civic turn*.

The civic turn has been described to go beyond requirements such as employment, or more precisely self-sufficiency, as requirement of legal residence (Bech et al., 2017; Borevi et al., 2017; Goodman & Wright, 2015). In the civic turn, other aspects of citizenship become more important in integration policies and requirements, covering a variety of requirements such as language courses, country knowledge, values, contracts, and more. One can understand this turn in approach to integration as an ideological turn, which stresses the individual behaviour of being a 'good citizen' hence shifting the responsibility away from the state (Mouritsen et al., 2019)[9]. Borevi and colleagues (2017) argue for instance that these policies and programmes "aim to condition, incentivize, and shape through socialization, immigrants into 'citizens'" (Borevi et al., 2017, p. 1). Yet, though originally aimed at facilitating and strengthening integration, Brochmann and Midtbøen (2020) show, that the civic turn, especially in Denmark, is rather founded in a wish to more strictly control immigrant inflow and not to enhance integration of those already present. However, the authors also show that the three Scandinavian countries have handled the civic turn and the requirements for acquiring national citizenship differently, based in their respective approaches (see also Midtbøen, 2015).

2.3.4 Challenges of applying volunteerism in integration

Though many aspects of applying volunteerism in integration seem – on first sight – to be largely positive, several challenges have been identified over the course of at least the past two decades. These challenges concern a variety of different areas and contexts, from the individual to the systemic level. Even though many studies show that volunteering under certain circumstances can assist in or facilitate integration processes, several studies have cautioned that the voluntary sector is not an unconditional panacea for integration, pointing towards power imbalances between volunteers and immigrant participants (**Paper 2**; Paul & Adams Lyngbäck, 2022; Ruiz Sportmann & Greenspan, 2019), nor that it unconditionally contributes to the establishing of social capital and trust (van der Meer, 2016; van der Meer & van Ingen, 2009). Furthermore, voluntary activities do not necessarily create the space for meaningful encounters that contribute to establishing lasting social relations (Aure et al., 2016).

[9] See Adamo (2021) for a Danish example of so-called "integration contracts" between the municipality of residence and (newly arrived) foreigners contributing to the shift of responsibility to the immigrants.

Another objection pertains to the fact that immigrant associations and religious congregations seem to be categorically excluded in public debates or policies on the voluntary sector's contribution to integration (**Paper 1**; Caponio, 2005; Peucker, 2018). This is despite the fact that researchers for at least the past twenty years have addressed immigrant organizations in receiving countries and their contributions to integration (e.g. Bråten et al., 2017; Greenspan et al., 2011; Greenspan et al., 2018; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005; Sinha et al., 2011).

The next challenge concerns the voluntarily-ness of volunteering. In several western countries, volunteering is advertised as one way to gain (local) work experience and to thus improve one's employability leading to a push for immigrants who find themselves outside the (formal) labour force to volunteer. Yet, studies show that it is not often the case that volunteering yields paid employment as volunteering is not necessarily recognized as work experience (Overgaard, 2018; Slootjes & Kampen, 2017). In addition, the assumption that immigrants need local work experience to find paid employment may in fact de-validate earlier work experience (Wilson-Forsberg & Sethi, 2015).

The embeddedness of volunteering in policies and governmental documents puts further into question the voluntarily-ness of volunteering, both on sides of immigrants and voluntary organizations. The push to volunteer for instance to assumingly gain work experience may de-validate the benefits of volunteering in itself (De Waele & Hustinx, 2018; Slootjes & Kampen, 2017). Yet, this increasing political focus on the role of volunteering also affects voluntary organizations and the voluntary sector in general. Not only is the state then relying increasingly on the civil society to take over tasks, but such a development may diminish the freedom of voluntary organizations to choose tasks and areas they deem important (Sunata & Tosun, 2019).

Volunteering for integration, in particular by 'mainstream' organizations, can be understood as a form of 'aid' or 'humanitarian' activities (cf. Ødegård et al., 2014) and thus carries its own set of challenges. These activities and initiatives can take a large variety of shapes, such as "volunteer humanitarianism" in the "Jungle of Calais" (Sandri, 2017) or "Refugees Welcome" (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017; Naguib, 2017) linked to the reception and first accommodation of refugees in situations where governmental support has not yet been or is not provided. Other aid activities are aimed at providing advocacy for refugees in the meeting with social services (Fehsenfeld & Levinsen, 2019). Many of these activities and initiatives emerged in the aftermath of the so-called 'refugee crisis' in 2015 (Pries, 2019), and can be seen in the light of what Malkki (2015) has coined a "need to help". This need to help is based in the assumption that there is a group that needs support and help, and thus there is a

danger that voluntary aid initiatives may, if unintentionally, contribute to maintaining power imbalances (**Paper 2**) or reinforcing bordering practices (Togral koca, 2019).

2.4 The knowledge gap

In this chapter, I have sought to show the complex interactions and entanglements of immigration/ integration and voluntary action. Though there has been a surge in research on this intersection in particular since the turn of the millennium, there seems to be little critical research looking beyond the assumed beneficial value of volunteering for integration. This pertains to power relations not only in integration debates, but especially in the voluntary sector which plays such a central role in Norwegian society. This thesis seeks to fill this gap by exploring how volunteerism and processes of and around integration interact, and where and how the voluntary sector may facilitate – or hamper – integration processes by addressing both policies and immigrants' understandings and experiences of volunteering. Thus, this thesis aims to contribute to a more nuanced picture regarding the voluntary sector's role in integration.

3. Theoretical and analytical lens(es)

Integration, as I have pointed out, is a complex concept embedded in intricate social, political, and historical contexts. It is a concept which, it can be said, is in its core about the merging of at least two groups – usually a so-called majority and so-called minority(-ies). These at least two groups are usually defined alongside ethnic and/ or cultural divides, and 'integration' is usually applied where these merging processes happen *within* national borders (e.g. Klarenbeek, 2019a; Rytter, 2018). This study of how volunteerism and processes of and around integration interact, and how the voluntary sector may facilitate – or hamper – integration processes, is a study of power and relations between so-called majorities and minorities. I seek to uncover and unravel underlying, implicit, and in some cases hidden, power relations that affect integration and integration processes, both in Norwegian policy documents and within the setting of volunteering and volunteerism. To do so, I apply a critical analytical approach inspired by poststructuralist thinking, in particular as devised by Foucault.

To account for this theoretical and analytical lens, I will first address the backdrop in poststructuralist thinking as it has informed the overall project (**chapter 3.1**). Subsequently, I will show the concrete implications for the analytical processes of the three papers respectively (**chapter 3.2**) before addressing implications for the thesis (**chapter 3.3**).

3.1 A poststructuralist and Foucault-inspired approach

What is known as 'poststructuralism' covers a variety of different approaches and ideas within a variety of disciplines (Benton & Craib, 2011). Poststructuralism refers to a way of theorizing that emerged during the 1960s and the 1970s in the works Barthes, Derrida, Lacan, Lévi-Strauss, Foucault, and many others (Howarth, 2013). The roots of poststructuralism can be traced back to French academia in the 1960s and ideas of structuralism. According to Benton and Craib (2011, p. 164), writers within the structuralist school had in common an (over)emphasis "on underlying structures and an underemphasis on the acting subject, or an even stronger dismissal of the acting subject". *Post*structuralist thinking derived from a structuralist way of thinking, and the works of some thinkers, such as Foucault, have developed

from what can be seen as structuralist thinking, to later works being linked to poststructuralist thinking. Yet, it is difficult to define poststructuralism, and Baxter (2016) claims that there is no fixed definition but that the notion is rather applied to a range of theoretical positions. More generally, poststructuralist thinking can be understood as "a *practice* of reading, interpreting, criticizing, and evaluating. It is thus a particular *way* of doing philosophy and social theory that generates and explores new possibilities" (Howarth, 2013, pp. 267, emphasis in original). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) further state that poststructuralist thinking is characterized by the aim to "draw attention to the problems surrounding the way theories are constructed, their assumptions, their rhetorical strategies and their claims to authority" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 183) and to allow for the potential of various interpretations.

Foucault's poststructuralist thinking is strongly influenced by the works of Nietzsche, and it has been described as "genealogic method" in that Foucault has aimed to study the "present-day society with a look in the rear mirror" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 258; see also Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008; Benton & Craib, 2011). Further, the notion of power is central in Foucault's works. Yet in contrast to other works on power, Foucault's understanding of power is not one of abstraction or something that could be isolated, according to Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009), and Foucault never actually defined or delineated power (e.g. Foucault, 1982, 1990, 1969/2002; Foucault & Gordon, 1980). Rather, power plays out in interactions and relationships and cannot be localized or fixed since "it is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society" (Foucault, 1990, p. 93). Foucault and Gordon (1980, p. 89) moreover stress that "power is neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and that it only exists in action".

Thus, power is the sum of numerous practices or open structures rather than something that can be pinned to *one* institution, person, or entity. In that sense, "power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1990, p. 93). These practices of power are not fixed or set in stone. On the contrary, they are conditional to time and space, embedded into history and the product of history (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008, 2009; Foucault, 1990). The subject – or social actor – is an effect of power in Foucault's thinking, and the subject is situated within the omnipresence of power and is subject to the social practices that (re)produce power (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008). Hence, the social actor is the *product* of power.

Foucault linked power to knowledge, claiming that they are inseparable as "[k]nowledge makes power possible: the exercise of power is not arbitrary, but the knowledge […] is the basis

of power, the functioning of the […] institution" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 251). Knowledge cannot be understood to be neutral, and different forms of knowledge have a disciplining function by indicating what is assumed to be deviations and norms. Knowledge is "far from being a general commonsense knowledge" and, similarly to power, particular and local (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, p. 82). Moreover, the relationship between power and knowledge is constantly changing (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

According to Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009), Foucault understood discourse to be central in social practice, forming both subjects and objects. Hence, discourse is not understood in its more classical sense of how language is used, but rather as a framework. Through language – discourse more specifically – one can both exercise power and be subject to the exercising of power, "be both an instrument of and an obstacle to power" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 255).

Though seemingly a great way to critically examine relations and institutions, a poststructuralist approach, specifically one inspired by the works by Foucault, may present challenges mostly because poststructuralist thinking is manifold and there is not one logical step-by-step approach to reach analytical results (Søndergaard, 2000). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) identify in particular the risk to apply the approach too strongly to empirical material resulting in finding power/knowledge everywhere – and therefore nullifying the results. This is in part due to the postulated omnipresence of power/knowledge and a Foucauldian approach to analysing empirical material may the extreme lead to presumptions determining the results. It is therefore crucial to regularly reflect during analysis processes whether one is about to over-interpret or be guided by presuppositions. Rather, the poststructuralist tradition offers a gateway to metatheoretical reflections according to Søndergaard (2000), and one can instead understand arguments from the poststructuralist tradition as inspiration for analytical processes.

3.2 Implications for the papers' analytical frameworks

In the words of Foucault himself, the ideas of power and subject are "neither a theory nor a methodology" (Foucault, 1982, p. 777) and I seek to apply this approach in this thesis, too. The ideas linked to power, knowledge, and discourse – and other ideas connected to Foucault's and poststructuralist thinking – are approached in this thesis as neither theory nor methodology, yet they frame and inspire the theoretical and analytical framework(s). The same is the case for the three papers that are part of this thesis, in that each paper addresses a research question through a lens inspired by a poststructuralist approach. In the following, I will show how the

Foucault-inspired poststructuralist approach has shaped the analytical frameworks of the three papers.

3.2.1 A poststructural policy analysis

Paper 1 applies the so-called *What's the problem represented to be?* (WPR) approach which was introduced by Bacchi (2009) and developed further by Bacchi and Goodwin (2016). The WPR approach is first and foremost intended as a tool for policy analyses seeking "to understand how governing takes place, and with what implications for those so governed" (Bacchi, 2009, p. xi). In its core, this tool consists of six questions (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 20):

> Q1: What's the problem represented to be in a specific policy or policies?
>
> Q2: What deep-seated presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the "problem"?
>
> Q3: How has this representation of the "problem" come about?
>
> Q4: What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the "problem" be conceptualized differently?
>
> Q5: What effects (discursive, subjectification, lived) are produced by this representation of the "problem"?
>
> Q6: How and where has this representation of the "problem" been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been and/ or how can it be disrupted and replaced?

Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) call in addition on the researcher(s) to apply these questions to their own problem representations.

According to Bacchi and Goodwin (2016), this tool and its questions are embedded into a poststructural understanding of politics and questions the common view that policies are meant to solve problems. It is inspired by an understanding of society and policymaking in which power exists in relations and not as a thing itself, and in which these relations and practices linked to them produce 'problems', 'subjects', 'objects', and 'places'. These productive processes are embedded into discourses, which Bacchi and Goodwin (2016, p. 35), following Foucault, understand as "socially produced forms of knowledge". In this context, the two authors understand 'knowledge' as not 'the truth', but as what is accepted as truth, and which thus is a cultural product and should therefore be referred to as 'knowledge*s*'. Hence, they argue that there is not one single discourse, but many discourse*s*. Following this line of thought, policies are shaped by discourses and knowledges. The WPR approach aims at unpacking the underlying discourses and knowledges, including the "deep-seated presuppositions or

assumptions", to understand how 'problems' are made and which impact they may have on the 'subjects'. In **Paper 1**, we elaborate more specifically how we have applied the approach regarding integration policies in Norway since 1973.

3.2.2 Minoritizing processes

Paper 2 draws heavily on the concepts of minoritizing and majoritizing processes, and by extension on the idea of minorities and majorities. The reasoning behind the concepts minoritizing and majoritizing processes is that minorities and majorities are *made*. This is in contrast to an implied static relationship between two, or more, seemingly unambiguous entities as represented by the terms 'minority' and 'majority' which promote a sole focus on numbers and the reduction of power relations to these numbers (Brah, 1996). The terms minoritization and majoritization comprise the processes and dynamics in the relations between a so-called minority and majority, allowing furthermore for an understanding that these relations run along multiple axes. Thus, it refers to power differences and imbalances between at least two groups, which are differentiated for instance along race, religion, language or nationality, and where one group – the majority – in terms of power dominates a minority, or "subordinate group" (Rose, 1968). In the words of Gunaratnam (2003) concerning race and ethnic "the term 'minoritized' […] give[s] some sense of the active processes of racialization that are at work in designating certain attributes of groups in particular contexts as being in a 'minority'" thus showing that minorities are *made* embedded into power relations dominated by 'a majority'.

A majority is also *made* as shown by Gullestad (2002a, p. 100) in that "the majority constitutes itself as the majority because of its power to simultaneously set the rules, be a fellow player, and function as judge". Moreover, both a majority and a minority can only exist and are established in relation to each other, a process which in term is shaped by existing power relations and differences, or as Predelli et al. (2012, p. 212) puts it: "Minoritization and majoritization processes occur through social relations that are shaped by power, resources, interests, language and discourse." This approach to minoritization and majoritization can be linked to a poststructuralist, specifically a Foucauldian, tradition in that the power asymmetry is (re)produced through among others discourses and knowledge.

Regarding the concept 'integration', there is an implicit understanding that there are two groups that are to merge: a majority – 'the' receiving society – and a minority – 'the' immigrants. It raises the question of whether – or perhaps rather to what degree – the receiving society sets the rules for how integration is (supposed) to look like, and to what degree – if at all – integration can truly be an equal two-way process (see e.g. Klarenbeek, 2019a) while it

simultaneously may pose as judge of who is integrated, and who is not, pointing towards minoritization processes taking place already in the discourses on integration.

3.2.3 Social constructionism

The analytical frame for **Paper 3** is shaped by a social constructionist approach, here understood first and foremost as "an understanding of knowledge as historically and culturally constituted; knowledge is situated and tied to human practices – it is 'socially constructed'" (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 182). Thus, this approach is related to a poststructuralist approach as presented above, and, according to Burr (2015), poststructuralism can be understood as one approach under the umbrella of "social constructionism". A central idea in a social constructionist approach is that one through language represents and produces the world, including the objects, people, and events within (Burr & Dick, 2017, p. 59). Traditionally, social constructionism has been anchored in both social psychology and sociology. Some scholars choose therefore to distinguish between social construc*tionism* and social construc*tivism* to reflect the different roots and in some cases slightly different angles (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 183f.). I choose here to use the term social constructionism as the overarching term encompassing both traditions.

According to Burr (2015), social constructionism encompasses a variety of approaches and ideas though it is difficult to formulate one definition that would cover all of these approaches. Rather, the approaches are linked by a form of 'family resemblance'. Burr (2015) identifies several assumptions of which at least one should apply to a social constructionist approach. These key assumptions are: (1) a critical stance toward taken-for granted knowledge, (2) historical and cultural specificity, (3) knowledge is sustained by social processes, and (4) knowledge and social action go together. Furthermore, in a social constructionist approach language takes a central role, as language is not only a pre-condition for thought, but also a form of social action. Thus, we both convey our idea of the world and reality through language, and we construct the world through language in social action with each other. In the words of Braun and Clarke (2022, p. 180), "language is understood as 'doing things', sometimes described as 'bringing realities into being'". Language thus is not only central in constructing the world, but also in the construction of knowledge in that knowledge is constructed between people, through daily interactions in the course of social life (Burr, 2015, p. 4).

In this project, and specifically **Paper 3**, I assume that knowledge is social constructed, and hence bound to its place in history and culture. The idea and knowledge of what a particular idea *is* – in this case volunteerism and/or integration – is assumed to reflect its true nature – if

that even exists. Language is assumed to be the means through which these ideas and knowledge(s) are constructed, represented, and conveyed, and placed and found in social practices (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 183; Burr & Dick, 2017, p. 59).

4. Methods and research design

This doctoral project is grounded in poststructuralist tradition, and I apply a Qualitative[10] multimethod approach to explore the role of the voluntary sector in integration processes of adult immigrants to Norway (Blaikie & Priest, 2019; Collier & Elman, 2008; Creswell, 2014). Concretely, the papers draw on different data sources and apply different analytical approaches: **Paper 1** is a policy analysis of twenty-nine Norwegian (written) governmental documents, **Paper 2** is an explorative analysis of one focus group interview, and **Paper 3** is a thematic analysis of five focus group discussions. In the following, I will provide an overview of the overall research strategy and the research designs for the individual papers. I will further address ethical considerations which guided my choices in particular for **Paper 2** and **Paper 3**.

4.1 Research strategy

In the light of a poststructuralist Foucault-inspired approach, methodological considerations for this doctoral project have been shaped by the aim to uncover underlying, and sometimes hidden, power relations. To uncover these relations, the approach was by guided an interpretive approach inspired by phenomenological-hermeneutical thinking.

The point of departure for this project has been an abductive research strategy. This approach stands somewhat in contrast, or perhaps rather sidelong, the more known *inductive* and *deductive* approaches. An abductive research strategy incorporates "the meanings and interpretations, the motives and intentions, that people use in their everyday lives, and which direct their behaviour" (Blaikie & Priest, 2019, p. 99) and which, according to Blaikie and Priest (2019), both inductive and deductive logics ignore. Hence, an abductive logic "involves constructing theories that are derived from social actors' language, meanings and accounts"

[10] According to Braun and Clarke (2022), big Q Qualitative research encompasses both qualitative techniques and philosophy. This stands in contrast to small q qualitative research, sometimes also referred to as "qualitative positivism", which indicates the use of qualitative techniques within a positivist or postpositivist paradigm.

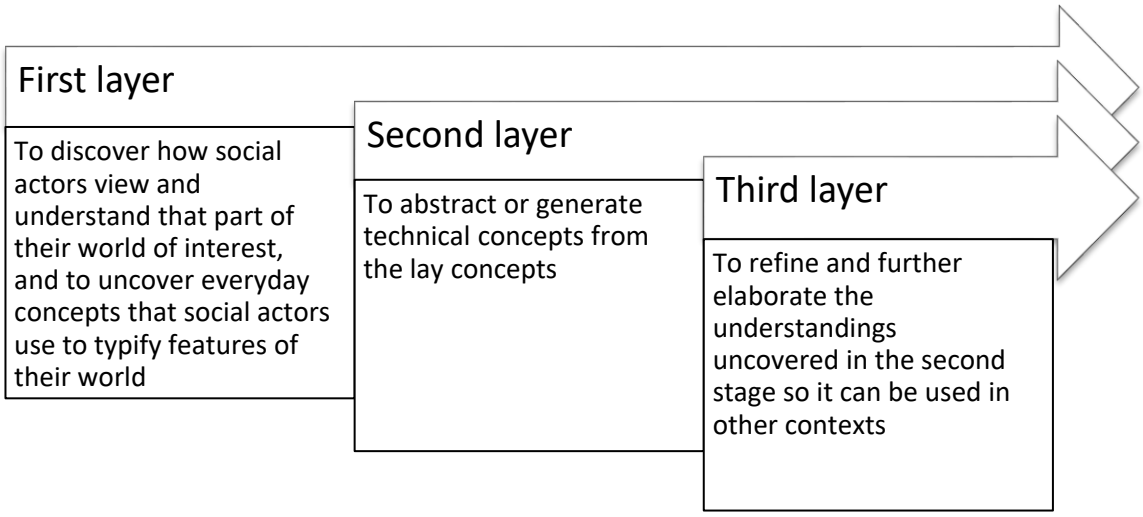
(Blaikie & Priest, 2019, p. 99). Blaikie and Priest (2019) further state that there are three stages in the use of abductive logic, as shown in **Figure 3**.

The first layer is the most central one and aims at uncovering how social actors view and understand that part which is of interest to the researcher. The other two stages are optional and depend on the overall research objective. They aim at uncovering, or rather abstracting, the findings discovered in the first stage. Yet, with the first stage as the cornerstone for this doctoral research project, the social actors' understandings, views and interpretations are and remain central throughout the whole research process. Thus, an abductive approach is well suited to discover and study social actors' behaviour and actions, and by extension fits well with Foucault-inspired poststructuralist thinking. This is due to its potential to uncover how the subject – or social actor – is embedded within the omnipresence of power and how the social actor is a product of social practices that (re)produce power (cf. **chapter 3.1**).

Though an abductive approach is seemingly similar to an inductive approach in that it takes social actors' understandings and views as point of departure, abduction allows and even calls for theoretical and other prior understandings (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008). An abductive approach can therefore be understood as a 'back and forth' between the empirical data and theory, making room for how previous theoretical understandings may fit the data, but also allowing to add to or enhance pre-existing knowledge.

In light of this thesis's main research objective to **explore how volunteerism and processes of and around integration interact, and where and how the voluntary sector may facilitate – or hamper – integration processes** and the three objectives of the individual papers, I stay relatively close to the data, thus keeping primarily to the first layer of Blaikie and

Figure 3 *Three layers of abductive logic (developed from* Blaikie & Priest (2019)*)*



Priest's understanding of abductive logic. Furthermore, I have followed Alvesson and Sköldberg (2008) suggestion in alternating between the data and pre-existing theories allowing to build upon earlier research whilst keeping an open mind how my data may point towards further (unexplored) nuances.

4.2 Research design

The research design for this thesis is grounded in a qualitative tradition, following phenomenological-hermeneutical reasoning. This approach was chosen as it allows for in-depth analysis and ideally the creation of a holistic picture. More specifically, I apply a Qualitative multimethod approach in that I use different qualitative methods for the three papers. Studying integration is challenging and at times problematic due to its procedural nature. By applying different approaches and angles one may better grasp the processual nature of integration and its challenges with volunteerism as contextual frame. In the following, I will present the research design for each of the three papers.

4.2.1 Paper 1

Paper 1 [11] is a policy analysis of twenty-nine Norwegian governmental documents published between 1973 and 2021 and seeks to **investigate how integration has been problematized in Norwegian policy documents**. Policy documents can come in a variety of forms, and we decided to base our analysis on written documents and more specifically on official policy documents. **Table 2** provides an overview over the different types, including the English equivalent, and the respective number of analysed documents. A full overview over the analysed documents and their translated titles has been included in **Appendix A: Policy analysis**.

We decided to focus on written documents for this paper due to several considerations: first, written public documents are quite accessible in Norway since all official correspondence and governmental documents are made available online the webpage of the government. Second, there are certain requirements regarding content and style for official policy documents of the same type which makes it easier to compare and to track changes across documents. Furthermore, documents within similar thematic categories refer to each other, allowing us to trace arguments and follow the respective government's line of argument more easily. Thus, we worked "backwards" in time, starting in 2021 and going back to the earliest document in

[11] **Paper 1** was co-written with Gunn Elin Fedreheim. The co-author statement is provided in **Appendix A: Policy analysis**.

Table 2 *Overview of analysed governmental documents (***Paper 1***)*

Norwegian title	English translation	Type of governmental document	Number analysed
Meld. St. X / St. meld. X	White papers	Government initiated paper to report/discuss a certain topic	12
NOU X	Norwegian official reports	Government appointed committee report on specific topics	7
Lov X	Act	Act	2
Strategi	Strategy	Governmental strategy	2
Brosjyre	Leaflet	Governmental information	1
Erklæring	Declaration	Governmental declaration	1
Forskrift X	Regulations	Regulations made by an authority	1
Innst. X S / Innst. St. nr. X	Report to the Parliament	Standing committees' reports to the Parliament	1
Prop. X S / St. prp. X	Propositions to the Parliament	Government initiated propositions to the Parliament	1
Rundskriv	Circulars	Ministries' interpretations of laws and regulations	1

1973. This is also compliant with the *What's the problem represented to be?* (WPR) approach developed by Bacchi (2009) and Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) (see **chapter 3.2.1** for more detailed information about the WPR approach).

In the analytical process, we followed the WPR approach, investigating how policies rather "give shape to 'problems'" (Bacchi, 2009, p. x) instead of simply acknowledging that policies solve some kind of "social problems". This approach is rooted in a concern as argued by Bacchi (2020) that society's increasing desire for "problem-solving" may have a range of negative and potentially dangerous effect. Bacchi (2020) instead recommends "problem-questioning". In line with that, we looked back at older policies seeking to critical interrogate how problem representations have been shaped and how they dominate current policies (Bacchi, 2020).

Specifically, our analytical process was as follows: We split the documents between us and compiled relevant paragraphs addressing integration into a shared data extraction sheet based on guidelines which we agreed to beforehand. Both authors analysed the data extraction sheet and commented and/or summarized in a separate column individually, before agreeing on common findings. To trace our comments, we used different text colours for each author. We

first tried to identify problem representations (question 1 in Bacchi and Goodwin 2016) before we searched for the conceptual logics underpinning these representations (question 2). Afterwards we sought to identify the conditions allowing the realization of problem representations (question 3) and to interpret what is silenced in the problem representations (question 4). Questions 5 and 6 relate to possible effects and dominance of the problem representations, which we discuss as well. The template for the extraction sheet including an example can be found in **Appendix A: Policy analysis**.

Our approach provides several challenges, out of which one concerns the study's reliability due to language. The analysed policy documents are in Norwegian, and some meaning may have gotten lost when translating to English. Another limitation of this study pertains our process of working backwards, as it is likely that we have overlooked relevant policy documents. Thus, the list of policy documents may not be exhaustive even though we aimed at working backwards in a systematic manner. Nevertheless, since we have analysed the most central policy documents, we believe that we have also captured the central ideas related to integration.

Another challenge pertains the historicity of the analysed documents. We assume in this paper that the government is one entity – or one social actor if applying the terminology from Blaikie and Priest's abductive logic. However, the government composition is changing regularly and therefore approaches and political ideologies shape the policy documents. The article could not take these ideologies and party ideas concerning immigration and integration of the respective governments into consideration due to limited space. Rather, we built upon an idea of path-dependency, in that today's policies regarding immigration and integration are the result of what has happened before (see e.g. Borevi, 2014).

4.2.2 Paper 2

The research objective of **Paper 2** is **to explore power relations between volunteers and immigrant participants, and the potential for minoritization processes in voluntary activities** based on one focus group discussion which has been analysed with an exploratory approach. The focus group with eight participants was conducted in February 2019 in a Northern Norwegian town. All participants were involved in a community centre which housed a variety of different voluntary organizations and initiatives. Some of the participants were or had been employed at the community centre, while others had only been volunteering at the location and others again had had both roles at some point in time.

Initial contact was established with Rune, the head of the community centre, who, after receiving the information letter (see **Appendix B**), contacted relevant actors and persons of resource (Nor. *ressursperson*). Thus, Rune served as gatekeeper. After initial contact and communication over e-mail and phone, Rune proposed eight participants and arranged for the meeting. Rune got the information that I wanted to talk to persons involved in the community centre who had experiences from both the voluntary sector and with the integration of immigrants. **Table 3** contains an overview of the focus group participants including short descriptions. The focus group discussion was held in a meeting room at the community centre. The focus group discussion followed an interview guide and lasted for about 2,5 hours including a more informal part when we were served lunch by the community centre's kitchen. The discussion followed an interview guide and was recorded and later transcribed verbatim by me. All data have been anonymized. Quotes have been translated and edited carefully to improve

Table 3 *Overview of the focus group participants (***Paper 2***)*

Name	Description
Anne	Woman in her sixties, retired, professional experience from refugee services and reception centre for asylum seekers
Azmia	Woman in her thirties, came to Norway from Syria three years before the focus group took place, trained teacher, now working with elderly and children, became involved at the community centre soon after her arrival first as a participant and later as a volunteer
Bjørn Arne	Man, middle-aged, has been involved in the community centre as a staff member, but also as a volunteer and a participant
Jan Olav	Man, middle-aged, has been contributing to and working at the community centre for several years after not being able to continue in his profession
Malin	Woman in her thirties, an artist working at the community centre
Mette	Woman in her sixties, (retired?) teacher, has been involved in the community centre particularly in one voluntary organization, but also other voluntary activities
Rune	Man, middle-aged, head of the community centre, professional experiences from refugee services and child-care services
Wenche	Woman in her sixties, retired teacher, has been involved in the community centre for over a decade but has also been doing other volunteer work among others with immigrant women

readability. All documentation relevant to the data collection for **Paper 2** can be found in **Appendix B: Data collection, round 1**.

For the analysis, I applied an exploratory approach grounded in abductive reasoning (Swedberg, 2020; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008). The reason for this approach is that the focus group discussion yielded surprising and unexpected data, going beyond the interview guide. The composition of the focus group was most likely the trigger for these findings, as out of the three men and five women only one woman had migrated to Norway. The others were what one could call "ethnic Norwegians"[12]. What struck both me and the observer was the way the "Norwegian" participants both talked *about* and *to* Azmia, the only participant to have migrated to Norway.

The analytical process was guided by these initial observations, followed by an open coding process (Saldaña, 2016). Gradually, the analysis became increasingly focused on the discourses regarding Azmia and immigrant participants in voluntary activities more generally. The coding process was supported by the qualitative data analysis computer software NVivo. After this thorough coding process, I applied the concept of minoritizing processes as a theoretical lens to the codes and discourse.

The explorative approach of this study poses a challenge, in that the analysis is based on a single incident, which could simply be the result of happenstance. Yet by framing the incidence through drawing in other research and academic scholarship, the explorative approach and its findings may point towards the incident not only yielding singular and circumstantial results. Moreover, my positionality has shaped both the focus group discussion and the analysis. By including and comparing notes and observations with the observer of the focus group discussion, I have sought to confirm preliminary analytical findings. Further research is however needed to support the findings of this study.

4.2.3 Paper 3

Paper 3 seeks to **explore how immigrants perceive the Norwegian voluntary sector and experience participating in it**. The main empirical data for **Paper 3** stems from five focus

[12] The Norwegian term "*etnisk norsk*", "ethnic Norwegian" in English, is a disputed, yet widely used term in Norwegian everyday life. It usually refers to persons who were born in Norway to Norwegian-born parents and grandparents and is used in contrast to the category "immigrant", "immigrant background" or "multicultural background" (Nor. *flerkulturell bakgrunn)*. To illustrate the controversies, I use quotation marks when using the term. For further information, see *Great Norwegian Encyclopedia* https://snl.no/etnisk_norsk.

group discussions conducted with in total eighteen participants. All focus group participants had migrated to Norway as adults from different regions and for different reasons and at different times. The focus group discussions were semi-structured and followed an interview guide, which can be found in **Appendix C: Data collection, round 2**. The guide asked participants among others for their views on and experiences with volunteering in Norway and the Norwegian volunteerism in general.

As form of data generation, focus group discussions are well suited to explore how a group of people construe the general topics that are up for discussion and co-construct meaning (Bryman, 2012, p. 503). This is a strength of focus group discussions that I wished to make use of, in contrast to individual interviews in which interviewees seldomly are confronted with other meanings or their opinions challenged. In a setting where participants have the opportunity to both express their individual experiences and discuss these experiences with others may bring to the fore issues and aspects that the participants deem important or crucial in a different way than in individual interviews (Bryman, 2012, p. 503). Yet, it is important the composition of the focus groups 'work', insofar as there needs to be room and trust for each of the participants to express themselves and share stories and experiences. For subsequent conversations and discussions to happen between the participants, the composition of the focus group should also consider that the topic(s) that should be discussed are relevant to all participants so that participants actually have something in common that they can talk about or discuss.

The recruitment process for the focus groups followed both purposive and snowball sampling (Blaikie & Priest, 2019, p. 173). I contacted different voluntary organizations, both immigrant associations and 'traditional' Norwegian organizations, in addition to using personal contacts. The criteria for potential participants were that they had moved to Norway as adults and either had experience or were actively involved in voluntary activities and/or organizations. Since the discussions were conducted in Norwegian, a certain level of language skills was a requirement to be able to participate in the discussions. The sample thus resulted in a group of varied age, which I estimated to be between late thirties to shortly after reaching retirement age, who had been living in Norway between two and 32 years.

The five focus groups had three or four participants each and were composed in a manner to ensure diversity among the participants in terms of regions of origin and reasons for migrating to Norway. Further, the groups were arranged as three all-female focus groups, and two focus groups consisting of only male participants. The divide along a dichotomic definition of gender was originally intended to facilitate uncovering gendered traits in immigrant

volunteering. Following a thematic analysis approach, which I will present below, the aspect of gender however faded into the background, while experiences with volunteering and Norwegian volunteerism in general came more to the foreground for me. **Table 4** contains an overview of the participants' region of origin and gender to provide a better contextual embedding. The focus group discussions were conducted in summer 2021 in person in line with the then restrictions imposed by the Norwegian government in the fight against the spreading of Covid-19. All ethical considerations for this study have been coordinated in accordance with and assessed by The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). The discussions lasted between 1,5 and 2,5 hours and were audio-recorded and later transcribed orthographically. All data presented in this article have been anonymized and each participant has been assigned a pseudonym. Quotes have been translated and edited carefully to improve readability. All documentation relevant to the data collection for **Paper 3** can be found in **Appendix C: Data collection, round 2**.

This study is rooted in a (social) constructionist tradition, which can be understood as proposing that "social reality has to be discovered from the 'inside' rather than being filtered

Table 4 *Overview of the focus group participants (***Paper 3***)*

Region of origin[13]	**Number of participants (female; male)**
Sub-Saharan Africa	3 (1; 2)
Northern America	1 (-; 1)
Southern and South-eastern Asia	3 (3; -)
Western Asia	3 (1; 2)
Eastern Europe	1 (-; 1)
Northern Europe	3 (3; -)
Western Europe	4 (3; 1)
Total	**18 (11; 7)**

[13] Regarding the European regions, the division in **Table 4** is according to EuroVoc (https://op.europa.eu/s/vMEp). Regarding the other regions, the division is according to UN Statistics Division (https://unstats.un.org/unsd/methodology/m49/).

through or distorted by an expert's concepts and theory" (Blaikie & Priest, 2017, p. 104). Within this frame, I was guided by an reflexive thematic analysis (TA) approach, as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2022), and followed its six phases: (1) dataset familiarisation, (2) data coding, (3) initial theme generation, (4) theme development and review, (5) theme refining, defining, and naming, and (6) writing up. Concretely, I followed steps (1) through (3) and then focused on the participants' narratives specifically on volunteering and the voluntary sector. Thus, I refined the frame in relation to the question "how is volunteering experienced" and repeated phases (2) and (3) before continuing with phases (4) through (6) within this narrower frame for relevant sections of data.

On the background of the rich data the focus group discussions generated, I sought to focus on how meanings and experiences were co-created by the participants. A reflexive TA approach provides the possibilities to both apply knowledge from other scholarship and theoretical considerations. The five semi-structured interviews provided the ground for the participants to co-constructing meaning and experiences on the topic on integration and volunteerism. A reflexive TA approach as described by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2022) provides the frame yet also the flexibility in terms of theoretical framework to analyse the rich data.

Following a relativist TA approach (Braun & Clarke, 2022), the coding process and theme generation was primarily guided by the participants' experiences and stories. I specifically focused on the sections from the focus groups on volunteering and/or volunteerism, and following initial systematic coding, I aimed to find commonalities, combine them, and develop them into themes. I subsequently reviewed and refined these initial themes and applied them to structure the analytical chapter of **Paper 3**.

One challenge of this research design concerns the composition of the focus groups. One could criticize that the sample was too diverse and too broad, in particular in terms of country of origin and migration story, and that not considering these contextual factors weakens the analytical process. I chose however to recruit informants on basis of these broad conditions as groups of immigrants will always be incredibly diverse even within well-known categories such as 'refugee', 'EU-migrant', 'common region of origin', 'age' and so on. In contrast, my aim was to uncover joint stories and experiences reach across these categories and are first and foremost rooted in a history of moving to Norway and participating in volunteerism there.

4.2.4 Overall considerations on the research design(s)

The three papers that form the groundwork for this thesis apply different methods and analytical approaches: (1) a policy analysis of twenty-nine governmental documents, (2) an

exploratory investigation of one focus group, and (3) a reflexive thematic analysis of five focus group discussions. Though on first sight quite different, these three papers seek to illuminate relationships between volunteerism and integration processes each in its own way. **Paper 1** can in this context be understood as setting the stage as policies and policy documents shape the background of both volunteerism and integration (processes) in Norway. **Paper 2** and **Paper 3** in term give voice to those the studied issues concern, in accordance with a "nothing about us without us" approach (e.g. Damen et al., 2022).

A "nothing about us without us" approach should be seen in the light of ethnic minorities having historically experienced faulty representations in and negative consequences because of research. I address these ethical issues concerning research with and on immigrants in **chapter 4.3**. In addition to immigrants, it has been important to talk to other actors within the voluntary sector, such as other volunteers and organizers, to establish a nuances picture of the ongoing processes. At this point, it is worth mentioning that I have also conducted individual interviews that have not made it into a paper (yet). These interviews were conducted in spring and summer 2019 during what I have called "data collection, round 1", thus during the same period and under the same conditions as the data collection for **Paper 2**. All documentation concerning these interviews, including interview guides, can be found in **Appendix B: Data collection, round 1**. Though not explicitly included in the thesis, these interviews and conversations have – to a certain degree – informed the research process.

4.3 Ethical considerations

Every time one does research with or on humans, there are ethical considerations involved. In qualitative research, Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) state that the balance between the researcher's wish to gain (new) knowledge and respecting the interests of the research participant can be tense. Yet, ethical considerations in qualitative research go further than the situation of data collection itself. Ethical considerations in research concern issues such as sampling, methods for data collection, but also the role of the researcher in the processes of data collection and data production, and data storage. Any ethical consideration aims to ensure the safety of the individual research participant, the fair treatment and fair representation of them. For this project, all ethical considerations ranging from sampling to data management, have been coordinated with NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data. The applications to NSD as well as any other documentation on the data collection involving human participants can be found in **Appendix B: Data collection, round 1** and **Appendix C: Data collection, round 2**.

4.3.1 Research and ethnic minorities

According to the Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees (2015), ethnic minorities – including immigrants – should be seen as vulnerable groups in a Norwegian context. This is among others due to an unstable residence status – as is for instance the case for asylum seekers or refugees – and potentially low language skills. This of course does not pertain to every immigrant, yet it must be taken into consideration when doing research on and/or with immigrants. Therefore, any data collected in cooperation with immigrants require attentive handling to ensure fair treatment and representation. The latter pertains in particular to the fact that researchers and their research contributes to among others political guidelines and policies, which could in the worst case have a negative consequences for the research participants.

As is the case with any research participants, engaging immigrants as informants and interview partners necessitates that they are fully informed about the study and consent to participate. For this doctoral project, it was especially important to take into consideration that some of the potential participants had poor Norwegian language skills. It was crucial to make sure that the information about the research project was communicated in a proper way, either directly while recruiting or through gatekeepers. It was equally important to stress that participating in the study was voluntary, and that participants were always in the position to change their mind, both before, during, and after the interviews or focus group discussions, and to request the deletion of their data until a pre-set date. For immigrants in vulnerable positions, declining to participate in an interview or focus group discussion might lead to fear of losing benefits or support of the system within which they are part. I have sought to make it very clear, that this would not be the case and the decision of not participating would not have any repercussions for potential and actual research participants.

Anonymity and confidentiality for participants who share their stories is an essential part of creating a frame that allows them to speak freely without fear of repercussions on their personal lives. Unless otherwise consented, the data has therefore been anonymized and stored anonymously. However, in certain cases anonymity could not be guaranteed or granted, for instance if the participant or partner worked in a leading position or if the community is very small. In this case, this was made clear before data collection so that s/he could give informed consent to participate. I have further repeatedly emphasized that the interview and focus group data would be handled confidentially and that whatever the participants said during the interviews or focus group discussions would not be used to their disadvantage.

Researching "the other" has historically been quite common in particular in anthropological research, yet with little critical reflection on the practice. Researching the so-called "other" presents the researcher with a variety of issues in which the researcher may potentially harm the research participants directly and indirectly. Consequences range from "othering" (Fabian, 1983) to Orientalism (Said, 1978/2003). However, there has been increasing sensitivity not only in anthropological scholarship towards potential ethical issues and a call for researchers to be both more open, but also to be more sensitive and reflective of underlying power relations (Bryman, 2012). Though the researcher generally holds a relative position of power over research participants (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, pp. 37-38), the power asymmetry may be particularly lopsided in the case of research with and on ethnic minorities and immigrants. Here, it is advisable to be aware of the distinction between immigrants from western and non-western countries, from the Global North and the Global South, or white and people of colour, as the respective groups, though very generalized, are embedded into a historical and socio-political context resulting in part in quite imbalanced power relations, or as Abu-Lughod (2008, p. 5) puts it:

> By underplaying the inequality inherent in the anthropological self's position as (usually) a Westerner studying non-Western others, she disregarded the first lesson of feminist analyses from Simone de Beauvoir on: relations – or, more accurately, constructions – of self and other are rarely innocent of power. To be feminist entails being sensitive to domination; for the ethnographer that means being aware of domination in the society being described and in the relationship between the writer (and readers) and the people being written about.

In the case of this thesis, most of the research participants were immigrants who had migrated to Norway as adults. Yet, the category 'immigrant' is a far from homogenous group. Indeed, one should be acutely aware that 'immigrants' come from a variety of different backgrounds, which are embedded into wider historical and socio-political contexts, including varying experiences with discrimination, racism, and other after-effects of colonialism. These are just a few aspects of what needs to be considered when doing research with and on immigrants, in particular if one is, like me, a white researcher from the Global North.

4.3.2 Considerations regarding methods

Generally, the use of interviews and focus group discussions presents the researcher with several ethical considerations. First of all, the researcher in a research interview or focus group discussion find themselves in a position of power (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The researcher's position of power relates to all aspects of an interview situation, starting with the researcher

initiating an interview and setting the conversation to be a one-way, and not least instrumental, dialogue in which the interviewer/researcher determines topics, formulates questions, and determines when to follow up on an answer and when to conclude the interview. Furthermore Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) point out that the interviewer/researcher often holds the monopoly of interpretation of the interview material and ultimately decides which parts of the interview material would be included in subsequent publications. The interviewee may react to the interviewer's/researcher's dominance in an interview and may actively seek to withhold information or start to question the researcher. The interviewer's/researcher's task is to reflect on and balance these issues to protect the interviewee's integrity and dignity.

The issues I have mentioned until now not only apply to a one-on-one interview situation but also to focus group discussions. One of the intended advantages of initiating focus group discussions is to circumnavigate, or avoid all together, a monotone question-answer routine between interviewer and interviewee. Similarly to interviews, a focus group discussion seeks to gather opinions and to contribute to a better understanding of how people think or feel about an issue (Krueger & Casey, 2015, p. 2; Bryman, 2012, p. 501). The benefit of gathering a focus group is that the participants may start a conversation amongst each other, picking up issues or questioning others in a way that the interviewer – often called "moderator" in a focus group setting (Krueger & Casey, 2015) – would not be able to.

The composition of a focus group is however crucial. The researcher not only has to recruit participants that fit sampling criteria but also has to ensure that the participants within one focus group fit well together, both in terms of their personal histories and potential relationships and to be beneficial to the research objective. Regarding the data collection for **Paper 3** for example, I have aimed to compose the focus groups so that the participants ideally would not know each other well among others to avoid that other participants would feel left out. The composition of a focus group thus is essential to ensure a respectful and comfortable environment. Still, throughout an entire focus group discussion, the moderator has the task to ensure a respectful tone as unforeseen differences among the participants may occur.

4.3.3 Positionality

Both in a focus group and an interview setting, the interviewer/moderator is not invisible. As researcher doing qualitative research, it is difficult if not impossible to remove oneself from the equation, since the researcher is what one might call the "tool" for data collection. They become part of the data collection and affects the situation simply by their presence, irrespective of what kind of method is applied for the data collection. The researcher is however not only a

factor during data collection, but also earlier during the designing processes of the research project, and of course afterwards during the analysis processes.

Let me therefore briefly introduce myself to acknowledge my positionality in this research project: I am a young, female, white researcher, who, though an immigrant to Norway herself, is likely not looked on as an 'immigrant' in a Norwegian context. The reasons for this are likely to include my appearance, my (Western) European passport, and good Norwegian language skills. In addition, I have obtained higher education at (Western) European universities. These factors alone provide me with a very privileged position in a research process. Thus, I as immigrant would not be included in the Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees' (2015) understanding of vulnerable groups in research.

I became acutely aware of my position(ality) during one of the focus group discussions I conducted in 'round 2' in which I apparently had not mentioned that I am an immigrant to Norway. Only at the very end of said discussion, one of the participants who knew it mentioned that I originally am from Germany. Another participant reacted to that fact rather surprised leaving me with an impression that my questions and/or way of asking was more legitimized by my background as immigrant but would perhaps not been equally legitimate if I had been Norwegian. After this experience, I was more deliberate to mention my immigrant status in Norway during interviews and focus group discussion, though it is difficult to determine how the (not) mentioning may or may not have affected the data collection both during 'round 1' and 'round 2'.

Yet, my positionality may not only have affected the data collection but is also very likely to have affected both data production and analysis, as well as possible challenges relating to the representation of the research participants. Though important in any data collection, my positionality may be even more so in this study as the main 'subjects' of the study are immigrants, who may find themselves in vulnerable situations in their new country of residence. I have aimed to be aware of my positionality, in addition to biases and preconceptions which are founded in my positionality, before, during and after the sampling, data collection, and analysis. I have further sought to remain visible in publications to account for my positionality and presence during the whole research process.

5. Findings

In this chapter, I will outline the key arguments and findings of the three papers that constitute this thesis. In **chapter 6**, I will link the three papers and discuss their findings in a wider context.

5.1 Paper 1: Problematization of integration in Norwegian policymaking – integration through employment or volunteerism?

In this paper, our aim is to investigate the political understanding of the term integration in Norway. We use Bacchi's *What's the problem represented to be?* (WPR) approach to policy analysis (Bacchi, 2009; Bacchi & Eveline, 2010; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016) to study twenty-nine Norwegian policy documents published between 1973 and 2021. The WPR-approach allows to investigate how policies rather "give shape to 'problems'" (Bacchi, 2009, p. x) instead of simply acknowledging that policies solve some kind of 'social problems'. Further, the WPR approach argues that policies contain implicit representations of the 'problems' they address, and its goal is to scrutinize these representations (Bacchi, 2009; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). Accordingly, governing takes place through these problem representations, and Bacchi (2009) argues that it is important to reflect on where those representations come from and how they operate to shape 'realities'. We use the WPR approach to see how the political understanding of integration has changed in Norway during the past fifty years, and how integration has been problematized.

We show that integration has largely been problematized as unemployment and its resulting threat to the welfare state. Suggested solutions to this 'problem' have been more formal demands to the individual immigrant including the successful participation in the Introduction Programme and individual integration contracts between Introduction Programme participants and the respective municipalities. These measures target to a large degree refugees and asylum-seekers which contributes to a subjectification of refugees and asylum-seekers as 'unemployed'. In recent decades, we see that societal participation has come to the fore in political documents as part of the concept *everyday life integration*. Here, the voluntary sector

is seen to play a crucial role as both an arena and actor contributing to integration. We suggest that this is a turn in the political approach to integration pointing towards de-subjectifying immigrants as 'unemployed'. Nevertheless, we also suggest that the voluntary sector is being put under increasing pressure to contribute to public tasks.

The developments described in this article need to be seen in the light of bigger changes, including an increasingly 'civic' approach to integration especially in the Scandinavian countries, in that immigrants are to become "citizens" (e.g. Borevi et al., 2017). Moreover, recent developments in Norwegian integration policies should be seen in the light of what Vasta (2007) has called "moral panic", and what Djuve (2011) described as the (changing) public debate around immigration and integration to which research has contributed and during which the governmental documents and acts were written.

5.2 Paper 2: Minoritizing processes and power relations between volunteers and immigrant participants

The voluntary sector is a strong pillar in Norwegian society and has in recent years gained increasing attention as an arena for integration (Kunnskapsdepartementet [Ministry for Education and Research], 2021). In the Norwegian Strategy for Integration (Integreringsstrategi, 2018) which aims for immigrants' increased feeling of belonging and participation in social life, participation in the civil society and voluntary organizations is seen as a tool to counteract segregation and to further the understanding of core values and norms in the Norwegian society as part of the so-called 'everyday life integration' [*hverdagsintegrering*] (see also Hverdagsintegrering strategi, 2021). Here, the idea that voluntary activities is a central aspect as these can become arenas for (social) integration since they create spaces for being social and being part of a community (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017). Such an understanding can also be found in Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework on integration, where volunteer activities are seen as good ways to establish social connections. These connections in turn are understood to play a fundamental role in "driving the process of integration on a local level" (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 177).

Based on one case in form of a focus group with volunteers at a Norwegian community centre, I explore in this paper social connections and relations between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants through analysing narratives of the participants of one focus group and their ideas of how the voluntary sector can contribute to integration processes of immigrants. As this study is exploratory, it puts questions forward rather than finding answers to what voluntary activities may achieve in terms of integration processes. It aims to contribute

to a more nuanced picture of integration processes in and through voluntary activities and to bring into view potential risks of creating unequal power relations in the social connections between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants that may allow minoritizing processes.

I show along three layers (individual, a 'need to help', and structural traits) that social relations between volunteers and immigrant participants exist along multiple axes. These axes are among others related to assumptions and ascriptions on the side of the volunteers regarding (potential) immigrant participants, the volunteers' motivation and perception of their own role, the role that may be ascribed to the volunteers and overarching structural issues. These aspects have been shown to potentially favour minoritizing processes.

This study raises questions concerning several aspects, among others the role of gender in minoritization processes within a (Norwegian) voluntary setting and whether women are in particular subject to minoritizing processes, especially when seen in light of intersectionality (cf. Thun, 2012a, 2012b, 2015). It remains to be seen whether a 'need to help' and minoritization may be amplified by an assumption of for instance "Muslim women needing saving" as proposed by Abu-Lughod (2002; 2013; see also Comim and Nussbaum, 2014; Nussbaum, 2012). In addition, further inquiry is needed to explore whether these social relations and power imbalances may reveal something about integration processes in the society at large.

5.3 Paper 3: Constructing volunteering from an immigrant perspective – An example from Norway

When it comes to the intersection between integration (processes) and the voluntary sector's role in integration (processes), much of the scholarship seems to focus on the questions of *who* and *what* in addition to *why immigrants should join voluntary activities*. In return, few studies address immigrants' own experiences of volunteering in their new country of residence, nor the questions of *how* and *why* immigrants join voluntary activities and/or organizations. Given that in Norway the voluntary sector and volunteering are increasingly attributed an active role in (everyday life) integration, this seems to be a considerable knowledge gap. This paper draws on five focus group discussions with adult immigrants on their experiences with integration and volunteering in Norway. Thus, this study seeks to add nuances to the discussion of (non-)participation of immigrants in voluntary activities.

Following a thematic analysis rooted in a social constructionist approach (Braun & Clarke, 2022) of five focus group discussions with in total 18 participants, this study finds that the

participants relate both positive experiences and critical understandings. The participants provided a mostly broad understanding of volunteering ranging from holding formal positions on boards of voluntary organizations, to helping one's neighbour, to going the extra mile at work. They constructed volunteering as needing to happen out of one's own free will, activities that happen outside of one's house, and volunteering for the benefit of one's children. Some participants further discussed the central role volunteering holds in Norway, and that it was important for them to "crack the code" to better understand Norwegian society.

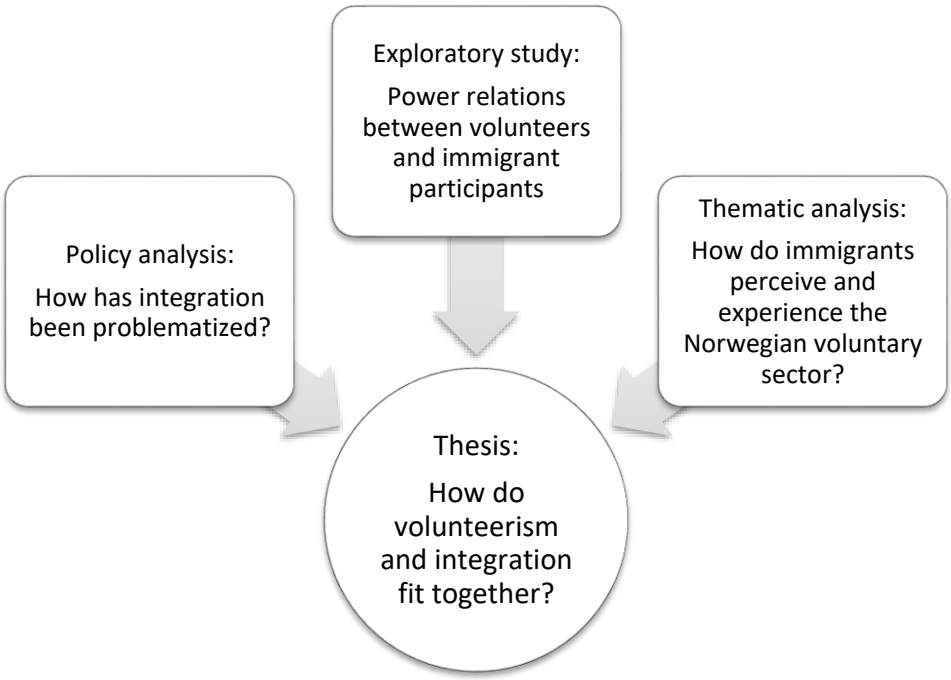
The study finds that experiences and understandings constructed during the focus group discussions may point not only towards the positive aspects of volunteering, but also towards certain obstacles discouraging others, particularly immigrants, from participating. Central in larger parts of the discussions was the Norwegian concept *dugnad*, a collective voluntary effort. The participants' experiences with *dugnad* were two-fold: On the one hand, they acknowledged the possibilities for socializing and networking. On the other hand, some of the participants were highly critical, expressing their lack of understanding for *dugnader* being used as a substitution for public responsibilities, and calling it a form of "forced volunteering". These observations point towards complex structures which, though under the umbrella of volunteerism in Norway, do not entirely fit for instance the International Labour Organization's definition of volunteering. Moreover, the participants' contemplations unveil some of what could be described as hidden costs of volunteering in form of time and paying for extra expenses if one for instance lacks a network to sell raffle tickets to.

Further findings relate to previous experiences of volunteering in for instance one's country of origin. Previous experiences of volunteering are taken to the new country of residence, such as Norway, and shape the way immigrants construct volunteering and enter voluntary arenas. In conclusion, these reflections point towards that one should not leave previous experiences out of consideration when contemplating the benefits of volunteering for integration processes.

6. Discussion

The three papers that are part of this thesis are quite diverse, both in terms of methods, data, and analytical approaches. Yet, they address different aspects of the same issue: how volunteerism and processes of and around integration interact, and where and how the voluntary sector may facilitate – or hamper – integration processes, albeit from different angles and with different perspectives, as shown in **Figure 4**. In the following, I will address and discuss issues that permeate the three papers, in addition to other aspects that affect the frame and context of integration in and/or through the voluntary sector.

Figure 4 *The three papers and the thesis*



6.1 A changing welfare state and the co-production of (integration) services

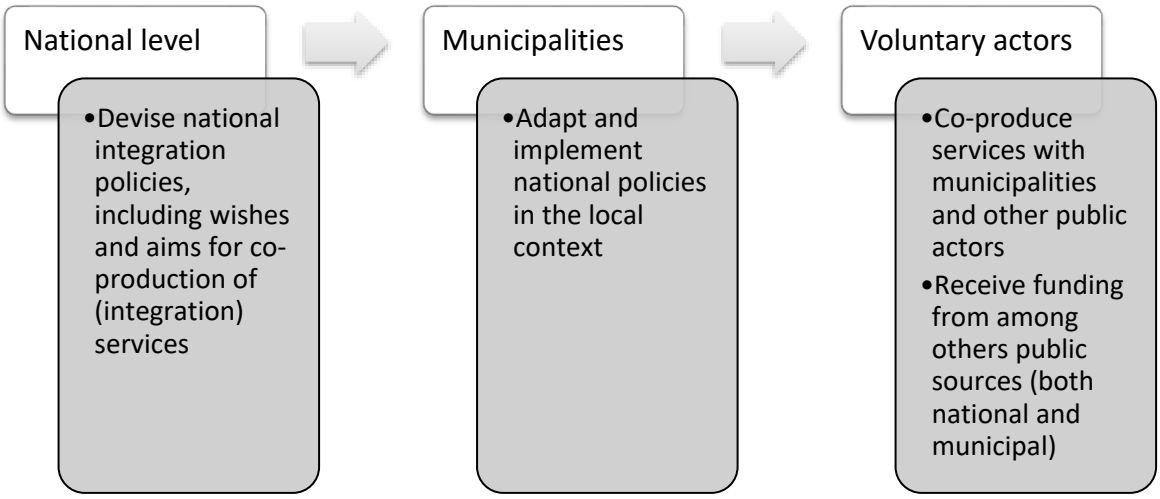
The voluntary sector in Norway, and the other Nordic countries, has traditionally been quite close to the public and political sector (Enjolras & Strømsnes, 2018; Stende et al., 2020), and increasingly civil society organizations provide what could be described as welfare services (Bontenbal & Lillie, 2022), including services related to integration (Eimhjellen, 2021; Eimhjellen & Loga, 2017; Eimhjellen et al., 2021; Fehsenfeld, 2019; Fehsenfeld & Levinsen, 2019; Frederiksen & Grubb, 2021a, 2021b; Grubb & Vitus, 2022; Ibsen et al., 2021; Ibsen, 2021). This collaboration strategy between the welfare state and the voluntary sector can be called *co-production*[14] to describe the cooperation between the different sectors and their roles in relation to each other (e.g. Eimhjellen & Loga, 2017; Ibsen et al., 2021). The development of involving the voluntary sector in public tasks in Norway has been described since the 1990s (Selle, 1993) and some have attributed the development to a political turn towards New Public Management and later New Public Governance (Eimhjellen & Loga, 2017). Fehsenfeld and Levinsen (2019) argue that due to tightening budgets in addition to increasing demands for social service providers, public authorities for instance in Denmark turn towards voluntary organizations and actors as partners to provide and co-produce social services. They show that this development in particular gained traction post-2015 and in light of rapidly increasing numbers of refugees in need of social services.

In their study of co-production between voluntary organizations and volunteers on the one hand, and a large Danish municipality on the other, Frederiksen and Grubb (2021b) show among others that there are different values and goals at play on either side. In the case of immigrant welfare services, they show that the municipality would rather choose voluntary organizations that were less likely to be critical towards or challenging the municipal policies. Similarly, the authors show that volunteers at times felt that the municipality uttered quite concrete requests, leaving little room for creativity and flexibility for the volunteers. This study by Frederiksen and Grubb (2021b) can be understood as an example of a shift towards a more 'integrated task collaboration' where the public sector rather seek to collaborate to develop and produce welfare services with volunteers, voluntary organizations and associations, in contrast to considering the autonomy of the voluntary sector to a larger degree (Ibsen, 2021).

[14] *Samskaping* in Norwegian, or *samskabelse* in Danish.

Though not addressing co-production explicitly, **Paper 2** and **Paper 3** should be seen with policymakers' wish for co-production as backdrop. This is due to different levels being involved in co-production, as shown in **Figure 5**: On the national level, policymakers create frames and laws on immigration and integration affecting rights, duties, and obligations for both the public sector in and (potential) immigrants to Norway, including the aims and wishes to co-produce (integration) services. Municipalities adapt and implement national policies in a local context, including cooperating with voluntary actors to co-produce services. On the third level, voluntary actors co-produce services with and for public actors and/or receive funding from public sources on national, such as IMDi[15], and municipal levels. Voluntary actors' motivation to provide such services may vary, ranging from integration and inclusion being part of their objective – as for instance may be the case for some humanitarian organizations – or because of their wish to include – as for instance may be the case for sports' clubs. Yet, the dimension of receiving funding should also be taken into consideration as a motivational factor as especially smaller organizations struggle to secure enough funding (Eimhjellen & Loga, 2017; Loga, 2018). While **Paper 1** is addressing the national level of policymaking, **Paper 2** and **Paper 3** are located at the opposite end – or rather beyond that end –, as they address lived experiences of both voluntary actors and immigrants within the voluntary sector.

Figure 5 *Levels in the co-production of (integration) services*



[15] See for instance https://www.imdi.no/tilskudd/ for funding schemes targeting among others voluntary organizations.

The shift towards increasing co-production can be problematic for several reasons; policymakers seem among others to assume that there is a never-ending reservoir of goodwill and engagement in the civil society without considering the challenges the civil society may face when it takes on a growing role and responsibility in integration (see among others Kelemen et al., 2017). **Paper 2** addresses another problem: One can assume that most volunteers lack professional education within fields such as social work, and/or knowledge and skills to deal with challenging circumstances and situations, such as dealing with traumas refugees may have experienced. Among others, this would make them rather poorly equipped to address for instance potential pitfalls favouring minoritizing processes. In the event of co-production of activities for immigrants, the question can be raised whether municipalities would provide support and education to voluntary actors to prevent potentially harmful situations.

In addition, Grubb and Vitus (2022) argue that the development of increasing co-production within the integration field and the shift in policymaking contribute to a "clientisation", creating a commissioner/service-provider relation between the public and the voluntary sector, and – in the case of their study – refugees. In **Paper 2**, I raise a similar question showing that under certain circumstances relationships between volunteers and immigrant participants arise resembling service provider and service recipient. Such a relationship may contribute to minoritization of immigrant participants, depriving immigrants of agency, and putting immigrant participants in a more passive role, contradicting an aim to increase participation and active citizenship among the immigrant population.

Furthermore, there seems to be little data on the effectiveness of co-production as pointed out by Steen et al. (2018) who state that co-production often seems to be seen as a virtue in and of itself, yet that intended outcomes such as efficiency or effectiveness are unproven. Similarly, Røiseland and Lo (2019) indicate that co-production tends to be more of a slogan than encompassing actual meaning. In **Paper 1**, we show that integration policies in Norway have increasingly included the voluntary sector, which can be argued to be policymakers' aim to co-produce (more) offers for immigrants to facilitate integration. Yet, Garibay and de Cuyper (2018) show in their review of 47 integration policy documents from Western European countries that said policies are not evidence based, which could then also be asked about integration policies in Norway. Though the authors acknowledge that the existence of integration policies in Western Europe are relatively new so that they may not be any 'results' of them yet, it raises the question whether policies including co-production of integration services are also not evidence based.

In **chapter 6.4**, I will come back to the levels depicted in **Figure 5,** how they relate to each other, and I will discuss them in the light of the aspects discussed in the following sub-chapters.

6.2 The 'problem' of integration

When talking about the co-production of integration services, or the intersection of volunteerism and integration in general, it is necessary to address and discuss integration and the challenges linked to the (uncritical) use of the concept. As I have pointed out in **chapter 2.1**, integration as a concept has been increasingly under scrutiny in scholarship. However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to circumvent using it as it has been and is still the go-to-term in western countries and their policies to describe processes linked to the incorporation of immigrants in society. What is problematic about the notion integration is that it is multi-layered, has slightly different meanings depending on context and user, and that its meanings are seldomly made explicit.

In the context of this thesis and its papers, the central (problematic) aspect of integration is linked to power and power imbalance. Questions that can be raised here are linked to Who is to integrate into what, and by whom? For though there is an implicit understanding that integration is in relation to two groups merging somehow – that is a majority and a minority, or 'the' receiving society and 'the' immigrants – some have pointed out that integration much rather resembles a one-way process in which 'the' immigrants are to aspire to a benchmark set and judged on by 'the' receiving society (Klarenbeek, 2019a, 2019b; Klarenbeek & Weide, 2019; Meissner & Heil, 2020; Rytter, 2018; Schiller, 2021; Schinkel, 2018; see also **chapter 3.2.2**).

6.2.1 Integration for whom?

Integration as a concept is further problematic due to uncertainty of who is referred to. As pointed out in **Paper 1**, policy documents in Norway primarily problematize integration in relation to refugees and/or asylum seekers and their family members. We showed that Norwegian (written) policy documents have problematized refugees as unemployed and in need of help to increase their employability which in turn begs the question whether integration – or becoming integrated – here is mostly understood as being employed and thus paying taxes to contribute to the welfare state. This problematizing of integration is supported by among others Strang and Ager (2010) and McPherson (2010) who address that migrants, in particular those that migrate due to economic or forced reasons, often are defined as 'other' and the 'problem'.

Integration hence can be linked to processes of minoritization and majoritization since certain groups are minoritized through language and discourses in among others policy documents. Both **Paper 1** and **Paper 2** address issues linked to refugees and/or immigrants from countries in the Global South being perceived as especially 'in need of help' to integrate and become integrated. Both papers show that measures linked to facilitating integration tend to address primarily refugees while other immigrants tend to be forgotten, leading to little support for example for immigrants from EU countries (Valenta & Strabac, 2011). That being said, the recently published NOU 2022: 18 *Between mobility and migration: Work immigrants' integration into Norwegian labour and social life* shows that Norwegian policymakers have started to acknowledge a previously lacking focus in integration policies on EU and labour migrants and their families. However, a greater focus on one or few specific immigrant populations may contribute to minoritization, as their higher presence in especially policy documents contributes to them being defined as 'problematic' and in need of help thus. One example of difference in treatment in policy documents and resulting problematic dynamics is the provisional changes to the Integration Act (2021) only affecting Ukrainian refugees (Midlertidig endringslov som følge av ankomst av fordrevne fra Ukraina, 2022), affecting the rights and duties Ukrainian refugees to Norway have to fulfil in contrast to any other person coming to Norway falling under the Integration Act.

It can be argued that one can differentiate between different 'levels' where minoritization takes place: On the one hand, policy documents lay the groundwork for policies, implementation for policies, and political acts to contribute to minoritizing processes through language and discourses (**Paper 1**). On the other hand, volunteers and voluntary activities may contribute to minoritizing processes by 'living' and acting on assumptions and discourses, such as inadvertently sustaining knowledge gaps and in providing activities resembling service provider/service recipient dynamics (**Paper 2**). Both these points not least refer to language use and discourses, as how persons and groups are talked about and referred to shape understandings and these groups are perceived as 'problematic' and in need of a 'solution' through policymaking. These processes and dynamics are likely in many cases (re)produced subliminally, hence a 'solution' to these processes is to become (more) aware of them and critically examine one's strategies and projects, so one can counteract minoritizing processes.

6.2.2 Gendered discourses

Several scholars have addressed gender in immigrant integration discourses, among others Korteweg (2017). Gendered discourses on immigrant integration tend to be paternalistic and to

argue that immigrant women need extra help to integrate for instance due to lacking appreciation of gender equality (Korteweg, 2017; see also Abu-Lughod, 2013). The gendered nature of discourses on integration can also be detected in the three papers of this thesis and are perhaps most visible in **Paper 2**.

In **Paper 2**, I argue that there can be processes of minoritization in settings of volunteering for and/or with immigrants. Having a closer look at the narratives woven around Azmia, one could however also argue that as a woman Azmia may be particularly subjected to minoritization. This may even have been amplified by the fact that Azmia is a Muslim women who came to Norway as a refugee. Azmia was contrasted with other immigrant women who were said to be stay-at-home mothers, have (many) children, and would not have the same kind of support from their families as Azmia ostensibly had. These narratives can be argued to be gendered, as it seems likely that the focus group participants would have discussed Azmia differently if she had been a man and all other aspects had been the same. Azmia seems to be subjected to paternalistic behaviour and this begs the question of to what degree other immigrant women are subjected to gendered minoritization in Norwegian (voluntary) settings.

It can hardly be doubted that female and male migrants' experiences may differ significantly. Experiences and processes of integration are influenced by various factors such as diverse reasons for migrating like work, family, or to seek refuge, but also because women and men experience migration differently alongside gender norms and expectations, power relations, and unequal rights (Curran et al., 2006; O'Neil et al., 2016). Though "women usually have less control over the decision to migrate than men – a decision more likely to be taken by their family" (O'Neil et al., 2016, p. 4), examples including domestic work and care chains, illegal migration or "mail order brides" show that this is not always the case. Just as gender affects the decision and the experiences of migration, gender affects the way immigrants arrive and settle in in a new country, too. However, in research the focus is often on immigrant women and the Norwegian labour market (cf. Djuve et al., 2017; NOU 2017: 2). While this approach is due to the Norwegian welfare system, which relies on general participation in the labour market, the approach to gender and integration is often based on assumptions and prejudices. This is well shown in he NOU 2017: 2 stating that "it is important to stress that gender equality is not only a 'Norwegian value' one can adopt or reject – women's participation in working life is a prerequisite for the comprehensive and service-intensive Norwegian welfare system to work" (NOU 2017: 2, p. 175).

6.2.3 Increasing individualization of integration

Another problematic aspect of the concept of integration is the increasing individualization of integration (outcomes). We showed in **Paper 1** that integration from a policy perspective has been increasingly becoming the responsibility of the individual immigrant, especially of refugees and asylum seekers. This is in particular the case of the documents published after 2015. In the Integration Act of 2021 (Integreringsloven, 2021) for instance, the law requires participants in the Introduction Programme – who almost exclusively are refugees or their family members – to sign a contract with the municipality where they are accommodated. Though the act states that these contracts clarify the reciprocal responsibilities of the immigrant and the municipality, the responsibilities placed on the immigrant tend to be more concrete while the municipality's responsibilities remain mostly vague and on a general basis.

One could argue that an individualization of integration also is visible in **Paper 2** and the focus group's discourses with and about Azmia. Several focus group participants argue at various times that Azmia is different than others, that she is unique, and that her "go-ahead spirit" (**Paper 2**, p. 29) distinguishes her from other (female) immigrants. The focus group does not seem to reflect around the structural or systemic frame affecting integration, but rather focuses on the individual – in this case Azmia – and their role in becoming integrated. Moreover, **Paper 3** and the focus group participants there show one's own motivation is both crucial in the choice to (not) volunteer and affects one's willingness to "got out there" and to interact with others. Though the individual's motivation is central in integration, it nevertheless begs the question of what kind of role society at large is to play in integration (processes).

If one were to follow the line of thought that integration is a matter of the respective individual immigrant and their motivation, and would reverse this argument, the result would be that society at large – excluding any immigrant – is seen to not be accountable for integration (processes or outcomes). Taken to the extremes, this argument would then mean that policymaking lay the groundwork for the abdication of responsibility, apart from the municipalities that are to provide education and other training for any immigrant comprised in the Integration Act (2021). Yet, one could also argue that the recent shift towards *everyday life integration*, is a shift towards including society at large again in integration (processes), in particular by including civil society and volunteerism as arena for integration outside of offers provided through the Integration Act.

6.3 Integration and volunteerism

As pointed out earlier, the voluntary sector and its role in integration (processes) of immigrants has been receiving increasing attention in Norway and the Nordic countries in general. Debates linked to integration and volunteerism address a large variety of issues, including an ostensibly lower rate of participation of immigrants compared to the rest of the population, and volunteerism's role in networking, language training and more (among others Eimhjellen, 2016; see also **chapter 2.3.1**). **Paper 1** shows that the voluntary sector entered the political stage in Norway around the turn of the millennium and has been actively promoted as important for integration from approximately 2015 onwards. Yet, both **Paper 2** and **Paper 3** show that the voluntary sector's role in integration is not simple and exclusively positive. Indeed, there are several factors that point towards the relation not being only positive and beneficial.

6.3.1 Which volunteerism?

First of all, one needs to ask which volunteerism one means when talking about volunteerism's role in integration (processes) of immigrants. The problem with this question– or rather answering it – is that volunteerism can come in a large variety of forms and shapes such as sports, religion, political, or humanitarian, and that one can engage in voluntary activities in different roles: as (paying) member, as volunteer or as participant in activities. A further complication in the debate of volunteerism and integration is that it is seldomly clear whether the voluntary sector is meant as *arena* or as *actor* in connection with integration, including in policy documents (**Paper 1**). Still, not only policy documents can be quite unclear about which volunteerism they talk about. Research publications and other scholarship can be equally unclear. There are hence several challenges related to the question of Which volunteerism?: (1) How is volunteering defined and understood?, (2) Who defines volunteering?, and (3) Who defines the benefits or disadvantages of volunteering in relation to integration?

The first question How is volunteering defined and understood? is crucial, yet, as stated earlier, seldomly explicit in a variety of documents. In **chapter 2.3**, I provided a short introduction to volunteering and scholarship linked to volunteering. In **Paper 3**, I address how some focus group participants understood (their) volunteering, and what they defined as voluntary activities. In the paper, I moreover show that their definitions and understandings were shaped by both their previous experiences and the experiences in the – for them newer – Norwegian context.

The second question Who defines volunteering? is closely linked to the first question. The individual backdrop – both in terms of historical, social, political, socioeconomic context – shape the way volunteering is defined. One could for instance argue that the understanding of volunteering would be different in Norway compared to almost any other country due to Norway's particular historical backdrop and formation. Thus, surveys and other research, but also policymakers, would be biased from the start due to their geographical location. When volunteering is defined, any definition would create frames that unavoidably would exclude and include a certain range of activities and acts. Hence, in terms of volunteerism and integration, most definitions would be formulated from the point of view of the receiving country, as is the case with the concept of integration (see also **chapter 2.1**). Dalen et al. (2022) show for Norway that surveys would thus exclude forms of activities that others may define as volunteering. Yet, if certain activities are excluded, the outcome would be a lower number of respondents stating that they are active in voluntary activities. This is in particular true for informal arenas of volunteering. **Paper 3** shows that the focus group participants' understandings of volunteering can be rather broad, comprising more than many definitions or understandings prevalent in Norwegian policies. The implication of this disparity is that policies may take surveys and their definitions of (formal) volunteering and hence low(er) rates of participation as starting point though these numbers may not necessarily correspond with the actual rates of participation.

These aspects then lead to the question: Who defines the benefits or disadvantages of volunteering for integration, and not least How are these benefits or disadvantages defined? If some forms of volunteering remain invisible, policymakers would be less likely to take their potential positive role in integration into consideration. At the same time, certain forms of volunteering seem to be actively excluded when talking about integration in policy documents, such as religious organizations (see **chapter 2.3.4**). In **Paper 2**, I discuss the potential pitfalls of volunteerism in that some forms of volunteering – though with the best intention – may contribute to minoritizing processes. At the same time, the findings in **Paper 3** point towards a mixed understanding of (the benefits of) volunteering among immigrants in Norway. Though some focus group participants address potential benefits, such as "cracking the code", others discuss the downsides of volunteering in Norway, in form of "forced volunteering" and hidden costs. Other participants again discuss how volunteering in Norway is (significantly) different to the volunteering they had previously experienced. I argue that these previous experiences shape the way one chooses to volunteer in Norway and thus also limits the expected beneficial role of volunteerism in integration.

Together, these three questions point towards areas in which power is exercised as a product of history through language and discourse. I argue that discourses linked to volunteering and immigrants in line with the notion of integration are rooted in discourses of power, and vice versa. This power stems at least partly from a gap between what stakeholders Norway expect and wish in terms of volunteerism and integration, in contrast to how immigrant volunteers experience and participate in volunteering in Norway. One can further ask if policymakers would include volunteering in integration policies only as a means to integrate, neglecting the aspect of volunteering for the sake of volunteering, as seems to be the case for many of the focus group participants in **Paper 3**, but also in **Paper 2**. In both papers, the participants recount the social benefits of volunteering, making integration to a larger degree a secondary benefit. Though there also seems to be a temporal aspect in play, in that the focus of why one joins voluntary activities and their meaning shift with the length of the stay in Norway and by implication the growing knowledge of how to navigate in the new society.

6.3.2 Immigrants, volunteering, and the voluntary sector

According to Ambrosini and Artero (2022) there are two predominant visions on immigrants' volunteering: On the one hand, there are those addressing the beneficial sides of immigrants' volunteering as means and measure for (social) integration. On the other hand, there are those arguing that increasing focus on immigrants' volunteering and a push to increase volunteering among immigrants are part of a neoliberal regime of citizenship. All three papers of this thesis find themselves in the middle of these two standpoints. While **Paper 1** addresses how integration is problematized and what is meant to be a solution, it also implicitly addresses the 'positive' and the 'critical' standpoints in the analysed policy documents. The paper shows that policymakers aim to make use of both aspects of volunteering in integration (processes).

In **Paper 2**, the two visions are not as visible though one could argue it, too, addresses how volunteers struggle to negotiate between the 'positive' and the 'critical' visions of volunteering in integration. The focus group participants on the one hand talk about how activities they had organized benefitted immigrant participants, indicating the 'positive' vision of volunteering in integration. On the other hand, discourses and narratives established on and around Azmia also indicate that her volunteering contributes to an image of a contributing immigrant, "someone who wants in into society" (**Paper 2**, p. 27), to quote one of the focus group participants. One could argue that this notion points towards a more neoliberal regime of citizenship.

Lastly, **Paper 3** hints towards a struggle immigrants experience when volunteering in terms of whether volunteering is 'positive' or viewed critically. The focus group participants in this

paper reflect both on what volunteering has meant for them individually as to their social lives, "cracking the code" of Norwegian society, and contributing to their children's welfare. They moreover reflect on the voluntary sector's role in society and how volunteering has in certain areas become less voluntary and more forced. They in particular address *dugnad* for instance in kindergartens or schools and argue that the voluntary sector in these cases takes over for what they assume to be public responsibilities. In that sense, the focus group participants themselves utter both a 'positive' and a 'critical' vision of volunteering. In contrast to Ambrosini and Artero (2022) however, they address both perspectives on volunteering in Norway in general and not only in regards to integration (processes).

6.3.3 The 'costs' of volunteering?

In lack of a better term, this chapter addresses the 'costs' of volunteering. By 'costs' I mean barriers and extra efforts (some) immigrants have to overcome when volunteering in Norway. These costs are perhaps most visible in **Paper 3**, when some focus group participants talk about how previous experiences have shaped their understanding and access to volunteering in Norway. Another example from the same paper are the hidden costs of volunteering such as raffle tickets or other means to raise money by making use of one's network. The second example shows that some immigrants face more challenges when joining the voluntary sector due to lack of economic resources or due to a lack of social connections.

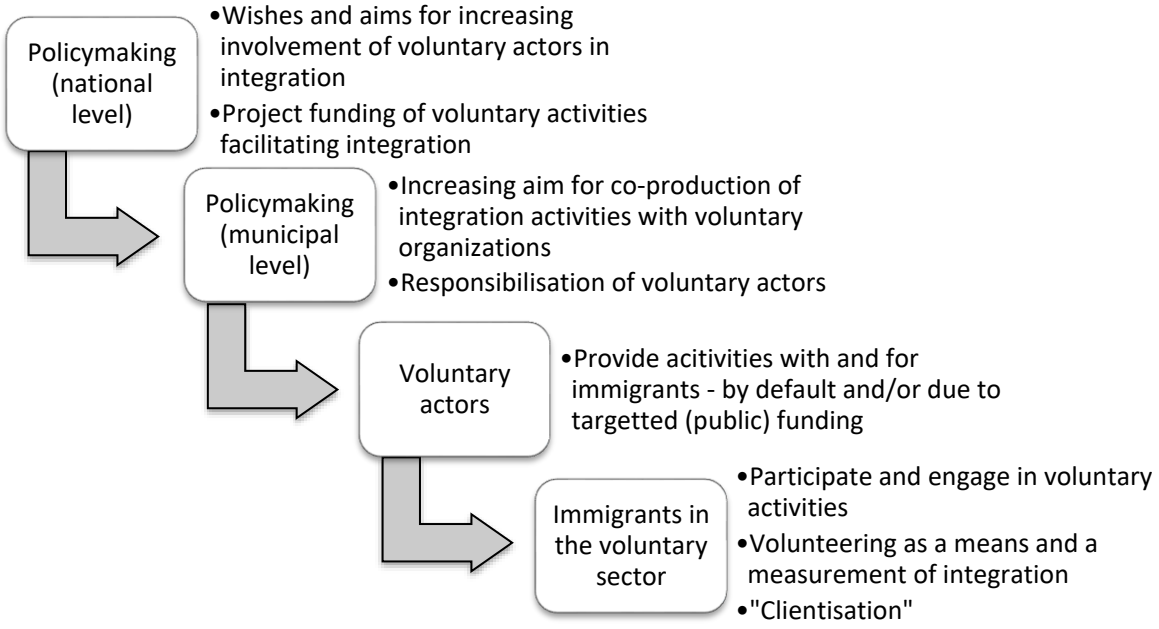
Paper 2 by contrast addresses another challenge that is more hidden and perhaps rather on a systemic level. Minoritization processes can be argued to contribute to obstacles preventing or at least making it harder to join voluntary organization and/ or activities, though one should differentiate in this case between joining the voluntary sector as a participant or an active volunteer. **Paper 2** shows that voluntary organizations may wish to organize events and activities for immigrants to *participate* in. In that sense voluntary activities are an offer, and the voluntary organizations and volunteers behind are service providers, while immigrants can be rather understood as service recipients. Though surely beneficial for many, these activities may counteract a vision of immigrants having agency, resources, and experiences that the voluntary sector may benefit from. It may make it harder for immigrants to overcome this subjectification and become active volunteers that can shape voluntary organizations and activities, in particular predominantly those by and with so-called 'ethnic Norwegian' volunteers. In a context like this, the question is raised of what kind of integration these activities should facilitate or if indeed they are beneficial for integration.

6.4 Stitching it together: A discussion of power in the intersection of integration and volunteerism

So far in this discussion chapter, I have addressed common themes appearing in all three papers to different degrees: A changing welfare state and increasing co-production, the problem of 'integration', and immigrants in the voluntary sector. Through these three themes, I have sought to make power (relations) visible, which affect different dimensions, stakeholders, and other involved parties. In **Figure 6**, I have expanded and refined **Figure 5** to make potential power imbalances and relations apparent. The figure includes four domains: policymaking on a national level, policymaking on a municipal level, voluntary actors, and immigrants in the voluntary sector. These four domains stand in relation to one another, affect and are affected by co-production, and in their interplay power can be made visible.

At the top of **Figure 6**, we find policymaking on a national level, defining guidelines for how integration can and/or should take place, including the wish for increased involvement of voluntary actors, as described in **Paper 1**. These guidelines and policies affect the municipal level, which adapts and implements national policies. Though relatively free to interpret and adapt national policies towards their respective wishes, Trætteberg and Enjolras (2023) show that the structuring of integration efforts in the different municipalities are often rather similar. We show in **Paper 1** that municipalities in policies such as the Integration Act (2021) are put

Figure 6 *Power relations in the intersection of integration and volunteerism*



in positions of responsibility regarding integration outcomes[16], among others through so-called "integration contracts" between the individual Introductory Programme participant and the municipality. Thus, the responsibility for achieving integration is transferred 'down' one domain.

Simultaneously, national policy documents define frames for how integration is understood, and what it takes to integrate. As they act in accordance with national policies, municipalities accommodate these understandings, potentially reproducing minoritization processes inherent in the concept of integration (see **chapter 6.1**). These reproduction mechanisms may then be transferred to voluntary actors, including passing on responsibility for integration outcomes. Municipalities engage voluntary actors to facilitate integration as a result of national policies, though co-production can also be motivated by economic reasons (Eimhjellen & Loga, 2017; Loga, 2018). In the case of co-production of (welfare) services, municipalities find themselves often in a position of relative power in relation to voluntary actors. Other studies have shown that municipalities may choose voluntary actors that are least likely to be critical towards their approaches and wishes while voluntary actors are, to some extent, dependent on public funding (Frederiksen & Grubb, 2021b). It is important to note that not all voluntary actors within the integration field are co-producing services with public actors, yet they find themselves in the context of narratives and discourses related to migration and integration, which in turn are shaped by and shape themselves power relations. These narratives and discourses include processes of responsibilisation (Grubb & Vitus, 2022). Hence, voluntary actors are subject – either directly or indirectly – to power relations and imbalances between them and public actors.

The last 'arrow' in the figure addresses the direction of power between voluntary actors and immigrants in the voluntary sector. **Paper 2** shows that voluntary activities may contribute to minoritization processes of immigrant participants, thus again reproducing and imposing positions of relative power a level 'down' to immigrants in the voluntary sector. It further shows that knowledge is a central aspect of volunteering for/with immigrants in that volunteers have more knowledge than many recently arrived immigrants on how Norwegian society 'works'. This makes knowledge a central aspect of the power at work in some voluntary activities and arenas.

[16] Whatever one may mean by 'integration outcomes' and however one defines 'positive' outcomes.

All three papers have in common that they show that power is exercised, not given nor exchanged or recovered (see **chapter 3.1**). They further have in common, that language and discourse is at the centre of the execution of power. In **Paper 1**, policymakers problematize through language what integration is (not), excluding some groups while problematizing others to a larger degree. In **Paper 2**, volunteers reproduce assumptions and facilitate minoritizing processes through discourse and narratives. In **Paper 3**, immigrants recount how voluntary arenas helped them in the beginning. Yet, as they 'catch up' on their missing knowledge and gain experiences allowing them to navigate the Norwegian society more easily, volunteering and its role seems to change for them. However, **Paper 3** also gives insight into how immigrants to Norway navigate and make sense of the system in which volunteerism operates in Norway. They among others recount their meeting with a co-producing welfare state in that they critically discuss "forced volunteering" at schools and kindergartens which they argue are public institutions and thus should be exclusively under the care of the public sector.

All three papers further have in common that they find themselves in a rather specific context of increasing focus on integration in policymaking and growing interest in co-production of welfare services. Taking into considerations the aspects I discussed in **chapter 6.2** and **chapter 6.3** that both integration and volunteering 'for' integration find themselves in a situation affected by history and discourses; that is that certain groups define both what integration and volunteering for the 'benefit' of integration are, it seems that policymakers through co-production facilitate the reproduction of power asymmetry. This power asymmetry pertains both to the public sector often maintaining the last say in co-production processes and defines what kind of volunteering is deemed beneficial thus relaying power asymmetry to voluntary actors over (immigrant) participants. This leaves immigrants to navigate both discourses and narratives pertaining integration itself, but also volunteerism with its potentials and pitfalls.

7. Integration and the voluntary sector: An unfavourable pairing, or the perfect match?

I feel it is necessary to stress once again, that though this thesis is rather critical, this does not mean I am critical of *all* volunteering when it comes to integration. Both **Paper 2** and **Paper 3** show that volunteering for some and under certain circumstances has been highly beneficial, both as an arena to learn about Norwegian society and customs, but also because of the act of volunteering and being social itself. In addition, volunteers and voluntary actors find themselves in somewhat of a squeeze between wishing to do good, securing funding, juggling a large variety of societal challenges and not least catering to all kinds of people. Volunteers in most cases are not professionals, so how high expectations can they and should they meet? Further, my aim in this thesis has been to *not* contribute further to the underlying structures and power relations based on the histories of colonialism and othering. Instead, I have sought to 'reverse' the lens and to uncover these structures and power relations which affect integration processes of immigrants in Norway today.

The aim of this thesis has been to **explore how volunteerism and processes of and around integration interact, and where and how the voluntary sector may facilitate – or hamper – integration processes**. Having said this, to the question of whether integration and the voluntary sector in Norway are an unfavourable pairing or a perfect match, the answer is clearly: *both/and*. Volunteering and volunteerism can be a valuable arena and actor to facilitate integration, in terms of supporting immigrants to "crack the code", to provide assistance when needed, or to be an arena to be social and where one can contribute in a meaningful way to the community. However, volunteering and volunteerism can also contribute to maintaining power imbalances, minoritizing processes, or discourses of immigrants 'in need of help'. I have shown that these less favourable aspects can be argued to be fuelled by the shift in policymaking towards increasing co-production of services.

These findings open up for more questions, and future research is needed in a variety of fields, including on some of the following questions: (1) Are integration policies including the voluntary sector as (beneficial) actor including co-production of integration services evidence

based?; (2) How is volunteering defined, and does the definition encompass all immigrants, or is the definition too limited to 'the' Norwegian definition of volunteering?; (3) How do immigrants navigate the intersection of integration and volunteering?; and (4) How does the voluntary sector cope with increasing (social) diversity and growing expectations to what it can and should achieve?

Yet already now, the findings are of relevance for public and voluntary sectors. The challenge for both policymakers, the public sector and voluntary actors is to find a balance between encouraging volunteerism as actor and arena for integration on the one hand, and on the other hand being aware of power asymmetries, acknowledging the diversity of volunteerism, providing room for individual choices, and educating public and voluntary actors on potential pitfalls of using volunteerism to facilitate integration.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Policy analysis

1. List over analysed documents in revers chronological order, incl. English translation of the titles
2. Template and example of the extraction sheet
3. Co-author declaration for **Paper 1**

List over analysed documents in reverse chronological order

Year	Title
2021	Hverdagsintegrering – strategi for å styrke sivilsamfunnets rolle på integreringsfeltet 2021-2024 *Everyday life integration – strategy to strengthen the civil society's role in the integration field 2021-2024*
2021	Lov om integrering gjennom opplæring, utdanning og arbeid (integreringsloven) *Act on integration through training, education and work (Integration Act)*
2020	Forskrift til integreringsloven (integreringsforskrift) *Regulation on the Integration Act (Integration Regulation)*
2020	Innst. 389 L (2019–2020) Innstilling fra kommunal- og forvaltningskomiteen om Lov om integrering gjennom opplæring, utdanning og arbeid (integreringsloven) *Innst. 389 L (2019–2020) Report from the municipal and administration committee on the Act on integration through training, education and work (Integration Act)*
2020	Prop. 89 L (2019–2020) Lov om integrering gjennom opplæring, utdanning og arbeid (integreringsloven) *Prop. 89 L (2019–2020) Act on integration through training, education and work (Integration Act)*
2018	Integrering gjennom kunnskap. Regjeringens integreringsstrategi 2019–2022 *Integration through knowledge The Government's integration strategy for 2019-2022*
2018	Meld. St. 10 (2018-2019) Frivilligheita - sterk, sjølvstendig, mangfaldig: Den statlege frivilligheitspolitikken *Meld. St. 10 (2018-2019) Volunteerism – strong, independent, diverse: The governmental volunteerism policy*
2017	NOU 2017:2 Integrasjon og tillit: Langsiktige konsekvenser av høy innvandring *NOU 2017:2 Integration and trust — Long-term consequences of high immigration*
2016	Meld. St. 30 (2015-2016): Fra mottak til arbeidsliv – en effektiv integreringspolitikk *Meld. St. 30 (2015–2016) - From reception centre to the labour market – an effective integration policy*
2016	Meld. St. 18 (2015-2016) Friluftsliv – Natur som kjelde til helse og livskvalitet *Meld. St. 18 (2015-2016) Outdoor life – Nature as source for health and quality of life*

Year	Title
2015	Brosjyre: REGJERINGENS MÅL FOR INTEGRERING er at alle som bor i Norge skal få bruke ressursene sine og bidra til fellesskapet *THE GOVERNMENT'S INTEGRATION GOALS All who live in Norway should be able to use their resources and contribute to society*
2015	Frivillighetserklæringen - erklæring for samspillet mellom regjeringen og frivillig sektor *The declaration for the voluntary sector – declaration for the cooperation between the government and the voluntary sector*
2012	Meld. St. 6 (2012-2013) En helhetlig integreringspolitikk – Mangfold og fellesskap *Meld. St. 6 (2012-2013) A holistic integration policy – Diversity and community*
2011	NOU 2011:14 Bedre integrering: Mål, strategier, tiltak *NOU 2011:14 Better integration: Goals, strategies, measures*
2011	NOU 2011:7 Velferd og migrasjon: Den norske modellens framtid *NOU 2011:7 Welfare and migration: The Norwegian model's future*
2010	NOU 2010: 7 Mangfold og mestring — Flerspråklige barn, unge og voksne i opplæringssystemet *NOU 2010:7 Diversity and coping – Multilingual children, youths and adults in the education system*
2007	St.meld. nr. 39 (2006-2007) Frivillighet for alle *St.meld. nr. 39 (2006-2007) Volunteerism for everyone*
2004	St.meld. nr. 49 (2003-2004) Mangfold gjennom inkludering og deltakelse: Ansvar og frihet *St.meld. nr. 49 (2003-2004) Diversity through inclusion and participation: Responsibility and freedom*
2003	Lov om introduksjonsordning og norskopplæring for nyankomne innvandrere (introduksjonsloven) *Act on the introduction scheme and Norwegian language training for newly arrived immigrants (Introduction Act)*
2001	NOU 2001:20 Lov om introduksjonsordning for nyankomne innvandrere (Introduksjonsloven) *NOU 2001:20 Act on the introduction scheme for newly arrived immigrants (Introduction Act)*

Year	Title	
	2016	Rundskriv G-01/2016: Rundskriv til lov om introduksjonsordning og norskopplæring for nyankomne innvandrere (introduksjonsloven) *Circular G-01/2016: Circular on the Act on the introduction scheme and Norwegian language training for newly arrived immigrants (Introduction Act)*
2000	St.meld. nr. 17 (2000-2001) Asyl- og flyktningpolitikken i Noreg *St.meld. nr. 17 (2000-2001) Asylum and refugee policy in Norway*	
1996	St.meld. nr. 17 (1996-1997). Om innvandring og det fleirkulturelle Norge *St.meld. nr. 17 (1996-1997) On immigration and the multicultural Norway*	
1994	St.meld. nr. 17 (1994-95) Om flyktningpolitikken *St.meld. nr. 17 (1994-95) On the refugee policy*	
1990	St.meld. nr. 61 (1989-90) Om bosetting og integrering av flyktninger og personer med oppholdstillatelse på humanitært grunnlag - organisering, ressursbruk og finansieringsordninger. *St.meld. nr. 61 (1989-90) On the settlement and integration of refugees and persons with residence permit on humanitarian grounds – organization, use of resources and financing schemes*	
1986	NOU 1986:8 Flyktningers tilpasning til det norske samfunn *NOU 1986:8 Refugees' adaption to the Norwegian society*	
1979	St.meld. nr. 84 (1978-79) Om Norges hjelp til flyktninger *St.meld. nr. 84 (1978-79) On Norway's help for refugees*	
1974	St.meld. nr. 39 (1973-1974) Om innvandringspolitikken *St.meld. nr. 39 (1973-1974) On the immigration policy*	
1973	NOU 1973:17 Innvandringspolitikk *NOU 1973:17 Immigration policy*	

Template and example of the extraction sheet

Year		Document	Integration		Volunteerism	
			Quotes	Our interpretation	Quotes	Our interpretation
Publication year of the respective document	*Initial of the author who read the respective document first and held the main responsibility for the extraction of quotes*	*Document number & title in addition to number of occurrences of key terms*	*Extracted quotes regarding integration*	*Our interpretation and thoughts of the extracted quotes*	*Extracted quotes regarding volunteerism and immigration*	*Our interpretation and thoughts of the extracted quotes*

År		Dokument	Integrering Sitater	Vår tolkning	Frivillighet Sitater	Vår tolkning
2021	B	1. Hverdagsintegrering – strategi for å styrke sivilsamfunnets rolle på integreringsfeltet 2021-2024 Frivillighet(en/s) = 19 + 14 + 6 Frivillig(e) = 60 + 178 Sivilsamfunn(et/s) = 19 + 69 + 32 Integration(en) = 5 + 1 Integrasjon = 2 Integrering =49 Inkludering =	- S.9: Integrering = toveis prosess hvor myndighetene skal sikre gode muligheter, og den enkelte innvandrer må stille opp med egeninnsats. Målet for integrering er at innvandrere i større grad skal delta i arbeids- og samfunnsliv. De som skal leve og bo i Norge, skal inkluderes og ta del i store og små fellesskap i samfunnet. - S.10: At flest mulig deltar i arbeidslivet, har stor betydning for den enkelte og for samfunnets bærekraft. Arbeidslivet er en viktig arena for inkludering og integrering. Det er mål at flere innvandrere får et stabilt og godt fotfeste i arbeidslivet. Mennesker som er i arbeid, engasjerer seg også i større grad i frivillige aktiviteter. o Innvandrere som har norske venner og deltar i frivillige organisasjoner er langt oftere i arbeid enn innvandrere uten slike nettverk – *men har de flere norske venner fordi de er i arbeid, eller er de arbeid fordi de har et større 'norsk' nettverk?* • Flere med innvandrerbakgrunn deltar i sivilsamfunnet a. «Strategien har som mål å øke deltakelsen i sivilsamfunnet blant barn, unge og voksne med innvandrerbakgrunn. Innsatsen fra og i organisasjoner er verdifulle for alle parter, og deltakelse bidrar til å øke integrering.» (15) b. Deltakelse i frivillige organisasjoner kan gi økt følelse av tilhørighet og tillit til det norske samfunnet i tillegg til tilgang til viktige sosiale nettverk som igjen kan gjøre det lettere å komme inn på arbeidsmarkedet (15) c. Utfordring: manglende sosiale nettverk for rekruttering, manglende kunnskap om frivilliglandsskapet (15)	- **Hva er definisjonen for «hverdagsintegrering»??** - Hva er forskjellen mellom integrering og inkludering? - Innvandreres ansvar -> individualisering av integrering - Økt deltakelse i arbeidsliv -> økonomisk uavhengighet - Økt deltakelse i samfunnsliv - Verktøy mot negativ sosial kontroll? - Verktøy for å øke sysselsetting? - Målorientert – ikke deltakelse for deltakelsen sin skyld, men for å oppnå nettverk, språk, sysselsetting, kunnskap om Norge, helse • Igjen interessant at det spesifiseres egeninnsatsen i integreringen… • Og her sier de at integrering er en toveis prosess • Og her er på en måte litt svaret på det jeg etterlyste tidligere – svaret på hva vi andre skal gjøre. Men er det noe spesifikt om det annet enn i tittelen?	- Første gang at regjeringen legger fram en strategi for å styrke sivilsamfunnets rolle på integreringsfeltet. - S.4: Den innsatsen som folk gjør i hverdagen for å inkludere flyktninger og innvandrere, er avgjørende for god integrering – hverdagsintegrering. - S.4: En viktig del av integreringspolitikken er å legge til rette for at innvandrere også deltar i samfunnsliv, frivillige organisasjoner og valg. - S.4: Frivilligheten bidrar på en rekke områder som brobygger og informasjonsformidler i møtet mellom innvandrere og myndighetene. - S.10: Sivilsamfunnets innsats er spesielt viktig for hverdagsintegrering – skaper sosial inkludering gjennom møteplasser og nettverk - S.16: En inkluderende frivillig sektor er viktig for et inkluderende samfunn • Løfte og støtte sivilsamfunnets innsats for integrering «Betydningen av sivilsamfunnets innsats og verdi for integrering skal bli mer synlig. Offentlige myndigheter kan legge bedre til rette for at sivilsamfunnet kan supplere det offentlige arbeidet med integrering. Det er positivt for integrering at personer med innvandrerbakgrunn deltar i frivillige organisasjoner. … Flere frivillige organisasjoner supplerer det offentliges tilbyd om kvalifisering og inkludering i arbeidslivet» (25) 2.1 Fra ankomst til bosetting 2.2 Norsk som nøkkel til deltakelse 2.3 Kvalifiseringsløp og arbeidsliv 2.4 Styrke digitale ferdigheter i. Innvandrere har gjennomsnittlig lav digital kompetanse – i tillegg til språkbarrieren ii. Regjeringen vil oppmuntre til at frivillige organisasjoner tar i bruk digitale verktøy i sine aktiviteter (35) • Bedre samarbeid og rammebetingelser a. «Regjeringen er opptatt av at frivillige organisasjoner skal være selvstendige og uavhengige. Det står ikke i motstrid til at frivillige organisasjoner kan oppfylle viktige samfunnsoppgaver og samfunnsmål.» (37) b. Fokus på hvordan et slik samarbeid mellom regjeringen og sivilsamfunnet kan se ut	- Ved første blikk på innholdsfortegnelsen: o Flere innvandrere skal delta i frivillighet – også i innvandrerorganisasjoner o Frivillighetens rolle i prosessen fra ankomst til bosetting (med fokus på språk, kvalifisering, digitale ferdigheter)-> flyktninger o Frivilligheten = møteplasser og informasjonsformidler/brobygger o Bedre samarbeid mellom frivilligheten og regjeringen/myndighetene - Frivillighet instrumentaliseres? - Fokus på perioden fra ankomst til bosetting = fokus på flyktninger - Supplement til norskopplæring = fokus på innvandrer som deltar i norskopplæring = fokus på ikke-vestlige innvandrere/flyktninger - Ses som supplement i kvalifiseringsarbeidet • De har jo virkelig kommet mye lengre i det å spesifisere hva frivilligheten skal gjøre og kan brukes til her enn tidligere – det er en utvikling som vi må påpeke

Co-author declaration for Paper 1

UiT The Arctic University of Norway

Co-author declaration

With reference to Section 18.3 of the *Regulations for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor (PhD) at the University of Tromsø - the Arctic University of Norway*, it is required that when a written work is developed in collaboration with other authors, the student must adhere to the norms for co-authorship within the field, ensuring consistency with international standards. (https://uit.no/Content/778147/cache=1656065537000/PhD%20Regulations.pdf)

With reference to the Vancouver Guidelines (https://www.icmje.org/recommendations/) recommending "that authorship be based on the following 4 criteria:

- Substantial contributions to the conception or design of the work; or the acquisition, analysis, or interpretation of data for the work; AND
- Drafting the work or revising it critically for important intellectual content; AND
- Final approval of the version to be published; AND
- Agreement to be accountable for all aspects of the work in ensuring that questions related to the accuracy or integrity of any part of the work are appropriately investigated and resolved."

This declaration concerns the following publication:

Title of article:	The problematization of integration in Norwegian policymaking – integration through employment or volunteerism?
First author:	Barbara Stein
Co-author:	Gunn Elin Fedreheim (also main supervisor)
Article status:	Published

The independent contribution of the doctoral candidate

The candidate Barbara Sophia Stein has had the main responsibility for this paper, and has contributed significantly to

a. the idea and design. Yes ☒ / No ☐
b. the data collection. Yes ☒ / No ☐
c. the analysis and interpretation of the data. Yes ☒ / No ☐
d. the development of the manuscript. Yes ☒ / No ☐
e. the critical revision of the publication's intellectual content. Yes ☒ / No ☐

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has approved the final version for publication.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
can vouch for and be hold accountable for the work in its entirety.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
has contributed to the development and completion of the manuscript, both the analysis and the textual work.	Yes ☒ / No ☐

28.07.2023 — Date

Barbara Sophia Stei — Signature of the candidate

The independent contribution of the co-author

The co-author Gunn Elin Fedreheim

has contributed significantly to	
a. the idea and design.	Yes ☐ / No ☒
b. the data collection.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
c. the analysis and interpretation of the data.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
d. the development of the manuscript.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
e. the critical revision of the publication's intellectual content.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
has approved the final version for publication.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
can vouch for and be hold accountable for the work in its entirety.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
has contributed to the development and completion of the manuscript, both the analysis and the textual work.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
consents to this article being evaluated as part of the candidate's dissertation.	Yes ☒ / No ☐
consents to the publication as part of the candidate's dissertation.	Yes ☒ / No ☐

25.07.23 — Date

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Appendix B: Data collection, round 1

1. NSD assessment letter (2018)
2. Information and consent letter
3. Interview guide for immigrants
4. Interview guide for other volunteers or participants
5. Interview guide for practitioners or organizers
6. Interview guide for mixed focus group

NSD assessment letter

UiT Norges arktiske universitet
Att. Barbara Sophia Stein
barbara.s.stein@uit.no

Vår dato: 17.09.2018 Vår ref: 61392 AMS/LR Deres dato: Deres ref:

VURDERING AV BEHANDLING AV SÆRSKILTE KATEGORIER PERSONOPPLYSNINGER I PROSJEKTET: ENGAGING WOMEN IN INTEGRATION: EXPLORING THE TRIANGLE INTEGRATION – GENDER EQUALITY – CIVIL SOCIETY

NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS viser til meldeskjema innsendt 30.06.2018. Vi beklager lang responstid. Dette skyldes enkelte deler av prosjektet måtte avklares, samt overgang til nytt lovverk.

Meldingen gjelder behandling av personopplysninger til forskningsformål.

Etter avtale med den behandlingsansvarlige, UiT Norges arktiske universitet, har NSD foretatt en vurdering av om den planlagte behandlingen er i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen.

Resultat av NSDs vurdering:

NSD vurderer at det vil bli behandlet særskilte kategorier personopplysninger frem til april 2022.

NSDs vurdering er at behandlingen vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivingen, og at lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen er samtykke.

Vår vurdering forutsetter at prosjektansvarlig behandler personopplysninger i tråd med:

- opplysninger gitt i meldeskjema og øvrig dokumentasjon
- dialog med NSD, og vår vurdering (se under)
- UiT Norges arktiske universitet sine retningslinjer for datasikkerhet, herunder regler om hvilke tekniske hjelpemidler det er tillatt å bruke

Nærmere begrunnelse for NSDs vurdering:

1. Beskrivelse av den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger

Datamaterialet vil innhentes ved deltakende observasjon og personlige intervjuer med personer som er ansatt eller arbeider som frivillig i organisasjoner som arbeider med å inkludere innvandrerkvinner. I tillegg inkluderes brukere av organisasjonene. I datamaterialet kan det inngå særlige kategorier opplysninger om etnisk bakgrunn.

I e-post mottatt 29.08.2018 opplyser forsker at det kun skal innhentes opplysninger fra dokumenter som er offentlig tilgjengelige.

Informasjonsskrivet til potensielle deltakere er revidert og mottatt 28.08.2018, og utkastet et godt utformet.

2. Personvernprinsipper

NSDs vurdering er at behandlingen følger personvernprinsippene, ved at personopplysninger;

- skal behandles på en lovlig, rettferdig og åpen måte med hensyn til den registrerte
- skal samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål og der personopplysningene ikke viderebehandles på en måte som er uforenelig med
- vil være adekvate, relevante og begrenset til det som er nødvendig for formålet de behandles for
- skal lagres på en slik måte at det ikke er mulig å identifisere de registrerte lengre enn det som er nødvendig for formålet

3. Lovlig grunnlag for å behandle særskilte kategorier

1) Særskilte kategorier - Samtykke ((art. 6.1. a), art. 9.2 a))

Det fremgår av meldeskjema vi har fått tilsendt at det vil bli innhentet samtykke fra de registrerte. NSD vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger er lovlig fordi:

- det skal innhentes uttrykkelig samtykke fra de registrerte og
- forsker har oppfylt den særskilte rådføringsplikten

4. De registrertes rettigheter

NSD vurderer at den registrerte har krav på å benytte seg av følgende rettigheter: informasjon, innsyn, retting og sletting av personopplysninger, dataportabilitet, protest.

NSD finner at informasjonsskrivet vil gi de registrerte god informasjon om hva behandlingen innebærer og om hvilke rettigheter de har.

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har UiT Norges arktiske universitet plikt til å svare innen en måned. Vi forutsetter at prosjektansvarlig informerer institusjonen så fort som mulig og at UiT Norges arktiske universitet har rutiner for hvordan henvendelser fra registrerte skal følges opp.

5. Informasjonssikkerhet

NSD forutsetter at personopplysningene behandles i tråd med personvernforordningens krav og institusjonens retningslinjer for informasjonssikkerhet.

6. Varighet

Ifølge meldeskjema skal personopplysninger behandles frem til 08.04.2022. Opplysninger som kan knyttes til en enkeltperson skal da slettes/anonymiseres.

Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan bli identifisert.

Det gjøres ved å:

- Slette navn, fødselsnummer/andre ID-nummer, adresse, telefonnummer, epostadresse, IP-adresse og andre nettidentifikatorer
- Slette eller grovkategorisere bakgrunnsopplysninger
- Slette eller sladde bilder/videopptak og lydopptak

UiT Norges arktiske universitet må kunne dokumentere at datamaterialet er anonymisert.

Meld fra om endringer

Dersom behandlingen av personopplysninger endrer seg, kan det være nødvending å melde dette til NSD via Min side. På våre nettsider informerer vi om hvilke endringer som må meldes. Vent på svar før endringen gjennomføres.

Informasjon om behandlingen publiseres på Min side, Meldingsarkivet og nettsider

Alle relevante saksopplysninger og dokumenter er tilgjengelig:

- via Min side for forskere, veiledere og studenter
- via Meldingsarkivet for ansatte med internkontrolloppgaver ved UiT Norges arktiske universitet

NSD tar kontakt om status for behandling av personopplysninger

Etter avtale med UiT Norges arktiske universitet vil NSD følge opp behandlingen av personopplysninger underveis, og ved planlagt avslutning.

Vi sender da en skriftlig henvendelse til prosjektansvarlig og ber om skriftlig svar på status for behandling av personopplysninger.

Se våre nettsider eller ta kontakt ved spørsmål. Vi ønsker lykke til med prosjektet.

Med vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren
seksjonsleder

Anne-Mette Somby
spesialrådgiver

Information and consent letter

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

***«Engaging women in integration: Exploring Relations between Integration, Gender Equality, and Voluntary Work»*?**

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å undersøke hvordan innvandrerkvinner deltar i frivillige organisasjoner, prosjekter og tiltak i Nord-Norge og hvordan frivillig arbeid kan fremme integrering. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Denne undersøkelsen er del av et doktorgradsprosjekt tilknyttet Institutt for vernepleie ved UiT i Harstad. Prosjektets målet er ikke å identifisere hva integrering er, men snarere å undersøke integreringsprosesser og hvordan disse prosessene er hindret og kan fremmes spesielt for kvinner. Fokuset vil være på trekanten integrering, frivillige organisasjoner/ sivilt samfunn og kjønn (likestilling) i Norge. På den måte vil det overordnede målet være å utforske hvordan kjønn påvirker opplevelser og prosesser i integrering, særlig for kvinner, i frivillige organisasjoner. Prosjektet satser på å generere praksisnært kunnskap for å skape bedre forståelse hvordan kjønn påvirker integreringsopplevelser og hvordan den frivillige sektoren i Norge kan fremme integrering for kvinner.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Barbara S. Stein er ansvarlig for dette prosjektet. Hun er doktorgradsstipendiat ved Institutt for vernepleie hos UiT i Harstad.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Data innsamling vil omfatte (deltakende) observasjon i flere frivillige prosjekter og aktiviteter, og personlige intervju med utøvere og arrangører av frivillige tiltak, deltakere i frivillige aktiviteter, og relevante personer i kommuner i Nord-Norge. Det er i denne anledning jeg kontakter deg.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Forskningen baseres i hovedsak på observasjon, intervju og fokusgruppe diskusjon. Observasjon betyr at jeg skal observere samhandlinger og aktiviteter og ta notater om og bilder av det jeg observerer.
Hvis du velger å også bli intervjuet vil vi møtes i en trygg setting enten én og én eller i en liten diskusjonsgruppe. Intervjuet innebærer at jeg følger en intervjuguide med spørsmål om dine personlige opplevelser, forståelse av integrering, og betydningen av frivillige

organisasjoner. Et intervju vil vanligvis vare mellom 1 og 1,5 timer og vil tas opp på båndopptaker. I ettertid vil opptakene skrives ned.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.
Det er kun jeg som har tilgang til dine personlige opplysninger. Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. I tillegg vil din data i form av transkribert (utskrevet) intervju lagres på UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet sin server.
Du vil ikke være gjenkjennbar i publikasjonene som er et resultat av dette forskningsprosjektet.
Unntak: Om du holder en ledende posisjon i en frivillig organisasjon eller er ansatt ved en kommune kan du være gjenkjennelig pga. av din posisjonsbetegnelse. I så tilfelle kan du velge å bli nevnt i publikasjonene. Det er imidlertid også mulig å utelate all personlig informasjon for å opprettholde anonymitet.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes i april 2022.
Alle båndopptakene vil slettes etter prosjektet er gått ut. Jeg vil oppbevare alle utskriftene fra intervjuene uten kontaktinformasjon til eventuell senere bruk. Transkriberte (utskrevete) intervju vil lagres anonymisert gjennom NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS sin arkiveringstjeneste. Dataene vil kun være tilgjengelig for ikke-kommersielle brukere (forskning, undervisning, studenter).

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,

å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,

få slettet personopplysninger om deg,

få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og

å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Jeg behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet ved Barbara S. Stein, på epost barbara.s.stein@uit.no eller telefon (+47) 77 05 83 47

Vårt personvernombud: NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost personverntjenester@nsd.no eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Barbara S. Stein

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «Engaging women in integration: Exploring the triangle integration – gender equality – civil society», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i observasjon
- ☐ å delta i intervju
- ☐ å delta i gruppediskusjon
- ☐ at opplysninger om meg publiseres slik at jeg kan gjenkjennes
- ☐ at mine personopplysninger lagres etter prosjektslutt, til senere forskning

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. april 2022

_____

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Interview guide for immigrants

1. **Information about the study**
   1.1. Going through the information letter
   1.2. Turn on record to record consent if given orally
2. **Consent**
   2.1. Have you received sufficient information about the project?
   2.2. Are you ready to participate in the study?
   2.3. May I contact you at a later time if new questions arise, but not later than in four years? If yes, I will need your full name and contact information which will be stored in a safe place together with a pseudonym
   2.4. May a transcript of your interview be stored at UiT Open Research Data so that other researchers may use it?
3. **Migration: what is your story of coming to Norway?**
   3.1. Can you tell me about your moving to Norway?
   3.2. What were your expectations when coming to Norway? What were your experiences?
      a. Can you describe how you were met?
      b. Can you say something about what was difficult?
      c. What did surprise you when coming to Norway?
4. **Integration**
   4.1. What do you think of when hearing "integration"?
      a. What do you think integration is?
      b. How has your understanding of the concept changed during your integration process?
   4.2. How have you experienced the relationship between men and women in Norway?
      a. How is the relationship between men and women in your country of origin?
      b. How do you think is the relationship between men and women in Norway?
      c. Are there any differences between these countries? How do you explain these?
5. **Voluntary sector**
   5.1. Do you think you are an active participant in Norwegian society? Why, or why not?
   5.2. What does participation in society mean to you?
   5.3. What does voluntary work mean to you?
   5.4. Are you participating in voluntary organizations/ projects? Or are you otherwise active as a volunteer (dugnad, school, kindergarten…)?

a. Where? Which one?
b. For how long?
c. How were you recruited?
d. Why are you volunteering?

5.5. Have you thought about being more active in voluntary ventures? Why not? If yes, how?

5.6. *If interviewee holds a position within a voluntary organization*: What kind of position do you hold in the organization?

a. How were you recruited into this position?
b. Why do you think it is important to be active in the voluntary sector?
c. Have you ever met negative attitudes towards you while holding that position?

6. Other

6.1. Is there anything you would like to add?

Interview guide for other volunteers or participants

1. **Information about the study**
   1.1. Going through the information letter
   1.2. Turn on record to record consent if given orally
2. **Consent**
   2.1. Have you received sufficient information about the project?
   2.2. Are you ready to participate in the study?
   2.3. May I contact you at a later time if new questions arise, but not later than in four years? If yes, I will need your full name and contact information which will be stored in a safe place together with a pseudonym
   2.4. May a transcript of your interview be stored at UiT Open Research Data so that other researchers may use it?
3. **Volunteering**
   3.1. In what kind of organization/ project/ activity do you participate?
      a. What do you do?
      b. Why? What does it offer to you/ to the society?
   3.2. How do you understand "volunteering"?
4. **Immigrants and Integration**
   4.1. Are there any immigrants volunteering or organizing in your organization/ project/ activity?
      a. Is it an aim to get more immigrants to participate? Why do you think this is so?
      b. What are the challenges of recruiting immigrants – both practically speaking and for the organization/activities?
   4.2. What are your experiences with immigrant women/ immigrant men?
      a. In the organization? In the activities?
   4.3. What do you think of when hearing "integration"? What do you think integration is?
      a. How can voluntary organizations play a role in integration?
5. **Other**
   5.1. Is there anything you would like to add?

Interview guide for organizers or practitioners

1. **Information about the study**
   - 1.1. Going through the information letter
   - 1.2. Turn on record to record consent if given orally
2. **Consent**
   - 2.1. Have you received sufficient information about the project?
   - 2.2. Are you ready to participate in the study?
   - 2.3. May I contact you at a later time if new questions arise, but not later than in four years? If yes, I will need your full name and contact information which will be stored in a safe place together with a pseudonym
   - 2.4. May a transcript of your interview be stored at UiT Open Research Data so that other researchers may use it?
3. **Organizations**
   - 3.1. What kind of organization/ project/ activity do you lead/ organize or participate in?
   - 3.2. Can you describe what you do in the organization?
   - 3.3. What is the organization's aim and purpose?
   - 3.4. Who is the target group?
     a. How do you target/ recruit potential participants?
4. **Participation**
   - 4.1. What is the average number of participants? How is the distribution of women and men?
   - 4.2. Can you describe the participants?
     a. Why so homogenous/ heterogeneous?
   - 4.3. Are there any groups that are difficult to recruit/ target? Why do you think this is so?
   - 4.4. Are there any particular measures to recruit immigrants? How?
5. **Immigrants and integration**
   - 5.1. What do you think of when hearing "integration"? What do you think integration is?
     a. Do you think there is a link between integration and participation in voluntary activities?
   - 5.2. What are your experiences with immigrant women/ immigrant men in your activities?
   - 5.3. What are the challenges of having mixed offers – both in terms of gender and ethnicities?
6. **Other**

6.1. Is there anything you would like to add?

Interview guide for mixed focus group

1. **Information about the study**
   1.1. Going through the information letter
   1.2. Turn on record to record consent if given orally
2. **Consent**
   2.1. Have you received sufficient information about the project?
   2.2. Are you ready to participate in the study?
   2.3. May I contact you at a later time if new questions arise, but not later than in four years? If yes, I will need your full name and contact information which will be stored in a safe place together with a pseudonym
   2.4. May an anonymized transcript of your interview be stored at NSD (Norwegian Centre for Research Data) Archiving Services so that other researchers may use it?
3. **Organizations**
   3.1. What kind of organization/ project/ activity do you lead/ organize or participate in?
   3.2. What is the organization's aim and purpose?
   3.3. Can you describe what you do in the organization?
   3.4. Who is the target group?
      a. How do you target/ recruit potential participants?
4. **Immigrants and integration**
   4.1. What do you think of when hearing "integration"? What do you think integration is?
   4.2. What role do you think has voluntary work for integration?
   4.3. What are your experiences with immigrants in your activities?
      a. Do you think there are differences in how immigrant women and men participate? Why? Can you give an example?
      b. What are the challenges of having mixed offers – both in terms of gender and ethnicities?
   4.4. What is the composition of the management in terms of gender and ethnicities? Why do you think this is so?
5. **Other**
   5.1. Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix C: Data collection, round 2

1. NSD assessment letter (2021)
2. Information and consent letter
3. Interview guide for focus groups
4. Contract for transcription

NSD assessment letter

NSD NORSK SENTER FOR FORSKNINGSDATA

NSD sin vurdering

Prosjekttittel

Engaging women in integration: Exploring the triangle integration – gender equality – civil society

Referansenummer

685387

Registrert

09.11.2020 av Barbara Sophia Stein - barbara.s.stein@uit.no

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

UIT – Norges Arktiske Universitet / Det helsevitenskapelige fakultet / Institutt for vernepleie

Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)

Barbara Sophia Stein, barbara.s.stein@uit.no, tlf: +4777058347

Type prosjekt

Forskerprosjekt

Prosjektperiode

01.08.2018 - 31.07.2022

Status

04.12.2020 - Vurdert

Vurdering (1)

04.12.2020 - Vurdert

BAKGRUNN
Behandlingen av personopplysninger ble opprinnelig meldt inn til NSD 30.06.2018 (NSD sin ref: 61392) og vurdert under personopplysningsloven som var gjeldende på det tidspunktet.
09.11.2020 meldte prosjektleder inn en endring av prosjektet, endringen bestod i at en pga Covid-19 situasjonen måtte foreta en del av datainnsamlingen digitalt ved bruk av Skype eller Teams. I tillegg ble sluttdato for prosjektet utsatt fra 08.04.2022 til 31.07.2022.

Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen/hele prosjektet vil være i samsvar med den gjeldende personvernlovgivningen, så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet 04.12.2020 med vedlegg.

Behandlingen kan fortsette.

MELD VESENTLIGE ENDRINGER
Dersom det skjer vesentlige endringer i behandlingen av personopplysninger, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. Før du melder inn en endring, oppfordrer vi deg til å lese om hvilke type endringer det er nødvendig å melde: https://nsd.no/personvernombud/meld_prosjekt/meld_endringer.html
Du må vente på svar fra NSD før endringen gjennomføres.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET
Prosjektet vil behandle særlige kategorier av personopplysninger om etnisk opprinnelse og helse samt alminnelige kategorier av personopplysninger frem til 31.07.2022. Det er åpnet for arkivering av persondata for forskningsformål, etter samtykke.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG
Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 nr. 11 og art. 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse, som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen vil dermed være den registrertes uttrykkelige samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a, jf. art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a, jf. personopplysningsloven § 10, jf. § 9 (2).

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER
NSD vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen om:

- lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen
- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenlige formål
- dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER
Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: åpenhet (art. 12), informasjon (art. 13), innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18), underretning (art. 19), dataportabilitet (art. 20).
NSD vurderer at informasjonen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER
NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

Skype og Teams er databehandler i prosjektet. NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene til bruk av databehandler, jf. art 28 og 29.

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må dere følge interne retningslinjer og eventuelt rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET
NSD vil følge opp underveis (hvert annet år) og ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet/pågår i tråd med den behandlingen som er dokumentert.

Lykke til med prosjektet!

Kontaktperson hos NSD: Gry Henriksen
Tlf. Personverntjenester: 55 58 21 17 (tast 1)

Information and consent letter

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet
***«Engaging women in integration: Exploring Relations between Integration, Gender, and Voluntary Work»*?**

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å undersøke hvordan innvandrerkvinner deltar i frivillige organisasjoner, prosjekter og tiltak i Nord-Norge og hvordan frivillig arbeid kan fremme integrering. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

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Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Barbara S. Stein er ansvarlig for dette prosjektet. Hun er doktorgradsstipendiat ved Institutt for vernepleie hos UiT i Harstad.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Datainnsamling vil omfatte (deltakende) observasjon i flere frivillige prosjekter og aktiviteter, og personlige intervju med utøvere og arrangører av frivillige tiltak, deltakere i frivillige aktiviteter, og relevante personer i kommuner i Nord-Norge. Det er i denne anledning jeg kontakter deg.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Forskningen baseres i hovedsak på observasjon, intervju og fokusgruppediskusjon. Observasjon betyr at jeg skal observere samhandlinger og aktiviteter og skal ta notater om og bilder av det jeg observerer.
Hvis du velger også å bli intervjuet vil vi møtes i en trygg setting enten én og én eller i en liten fokusgruppe. Intervjuet innebærer at jeg følger en intervjuguide med spørsmål om dine personlige opplevelser, forståelse av integrering, og betydningen av frivillige organisasjoner. Et intervju vil vanligvis vare mellom 1 og 1,5 timer og vil tas opp på båndopptaker. I ettertid vil opptakene skrives ned.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke tilbake samtykket uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan jeg oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.
Det er kun jeg som har tilgang til dine personlige opplysninger. Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. I tillegg vil din data i form av transkribert (utskrevet) intervju lagres på UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet sin server i løpet av prosjektet.
Du vil ikke være gjenkjennbar i publikasjonene som er et resultat av dette forskningsprosjektet.
Unntak: Om du holder en ledende posisjon i en frivillig organisasjon eller er ansatt ved en kommune kan du være gjenkjennelig pga. av din posisjonsbetegnelse. I så tilfelle kan du velge å bli nevnt i publikasjonene. Det er imidlertid også mulig å utelate all personlig informasjon for å opprettholde anonymitet.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når jeg avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes i juli 2022.
Alle båndopptakene vil slettes etter prosjektet er gått ut. Transkriberte (utskrevete) intervju vil lagres anonymisert og uten kontaktinformasjon til eventuell senere bruk gjennom NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS sin arkiveringstjeneste. Dataene vil kun være tilgjengelig for ikke-kommersielle brukere (forskning, undervisning, studenter).

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,

å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,

få slettet personopplysninger om deg,

få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og

å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir meg rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Jeg behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål om studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet ved Barbara S. Stein, på epost barbara.s.stein@uit.no eller telefon (+47) 77 05 83 47

Vårt personvernombud ved UiT: Joakim Bakkevold, på epost personvernombud@uit.no eller telefon: 776 46 322 og 976 915 78.

Med vennlig hilsen

Barbara S. Stein

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «Engaging women in integration: Exploring Relations between Integration, Gender, and Voluntary Work», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i observasjon
- ☐ å delta i intervju
- ☐ å delta i gruppediskusjon
- ☐ at opplysninger om meg publiseres slik at jeg kan gjenkjennes
- ☐ at mine personopplysninger lagres i løpet av prosjektperioden, slik at forskeren kan kontakte meg ved eventuelle senere spørsmål
- ☐ at mine personopplysninger lagres etter prosjektslutt, til senere forskning

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. juli 2022, og at mine data brukes til vitenskapelige publikasjoner i tråd med opplysninger gitt i dette informasjonsskrivet.

_____

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Interview guide for focus groups

1. **Informasjon om studien**
   1.1. Informasjon og samtykke
   1.2. Slå på båndopptaker for å ta opp samtykke
2. **Samtykke**
   2.1. Har du fått nok informasjon om forskningsprosjektet?
   2.2. Er du klar for å delta i studien?
   2.3. Får jeg kontakte deg ved et senere tidspunkt, men senest i juli 2022? Hvis ja, så trenger jeg ditt fult navn og kontaktinformasjon som vil bli lagret på et trygt sted sammen med et pseudonym.
   2.4. Får en anonymisert utskrift av intervjuet bli lagret ved NSD (Norsk senter for forskningsdata) sin arkiveringstjeneste?
3. **Hvem er du?**
   3.1. Fortell litt om deg selv. Hvem er du? Hva gjør du?
   3.2. Når kom du til Norge? Fortell lit om hvordan det var å flytte til Norge.
   3.3. Hvordan ville dere betegne dere selv; innvandrer, migrant, expat, bare noen som flyttet til Norge? Kan dere begrunne ordvalget?
      a. Hvordan reagerer dere når noen kaller dere for innvandrer?
      b. Synes dere betegnelsen «innvandrer» passer til dere? Hvorfor (ikke)?
4. **Integrering**
   4.1. Hva tenker dere når dere hører ordet «integrering»?
      a. Hva mener dere er «integrering»?
      b. Hva mener dere må være på plass til å være «integrert»? Kan man bli «ferdig» integrert?
      c. Hvordan har deres forståelse av integrering forandret seg mens dere har vært bosatt i Norge?
   4.2. Hvordan har dere blitt møtt som innvandrer i Norge?
   4.3. Har dere opplevd at det er noen forskjell mellom hvordan menn og kvinner integreres?
      a. Hvorfor synes dere er det slik?
      b. Kan dere gi eksempler?
5. **Frivillig sektor**
   5.1. Hva betyr samfunnsdeltakelse for dere?

5.2. Mener dere at dere er en aktiv deltaker i norsk samfunn? Hvorfor, eller hvorfor ikke?

5.3. Kjenner du til frivilligheten i Norge, og hvordan vil du beskrive den?

5.4. Deltar dere i frivillige organisasjoner/ prosjekter? Eller er dere ellers aktiv som frivillig (dugnad, skole, barnehage, idrettslag…)?

a. Hvor?/ Hvilke?

b. Hvor lenge har dere vært deltaker? Hvor ofte deltar dere/ er dere aktiv?

c. Hvordan ble dere rekruttert?

d. Hva har vært deres motivasjon for å være frivillige?

e. Hva var grunnen til at du ble frivillig?

f. Har grunnen for at dere er frivillig endret seg? Hvordan? Hvorfor?

g. Hva betyr det for deg å være frivillig?

h. Er frivilligheten i Norge annerledes enn i ditt opprinnelsesland?

5.5. Hvilken rolle mener dere spiller frivilligheten i å være en aktiv deltaker i norsk samfunn?

a. Hvilken rolle spiller frivilligheten i integrering?

b. Har det å delta i frivillige arenaer påvirket din integrering? Om så, på hvilken måte?

6. Annet

6.1. Er det ellers noe dere ønsker å tilføye?

6.2. Er det noe dere mener jeg burde ha spurt?

Contract for transcription

Databehandleravtale

I henhold til gjeldende norsk personopplysningslovgivning og forordning (EU) 2016/679 av 27. april 2016, Artikkel 28 og 29, jf. Artikkel 32-36, inngås følgende avtale

mellom

Barbara Sophia Stein, Institutt for vernepleie, UiT Norges arktiske universitet

(behandlingsansvarlig)

og

(databehandler)

1. Avtalens hensikt

Avtalens hensikt er å regulere rettigheter og plikter i henhold til gjeldende norsk personopplysningslovgivning og forordning (EU) 2016/679 av 27. april 2016 om vern av fysiske personer i forbindelse med behandling av personopplysninger og om fri utveksling av slike opplysninger, samt om oppheving av direktiv 95/46/EF.

Avtalen skal sikre at personopplysninger ikke brukes ulovlig, urettmessig eller at opplysningene behandles på måter som fører til uautorisert tilgang, endring, sletting, skade, tap eller utilgjengelighet.

Avtalen regulerer databehandlers forvaltning av personopplysninger på vegne av den behandlingsansvarlige, herunder innsamling, registrering, sammenstilling, lagring, utlevering eller kombinasjoner av disse, i forbindelse med bruk av/behandling i PhD-prosjektet «Engaging women in integration: Exploring the triangle integration - gender equality - civil society» (2018-2022).

Ved motstrid skal vilkårene i denne avtalen gå foran databehandlers personvernerklæring eller vilkår i andre avtaler inngått mellom behandlingsansvarlig og databehandler i forbindelse med behandling i PhD-prosjektet «Engaging women in integration: Exploring the triangle integration - gender equality - civil society» (2018-2022).

2. Formålsbegrensning

Formålet med databehandlers forvaltning av personopplysninger på vegne av behandlingsansvarlig, er å transkribere lydopptak av forskningsintervju og fokusgrupper.

Personopplysninger som databehandler forvalter på vegne av behandlingsansvarlig kan ikke brukes til andre formål uten at dette på forhånd er godkjent av behandlingsansvarlig.

Databehandler kan ikke overføre personopplysninger som omfattes av denne avtalen til samarbeidspartnere eller andre tredjeparter.

3. Instrukser

Databehandler skal følge de skriftlige og dokumenterte instrukser for forvaltning av personopplysninger i PhD-prosjektet «Engaging women in integration: Exploring the triangle integration - gender equality - civil society» (2018-2022) som behandlingsansvarlig har bestemt skal gjelde.

UiT Norges arktiske universitet forplikter seg til å overholde alle plikter i henhold til gjeldende norsk personopplysningslovgivning som gjelder ved bruk av PhD-prosjektet «Engaging women in integration: Exploring the triangle integration - gender equality - civil society» (2018-2022) til behandling av personopplysninger.

Databehandler forplikter seg til å varsle behandlingsansvarlig dersom databehandler mottar instrukser fra behandlingsansvarlig som er i strid med bestemmelsene i gjeldende norsk personopplysningslovgivning.

Detaljerte instrukser til databehandler ligger ved som bilag A.

4. Opplysningstyper og registrerte

Databehandleren forvalter følgende personopplysninger på vegne av behandlingsansvarlig:

- Navn
- Rasemessig eller etnisk opprinnelse
- Bosettingssted
- Alder
- Kjønn
- Familie status
- Medlemskap/deltaker i en eller flere frivillige aktiviteter eller organisasjoner
- Yrke

Personopplysningene gjelder følgende registrerte:

- Forskningsdeltakere ved PhD-prosjektet «Engaging women in integration: Exploring the triangle integration - gender equality - civil society» (2018-2022)

5. De registrertes rettigheter

Databehandler plikter å bistå behandlingsansvarlig ved ivaretakelse av den registrertes rettigheter i henhold til gjeldende norsk personopplysningslovgivning.

Den registrertes rettigheter inkluderer retten til informasjon om hvordan hans eller hennes personopplysninger behandles, retten til å kreve innsyn i egne personopplysninger, retten til å kreve retting eller sletting av egne personopplysninger og retten til å kreve at behandlingen av egne personopplysninger begrenses.

I den grad det er relevant, skal databehandler bistå behandlingsansvarlig med å ivareta de registrertes rett til dataportabilitet og retten til å motsette seg automatiske avgjørelser, inkludert profilering.

Databehandler er erstatningsansvarlig overfor de registrerte dersom feil eller forsømmelser hos databehandler påfører de registrerte økonomiske eller ikke-økonomiske tap som følge av at deres rettigheter eller personvern er krenket.

6. Tilfredsstillende informasjonssikkerhet

Databehandler skal iverksette tilfredsstillende tekniske, fysiske og organisatoriske sikringstiltak for å beskytte personopplysninger som omfattes av denne avtalen mot uautorisert eller ulovlig tilgang, endring, sletting, skade, tap eller utilgjengelighet.

Databehandler skal dokumentere egen sikkerhetsorganisering, retningslinjer og rutiner for sikkerhetsarbeidet, risikovurderinger og etablerte tekniske, fysiske eller organisatoriske sikringstiltak. Dokumentasjonen skal være tilgjengelig for behandlingsansvarlig på forespørsel.

Databehandler skal etablere kontinuitets- og beredskapsplaner for effektiv håndtering av alvorlige sikkerhetshendelser. Dokumentasjonen skal være tilgjengelig for behandlingsansvarlig på forespørsel.

7. Taushetsplikt

Kun ansatte hos databehandler som har tjenstlige behov for tilgang til personopplysninger som forvaltes på vegne av behandlingsansvarlig, kan gis slik tilgang. Databehandler plikter å dokumentere retningslinjer og rutiner for tilgangsstyring. Dokumentasjonen skal være tilgjengelig for behandlingsansvarlig på forespørsel.

Ansatte hos databehandler har taushetsplikt om dokumentasjon og personopplysninger som vedkommende får tilgang til i henhold til denne avtalen. Denne bestemmelsen gjelder også etter avtalens opphør. Taushetsplikten omfatter ansatte hos tredjeparter som utfører vedlikehold (eller liknende oppgaver) av systemer, utstyr, nettverk eller bygninger som databehandler anvender for å levere tjenesten.

Norsk lov vil kunne begrense omfanget av taushetsplikten for ansatte hos databehandler og tredjeparter.

8. Tilgang til sikkerhetsdokumentasjon

Databehandler plikter på forespørsel å gi behandlingsansvarlig tilgang til all sikkerhetsdokumentasjon som er nødvendig for at behandlingsansvarlig skal kunne ivareta sine forpliktelser i henhold til gjeldende norsk personopplysningslovgivning.

Databehandler plikter på forespørsel å gi behandlingsansvarlig tilgang til annen relevant dokumentasjon som gjør det mulig for behandlingsansvarlig å vurdere om databehandler overholder vilkårene i denne avtalen.

Behandlingsansvarlig har taushetsplikt for konfidensiell sikkerhetsdokumentasjon som databehandler gjør tilgjengelig for behandlingsansvarlig.

9. Varslingsplikt ved sikkerhetsbrudd

Databehandler skal uten ugrunnet opphold varsle behandlingsansvarlig dersom personopplysninger som forvaltes på vegne av behandlingsansvarlig utsettes for sikkerhetsbrudd.

Varselet til behandlingsansvarlig skal som minimum inneholde informasjon som beskriver sikkerhetsbruddet, hvilke registrerte som er berørt av sikkerhetsbruddet, hvilke personopplysninger som er berørt av sikkerhetsbruddet, hvilke strakstiltak som er iverksatt for å håndtere sikkerhetsbruddet og hvilke forebyggende tiltak som eventuelt er etablert for å unngå liknende hendelser i fremtiden.

Behandlingsansvarlig er ansvarlig for at Datatilsynet blir varslet når dette er påkrevd.

10. Underleverandører

Databehandler kan ikke engasjere underleverandører.

11. Tilbakelevering og sletting

Ved opphør av denne avtalen plikter databehandler å tilbakelevere og slette alle personopplysninger som forvaltes på vegne av behandlingsansvarlig i henhold til denne avtalen. Behandlingsansvarlig bestemmer hvordan tilbakelevering av personopplysningene skal skje, herunder hvilket format som skal benyttes.

Sletting skal skje ved at databehandler sletter personopplysninger senest ved prosjektets slutt 31.juli 2022. Dette gjelder også for sikkerhetskopier av personopplysningene.

Databehandler skal dokumentere at sletting av personopplysninger er foretatt i henhold til denne avtalen. Dokumentasjonen skal gjøres tilgjengelig for behandlingsansvarlig på forespørsel.

Databehandler dekker alle kostnader i forbindelse med tilbakelevering og sletting av de personopplysninger som omfattes av denne avtalen.

12. Mislighold

Ved mislighold av vilkårene i denne avtalen som skyldes feil eller forsømmelser fra databehandlers side, kan behandlingsansvarlig si opp avtalen med øyeblikkelig virkning. Databehandler vil fortsatt være pliktig til å tilbakelevere og slette personopplysninger som forvaltes på vegne av behandlingsansvarlig i henhold til bestemmelsene i punkt 13 ovenfor.

Behandlingsansvarlig kan kreve erstatning for økonomiske tap som feil eller forsømmelser fra databehandlers side, inkludert mislighold av vilkårene i denne avtalen, har påført behandlingsansvarlig, jf. også punkt 5 og 10 ovenfor.

13. Avtalens varighet

Denne avtalen gjelder så lenge databehandler forvalter personopplysninger på vegne av behandlingsansvarlig

eller

avtalen gjelder til 31.07.2022.

Avtalen kan sies opp av begge parter med en gjensidig frist på 4 uker (28 dager).

14. Kontaktpersoner

Kontaktperson hos databehandler for spørsmål knyttet til denne avtalen er:

Kontaktperson hos behandlingsansvarlig for spørsmål knyttet til denne avtalen er: Barbara Sophia Stein.

15. Lovvalg og verneting

Avtalen er underlagt norsk rett og partene vedtar Nord-Troms tingrett som verneting. Dette gjelder også etter opphør av avtalen.

***

Denne avtale er i 2 – to eksemplarer, hvorav partene har hvert sitt.

sted, dato

På vegne av behandlingsansvarlig	På vegne av databehandler
.....	.....
(underskrift)	(underskrift)

Papers

Paper 1

Stein, B., & Fedreheim, G. E. (2022). Problematization of integration in Norwegian policymaking – integration through employment or volunteerism? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *45*(16), 614-636. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2118544

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Problematization of integration in Norwegian policymaking – integration through employment or volunteerism?

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ABSTRACT

Integration has become a buzzword in debates and discussions on immigration which also reflects upon Norwegian policymaking. In this article, we do a policy analysis of twenty-nine Norwegian governmental documents published between 1973 and 2021 and ask how the understanding of integration has changed during that time. We further ask how integration has been problematized in these documents. Our study is inspired by Bacchi's approach "What's the problem represented to be" which provides new insights on policymaking and its effects on the population. We find that integration has increasingly been put on a par with employment yet that in recent years policymakers have acknowledged that a focus on employment is too short-sighted. To cover more aspects of integration, the concept *everyday life integration* has been introduced where the voluntary sector is to play a central role both in terms of social integration and its ability to facilitate finding employment.

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KEYWORDS Integration; immigration; policy analysis; problematization; volunteering; voluntary sector

Introduction

The concept of "integration" and approaches to study has recently been under increased scrutiny in academia (see e.g. among many others Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002; Sjørslev 2011; Korteweg 2017; Schinkel 2018; Rytter 2018a). The concept has been characterized "chaotic" (Samers 1998, 128) or "a conceptual quagmire" (Schinkel 2018, 2) as its understanding is highly contextual and among others informed by history, political ideas, and ideologies. In addition, it is used by both scholars, policymakers, and in

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several public discourses in different contexts and with varying underlying understandings. The concept is embedded into a wider socio-political context – usually framed by nation-states and their historical contexts and policies. In recent decades integration became more and more politicized and has been used as a governance tool by policymakers, as we will show here.

In this article, our aim is to investigate the political understanding of the term integration in Norway. We use Bacchi's "What's the problem represented to be" (WPR) approach to policy analysis (Bacchi 2009; Bacchi and Eveline 2010; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016) to study twenty-nine Norwegian policy documents published between 1973 and 2021. The WPR approach allows us to investigate how policies rather "give shape to 'problems'" (Bacchi 2009, x) instead of simply acknowledging that policies solve some kind of "social problems". Further, the WPR approach argues that policies contain implicit representations of the "problems" they address, and its goal is to scrutinize these representations (Bacchi 2009; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016). Accordingly, governing takes place through these problem representations, and Bacchi (2009) argues that it is important to reflect on where those representations come from and how they operate to shape "realities". We use the WPR approach to see how the political understanding of integration has changed in Norway during the past fifty years, and how integration has been problematized.

This article is structured into four sections: First, we present an overview over the Norwegian immigration history and its implications for the Norwegian welfare state model. Afterwards, we introduce the WPR approach in greater detail, including how we have applied it here. Thirdly, we provide an overview of the policy documents with a focus on how the conceptualization of integration has changed over time. Lastly, we discuss how integration has been problematized in the governmental documents.

Immigration to Norway since the 1960s

In the late 1960s, immigrants made up around 60,000 individuals, or 1.5 per cent, of Norway's population, with immigrants coming mainly from other Nordic countries, Western Europe or USA (Hellevik and Hellevik 2017). During the early 1970s, the first significant influx of immigrants from countries outside Europe or North America arrived in Norway, consisting mostly of labour immigrants coming from India, Pakistan, Turkey, and Morocco. Even though the numbers were relatively small, both researchers' and the media's interest in immigration grew among others fuelled by developments in the neighbouring countries Denmark and Sweden (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2014; Midtbøen 2017). In 1975, the Norwegian government declared an immigration stop aiming at preventing "unwanted, unskilled

immigration" (Brochmann 2014, 281) while still allowing admission of skilled workers and immigrants arriving as refugees, asylum seekers or through family reunification from countries such as Chile, Iran, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam, legitimized by both international and humanitarian obligations (Cappelen, Skjerpen, and Tønnessen 2012; Brochmann 2014; Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2014; Hellevik and Hellevik 2017; Midtbøen 2017). One of the reasonings behind the immigration stop was "to give breathing space to improve the conditions for foreigners who already are in the country, and to create better conditions for future immigrants" (St.meld. nr. 107 (1975–1976), 21).

From the late 1980s onwards, Norway experienced a growth in anti-immigrant political parties similar to many other European countries, resulting in immigration for the first time influencing a municipal election in 1987 and political scientists becoming interested in immigration research (Midtbøen 2017). Hesstvedt, Bergh, and Karlsen (2021) show that immigration came to the forefront in parliamentary elections for the first time in 1989 when 8.1 per cent of electors named it the most important topic, setting a trend for the following decades.

In 1997, a liberalization of the rules for political asylum and refugees took place contributing to an increase in immigration to Norway (Cappelen, Skjerpen, and Tønnessen 2012), which in turn led up to a policy in which immigrants were settled all over the country without considering suitable work and education facilities (Brochmann and Hagelund 2011). By the turn of the millennium, 9/11 and the measures undertaken following the terrorist attacks, affected Norwegian policies on immigration. Under the Bondevik 2-government (2001–2005)[1] refugee and asylum policies were tightened (Midtbøen 2017), an approach that was continued by the subsequent government, Stoltenberg 2 (2005–2013),[2] indicating a similar take on immigration policies across party political divides.

The expansions of the European Union (EU) in 2004 and 2007 contributed to the largest immigration wave to Norway to date leading to a rapid growth of labour immigrants, especially from Poland and other East European countries (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2014; Midtbøen 2017). This made Norway one of the largest recipients of migrants from the new EU member states within the EU and European Economic Area (EEA) and, ironically as a non-EU member, Norway has thus been one of the countries with the highest rates of labour immigration from the new EU member states (Valenta and Strabac 2011; Cappelen, Skjerpen, and Tønnessen 2012; Brochmann 2014; Midtbøen 2017).

Currently, immigrants and Norwegian-born with immigrant parents constitute 18.9 per cent[3] of Norway's population (Statistics Norway [SSB] 2021a), and 4.5 per cent of Norway's population has a refugee background (SSB 2021b). 54.3 per cent of all persons migrating to Norway in 2019 came

because of work or education, 11.31 per cent as refugees, and 33.32 per cent due to family reunification (SSB 2021c). This distribution has remained roughly the same over the past two decades.

Immigration challenging the welfare state?

Norway, like the other Nordic countries, has a traditionally strong welfare state. The Nordic welfare model is characterized by Esping-Andersen (1990) as a social democratic regime in which social rights are institutionalized serving the entire population, i.e. universalistic. Social democratic welfare regimes are considered to be the most advanced welfare systems, characterized by high labour force participation, active labour market policies, universal social benefits, high tax level and tax-funded welfare arrangements, active family policies, centralized public engagement (Esping-Andersen 1990), and a close interaction between the state and the voluntary sector, often referred to as the "consensus model" reflecting the mutual interaction between the authorities and the voluntary sector (Loga 2018). Voluntary associations may receive direct support from municipalities, including among others the use of municipal facilities and receiving financial support for instance in return for the implementation of public tasks, while voluntary associations may wish to influence public policymaking (Ibsen et al. 2021).

The relationship between the welfare state and immigration can be described as tense (Brochmann 2014), with immigration being depicted as one of the welfare state's most pressing challenges (Skjelbostad and Hernes 2021). Reasons for this include the control of inflow on the one hand, and an integration policy on the other hand that has emphasized equal treatment and right to gain welfare rights for everyone to prevent social exclusion. Thus, immigrants have been recognized as both potential producers as well as potential consumers of welfare benefits (Brochmann 2014). Loga (2018) shows how the civil society in recent years is included in policy implementation in new ways, involving co-creation, active citizenship, and idea creation/innovation, both due to financial savings, but also to strengthen democratic legitimacy, inclusion, and participation.

With the expansion of the EU and increasing numbers of labour immigrants, new research issues emerged such as the consequences of immigration on the labour market and for Norway's generous welfare policies, in addition to concerns regarding welfare export. Furthermore, at the beginning of the 2010s researchers sought to understand immigration policies on the premises of the state, realizing that there are economic consequences of immigration for the sustainability of the welfare state (Midtbøen 2017). Brochmann and Hagelund (2011), among others, pose the question whether such a generous universal redistribution system requires stricter border control in addition to arguing that immigrants should join the

labour force as soon as possible in order to not become a burden on the welfare state. These arguments point towards a dilemma in that the welfare state can only survive through high employment rates, while universal welfare contributes to attract and hold immigrants who have challenges in joining and/or staying in the labour force.

Methodology and analytical framework

Our understanding of policies and discourses is informed by the WPR approach (Bacchi and Bonham 2014; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016). We will here both present how we understand policies and show how our understanding of policies has guided our analysis.

What's the problem represented to be (WPR)

The WPR approach and its understanding of policies have its roots in Foucault-inspired poststructuralism (Bacchi 2009; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016; Foucault 2002). When we study policies related to integration, we understand policies as something that shape problem representations forming our "realities" (Bacchi 2009). Policies shape the organization of a society since they connect various actors with diverse power and resource relations and can play an unescapable role in shaping the society (Wedel et al. 2005). They may refer to "how order is maintained through politics, understood as the heterogeneous strategic relations that shape lives and worlds" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, 5–6) and are usually associated with a programme developed to make changes (Bacchi 2009). Shore (2012) encourages researchers to not treat policies as given, but rather understand them as social and cultural constructs that need to be questioned, unpacked, and contextualized to understand their meanings. This follows the line of thought by Foucault (2002) who claims that to understand our society we must realize that society is created and influenced by discourses.

As researchers we play a part in this process, or as Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) write: we are "subjects" in the policy process and must contribute to the un-making and re-making of policies, open up for critical reflections and act *inside* the work of policy while we critically evaluate what is constituted by the policy and how this occurs. When we un- and re-make policies, we study how problem representations are elaborated in discourses. Following the WPR approach and Foucault, we understand discourses as the "socially produced forms of knowledge that set limits upon what is possible to think, write or speak about a 'given social object or practice'" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, 35). This means that our analytical focus is not on how people shape arguments – as it would be in critical discourse analysis – but rather on the deep-seated ways of thinking that underpin political practices.

According to Bacchi and Goodwin (2016), these deep-seated ways of thinking and problematizations shaped by policies can lead to producing – or making – "subjects" resulting in the categorization of people. This process of *subjectification* can have severe consequences for the *subjects* affecting their choices on how to live their lives (*lived effects*), as categorizations can affect what is possible for the *subjects* to become (*subjectification effects*). Therefore, policymaking can frame what is possible for the *subjects* to achieve and affects their "scope of action".

Undertaking the WPR approach, we direct attention to how governmental practices and policymaking produce "problems". Bacchi (2009) and Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) developed a tool consisting of six interrelated questions based on a poststructural understanding of politics being embedded into strategic practices and relations. In our critical analysis of the policy documents, we seek to use the documents to open up our reflections on integration in Norway. In line with Foucault's (2002) understanding of discourse, we study both what is communicated and stated, but also what is not made visible. We question how "problems" in many ways are both obvious and expected to require some kind of "solving". Thus, when a policy points towards actions needed to reach policy goals, it becomes visible what is seen as needing measures and what is experienced as problematic (Foucault 2002).

Implementing the WPR approach

For this study, our focus is limited to governmental (written) documents whose major advantage is that they are easily accessible, available for the public, follow established guidelines, and have a standard form (Fedreheim 2013). Policy texts come in many different forms, including speeches, interview transcripts, news articles, press releases, and so on. A key characteristic is that they are prescriptive and serve as a "form of proposal and a guide to conduct" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, 18). We also follow the WPR approach's recommendation of "working backwards" to find problem representations that need to be interrogated (Bacchi 2009, 3; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, 20). Bacchi (2020) states that the society's increasing desire for "problem-solving" may have a range of negative and potentially dangerous effects, and rather recommends "problem-questioning". In line with that, we look back at older policies seeking to critical interrogate how problem representations have been shaped and how they dominate current policies (Bacchi 2020).

Our approach to "working backwards" starts in 2021 by studying the most recent governmental documents related to integration and then going back in time, searching for relevant documents related to integration and/or immigration. The strict and formal outline of public documents allows for a so-

called "snowballing method" as each document refers to its policy path and previous relevant documents. Simultaneously we also identified relevant documents outside policy paths by searches in governmental databases.

In Table 1 we present an overview of the twenty-nine documents we have analysed, including translations and explanations of the various types of documents. We split the documents between us and compiled relevant paragraphs addressing integration into a shared data extraction sheet based on guidelines which we agreed to beforehand. Both authors analysed the data extraction sheet and commented and/or summarized in a separate column individually, before agreeing on common findings. To trace our comments, we used different text colours for each author. We first tried to identify problem representations (question 1 in Bacchi and Goodwin 2016) before we searched for the conceptual logics underpinning these representations (question 2). Afterwards we sought to identify the conditions allowing the realization of problem representations (question 3) and to interpret what is silenced in the problem representations (question 4). Questions 5 and 6 relate to possible effects and dominance of the problem representations, which we discuss as well. A full list of the analysed documents is available as digital appendix.

A challenge concerning this study's reliability relates to the Norwegian language in the policy documents. Even though both authors are fluent in Norwegian, some meaning might get lost in translation to English. Further, one limitation with our process of working backwards is that our list is most likely not exhaustive, and we might have missed some policy documents. However, as we have analysed the most central policy documents, we believe that we have also captured the central ideas related to integration.

Table 1. Types and respective numbers of analysed governmental documents.

Norwegian title	English translation	Type of governmental document	Number analysed
Meld. St. X / St. meld. X	White papers	Government initiated paper to report/ discuss a certain topic	12
NOU X	Norwegian official reports	Government appointed committee report on specific topics	7
Lov X	Act	Act	2
Strategi	Strategy	Governmental strategy	2
Brosjyre	Leaflet	Governmental information	1
Erklæring	Declaration	Governmental declaration	1
Forskrift X	Regulations	Regulations made by an authority	1
Innst. X S / Innst. St. nr. X	Report to the Parliament	Standing committees' reports to the Parliament	1
Prop. X S / St. prp. X	Propositions to the Parliament	Government initiated propositions to the Parliament	1
Rundskriv	Circulars	Ministries' interpretations of laws and regulations	1

A change of ideas: the conceptualization of integration

In the following section, we will present a review of the analysed policy documents and the historical development based on the data extraction sheet. Policies regarding immigration to Norway go back to 1973 and when looking at the titles of the analysed documents, there seems to be a shift in focus over time, in line with the review on Norway's immigration history. While the earlier documents refer to "immigration" or "immigrants" in their titles, "integration" enters the stage in earnest in the early 2010s almost entirely replacing mentions of immigration or immigrants in the titles. However, also in early documents, policymakers were concerned about the incorporation of immigrants into the Norwegian society, as evident in e.g. the immigration stop in 1975. We will outline what we define as three different historical phases showing how early developments laid the foundation for today's integration policy, and how the understanding of integration has changed during the period we study. Following this historical review, we will address how integration has been problematized in Norwegian integration policies, and what is seen to be solutions to this problem.

Early phase: from assimilation to integration

Following the first immigration wave to Norway, NOU (1973: 17) *Immigration policy* addresses immigration explicitly with the emphasis on how to manage immigration of workers to Norway. Here, the term integration is introduced as a "much weaker form" of incorporation into society and as in contrast to assimilation. NOU (1986: 8) *Refugees' adaptation to the Norwegian society* continues this understanding and presents for the first time explicitly an "integration policy". This policy intends for the different minorities living in Norway to have "the opportunity to choose to what extent they want to keep their ethnic distinctiveness" (NOU 1986: 8, 22). Furthermore, it is made clear that this is a significant change from the assimilationist policies that were predominant until the 1970s.

In the following decades, and at a time when immigration laws and refugee and asylum policies were tightened, the policy documents we analysed are increasingly clear about the respective government's integration policy. Simultaneously, the sections on how to understand integration become more complex. In St.meld. nr. 17 (1996–1997) *On immigration and the multicultural Norway*, integration is described as both immigration policy's goals and means, but also as "the process involving immigrants becoming a part of society's social life (broadly speaking). This process is bidirectional and touches therefore both on the individual immigrant and the remaining population." (St.meld. nr. 17 (1996–1997), 10–11). The understanding also points out that immigrants can continue cultural and religious

characteristics "within certain limits" though clarifying that integration is to be understood in contrast to assimilation.

St.meld. nr. 17 (2000–2001) *Asylum and refugee policy in Norway* continues the approach in which equal opportunities and conditions for all individuals and groups are central such as when it comes to the educational system, housing, or work life. It reaffirms the notion that "there must be a mutual adaptation between the groups in the society" (St.meld. nr. 17 (2000–2001), 5). There is however no further clarification how that process should look like. It is further worth mentioning here that the document uses the same approach of "equal opportunities" as has been applied in NOU (1973: 17). This approach changes at a later point, as we will show.

Middle phase: the "integration era"

In the wake of 9/11 further restrictions on the intake of refugees and asylum seekers were agreed upon, while at the same time the expansions of the EU contributed to more labour immigrants. This is reflected in a change in wording in the analysed documents from 2011 onwards in that "immigration" or "immigrants" in the documents' titles are replaced by "integration", starting with NOU (2011: 14) *Better integration: Goals, strategies, measures*. Yet, already in St.meld. nr. 49 (2003–2004) *Diversity through inclusion and participation: Responsibility and freedom* there is a shift in how integration may look like, pointing out that there are "limits for tolerance" (St.meld. nr. 49 (2003–2004), 11). These "limits" pertain to the fact that the government is positive towards diversity and individual freedom, yet that policies are to ensure that everyone should follow common "laws of the game" encompassing laws and rules and respect society's "values". However NOU (2011: 14) claims to be the first document to have done "a comprehensive review of the integration policies and integration work in Norway" and the first to present "propositions on a holistic and coherent integration policy" (NOU 2011: 14, 11). On integration it states the following:

> Integration of immigrants is specifically about qualification, education, employment, living conditions and social mobility; influence in democratic processes; participation in the civil society; and belonging, respect for differences and loyalty towards collective values. (NOU 2011: 14, 11f.)

The understanding of integration here is significantly more complex and comprehensive compared to earlier documents. While earlier documents address individual aspects such as employment or accommodation to be central for integration, NOU (2011: 14) binds together a variety of aspects for the first time. Thus, this document can also be seen as the first to operationalize the concept of integration and form a sort of action plan on how to achieve integration. Furthermore, the document proposes a change of

perspective from "same opportunities" to "same results" as the main challenge is seen to be "the differences that can be documented or experienced" (NOU 2011: 14, 13) in regards to (socioeconomic) differences between immigrants and the wider population. Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013) *A holistic integration policy – Diversity and community* follows this line of thought and is especially interested in as small social, economic and class differences as possible, providing the basis for a just society and a safe community. Therefore, "the government's integration policy's most important aim is to make sure that everyone living in Norway gets to use their resources and takes part in the community" (Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013), 7). This can be seen as a siginificant change in the approach to integration as a "problem" in that the focus shifts from access to same opportunities for new and established residents, to achieving similar outcomes when comparing new and established residents.

Two acts on integration

In addition to the policies named so far, two acts have been regulating Norway's work on integration since 2003: the Introduction Act (Introduksjonsloven 2003) and the Integration Act (Integreringsloven 2021). The acts' purposes, presented in Table 2, share a focus on economic independence and the need to learn the Norwegian language, culture, and social life.

Brochmann and Hagelund (2011) state that the Introduction Act (2003) marks a significant shift in Norway's integration policy towards a more centralized approach and implementation. Central in both acts is the so-called Introduction Programme which was introduced in the Introduction Act and aims to provide basic Norwegian language training, teach basic knowledge about the Norwegian society, and prepare participants to join the labour market or further educational programmes. Both acts define the right and duty to participate in the Introduction Programme and regulate financial aids for participants.[4] Compared to the Introduction Act (2003), the Integration Act (2021) introduced stricter demands and clearer expectations towards the individual participant in form of formal individual so-called integration plans and

Table 2. Comparison of the two acts' purposes.

Introduction Act (2003)	Integration Act (2021)
The purpose of this act is to strengthen newly arrived immigrants' possibilities to participate in the working and social life, and their economic independence. The act shall further arrange for asylum seekers to quickly receive knowledge of the Norwegian language, culture and social life. (Introduksjonsloven 2003, §1)	The purpose of this act is that immigrants shall be integrated early into the Norwegian society and become economically independent. The Act shall contribute to that immigrants gain good Norwegian language skills, knowledge about Norwegian social life, formal qualifications, and a lasting connection to working life. (Integreringsloven 2021, §1)

contracts. Beyond that, the Integration Act introduced a demand for "early" integration and "lasting connection to the labour market". The Integration Act further clarifies and strengthens the role of the municipalities, putting them to a larger degree in charge of integration including the duty to draw up an integration plan and contract between the individual Integration Programme participant and the municipality of residence. This could indicate a shift from a more higher-level, national approach to integration happening on a local- and individual level. It also means, that municipalities are seen as responsible for integration outcomes. Skjelbostad and Hernes (2021) further claim that the Integration Act has been a direct outcome of the idea that newly arrived refugees' participation in the labour market should be a governmental responsibility.

Additionally, the Introduction Act includes so-called "integration promoting measures" provided by the municipalities for people in reception centres, yet without specifying what is meant with these measures. The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (*IMDi*) elaborates that those measures are roughly the same as the measures in the Introduction Programme, such as parental counselling, life skills, career counselling, assessment of prior learning and work experiences, and recognition of foreign higher education (IMDi 2021). IMDi's recommendations comprise integration promoting measures provided by the voluntary sector and distinguishes those from the more standardized Introduction Programme measures (IMDi n.d.).

Current phase: integration as the individual's or everyone's responsibility?

The third phase introduces several changes in the approach to integration with an increased focus on, and stricter demands and expectations to refugees and asylum-seekers, supposedly as the result of the so-called "refugee crisis" in 2015.[5]

Meld. St. 30 (2015–2016) *From reception to working life – An effective integration policy* and the *Government's objective for integration* (Barne- likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2015a) both present an individualized approach to integration, in particular with focus on refugees, in that they address primarily the individual's responsibility to for instance "make use of the possibilities the Norwegian society provides" (Barne- likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2015a, 3). Furthermore, the white paper addresses "how integration policy and measures should be organised so that more newly arrived immigrants with refugee background enter the working force or education faster and become permanently attached to the labor market" (Meld. St. 30 (2015–2016), 7). Yet, the document also acknowledges that integration takes time, resources and demands specific measures for a refugee to successfully join the Norwegian labour market.

The government's Integration Strategy 2019–2022 *Integration through knowledge* (Integreringsstrategi 2018) sums up the most important measures and goals for the Norwegian integration policy: education and qualification, work, everyday life integration, and the right to live a free life. The overall aim is to increase participation in work and social life, especially for refugees and immigrant women as they to a greater degree find themselves outside of the labour market.

While Meld. St. 30 (2015–2016) and the Integration Strategy (2018) address primarily the individual immigrant's path towards integration, NOU (2017: 2) *Integration and trust: Long-term consequences of high immigration* discusses the economic consequences of (high) immigration to Norway, such as (lack of) education, (lack of) attachment to the labour market, the reception of social benefits, and living conditions of immigrants, again with a particular focus on asylum seekers and refugees.

Is the voluntary sector the future?

In addition to the strong focus on integration as the individual immigrant's responsibility as presented especially in the Integration act (2021), the voluntary sector (*frivillighet*) is increasingly promoted as important for integration from approximately 2015 onwards. The term *frivillighet* is often used synonymously in Norwegian to the terms *frivillig sektor* (Engl. *voluntary sector*), and *sivilsamfunn* (Engl. *civil society*) and refers to both organized and informal unpaid activities outside of one's home based on voluntary engagement. In this paper we use the terms *voluntary sector* and *volunteerism* synonymously to cover the concept *frivillighet*.

Meld. St. 30 (2015–2016) states that integration cannot succeed with public actors or through financial incentives alone, and the concept *everyday life integration* is introduced to cover the processes involved in getting to know the new everyday life revolving around school, work, and participation in the local society. Voluntary activities have been included as part of *everyday life integration* as they may create arenas for socializing and networking, but also language learning and learning cultural norms and democratic values. Around the same time, the Norwegian government published a letter to all municipalities encouraging to actively seek out cooperation with voluntary organizations (Barne- likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2015b). The letter acknowledges the pivotal role voluntary organizations have played in the reception and settlement of the refugees having arrived during the so-called "refugee crisis".

Though the voluntary sector has been present in earlier documents, the documents published after 2015 are in many ways more concrete in what they mean the voluntary sector can or should contribute to integration, signalling a turning point in the perception of the voluntary sector's role in integration. Generally, one can differentiate between two central ideas of how

the voluntary sector can contribute to integration, as described for instance in Meld. St. 10 (2018–2019) *Volunteerism – strong, independent, diverse: The governmental volunteerism policy*. On the one hand, the voluntary sector can serve as an *arena* providing a place to gather, share common interests, be social, and network. On the other hand, the voluntary sector is an *actor* offering activities and services for immigrants, such as providing information, guidance, and training. The former understanding refers to the fact that voluntary activities create spaces to gather and interact socially irrespective of the activities' original purposes. The latter refers to an understanding of the voluntary sector in the sense that there can be activities oriented to achieve a specific goal relevant to the whole society or a specific group. In Meld. St. 10 (2018–2019) this distinction is made explicitly, yet in most of the other documents the differentiation is either blurred or not present at all.

This attention to the voluntary sector and its role in integration has recently led to the governmental strategy *Everyday life integration: Strategy to strengthen the role of the voluntary sector in the integration field 2021–2024* (Hverdagsintegrering strategi 2021). This strategy is the first, and so far only, document addressing the intersection of voluntary sector and integration explicitly. Here, integration is understood as "a two-way process in which the authorities guarantee good opportunities and the individual immigrant has to show individual effort" while the aim for integration is for immigrants to participate "to a larger degree" in both social and work life (Hverdagsintegrering strategi 2021, 9). A governmental concern regarding the voluntary sector and immigration/ integration relates to social participation, such as the general underrepresentation of immigrants or persons with immigrant background in many voluntary areas. This is seen as problematic as voluntary organizations connect people and contribute to maintaining collective values (e.g. St.meld. nr. 17 (1996–1997), 84).

How is integration problematized?

We started this article by asking how the understanding of integration has changed during the past fifty years. In our review, we have shown that throughout the decades integration policies in Norway have been based on ideas of everyone having the same opportunities, rights, and duties to participate in society. The depicted means for integration throughout the decades have principally been employment and accommodation. Simultaneously, integration has also been presented as a bidirectional process, in that it was seen as the responsibility of the whole society and of the individual immigrant.

In the policy documents, integration was for the first time introduced as a comprehensive concept in NOU (2011: 14). Here, a multifaceted and broad understanding of integration was introduced, linking it to more aspects

than just employment and accommodation. Yet, the focus on employment persisted in the following years, and was even strengthened, with the aim to maintain the sustainability of the welfare model in Norway. Furthermore, economic self-dependency has been presented as the central path into the Norwegian society and to achieve integration. In addition, and especially from 2015 on, there is an increased shift towards putting more responsibility on the individual immigrant to become integrated. The Integration Act (2021) formalizes this responsibility in introducing concrete demands of the individual immigrant.

In addition to the focus on employment, we see that recently the voluntary sector has received growing attention. Integration is expected to take place to a greater degree in and through the voluntary sector, where activities can serve as both an arena and an actor for integration. This can be understood as a widening view on integration in Norwegian integration policies. In the light of the WPR approach, employment and accommodation seem to not be deemed sufficient anymore to be means and measure of integration. It furthermore may indicate if not a total shift away but an added layer to the sole focus on immigrants becoming (economically) self-dependent (Rytter 2018b; Frazier and van Riemsdijk 2021).

(Un)employment as a central problematization

Following Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) approach to interrogate deep-seated presuppositions and assumptions underpinning policies, we see that Norway's integration policies have produced a problem revolving around immigrants not gaining economic independence and thus challenging the most important principle in the social democratic welfare regime: labour force participation. Going back to the governmental documents, one of the main reasonings behind focusing on employment is the fear of what unemployment, especially among immigrants, may do to the sustainability of the welfare state (cf. NOU 2011: 7; Brochmann and Hagelund 2011; Olwig and Pærregaard 2011; see also Brochmann and Djuve 2013). Brochmann (2014) shows that this is the result of the dilemma of the welfare state: it is the solution as it provides universal welfare, but it is also the problem as it relies on high employment rates which immigration may threaten. Even though Norway traditionally is one of the countries in Europe with the highest levels of work participation and lowest unemployment rate (Statista 2022), there is a gap between the immigrant and non-immigrant population (OECD 2022). In 2021, the overall unemployment rate in Norway was at 3.6 per cent making it the sixth lowest in Europe, in contrast to the overall EU rate of 6.5 per cent (Statista 2022). For the age group 20–66 years, 78.1 per cent of the Norwegian population excluding immigrants were employed, while the employment rate for immigrants was 65.4 per cent in 2021 (SSB

2021d). In comparison, the employment rate of foreign-born citizens across the EU in 2014 was 62.1 per cent (OECD 2022). Though the rates have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, the trends have remained the same.

The aim of the Norwegian government has been to achieve similar results between immigrants and the population in general, as stated in for instance Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013). This approach also pertains to employment. However, Valenta and Bunar (2010) show that refugee integration policies in Norway, and Sweden, have failed in terms of levelling out initial inequalities between refugees and the rest of the population. One aim of the Introduction Programme is for 70 per cent of the participants to be either working or in education one year after finishing the programme (Guribye and Espegren 2019; SSB 2021e), yet in 2020 the rate was at 61 per cent (SSB 2021f). Policy initiatives, such as the "fast track" linked to the Introduction Programme, have not improved the results (Rambøll 2019; Fedreheim 2021). The fact that refugees are settled irrespective of their background, work experience and the receiving community's labour market, in addition to the current trends in the Norwegian immigration policy resulting in increased numbers of refugees with complex health problems (UNHCR 2021; Norwegian Ministries 2022) would affect the premises with one would try to enter the labour market.

With reference to the WPR approach, we claim that policies have subjectified immigrants, and in particular refugees and asylum-seekers, as unemployed since the solution to achieve integration for many years has been mainly seen to be employment. Thus, there is a clear discrepancy between policy goals and reality in terms of employment. If immigrants are subjectified as unemployed, and policy making reflects this image, the same policies shape what is possible for its *subjects,* hence potentially limiting the scope of action of immigrants and creating an image that may be difficult to break away from. Yet, little attention is paid to immigrants' circumstances and conditions. There is a large variety of reasons why people migrate to Norway, and their backgrounds and prerequisites differ significantly, as discussed earlier. Yet, there seems to be little to no reflection over the expectations and policy goals in policies, and who actually is targeted by these. Considering that around half of all immigrants coming to Norway each year are working or taking an education (SSB 2021c), the problematization of integration as a question of (un)employment tends to make "the others", that is refugees and immigrants' family members, the "problem" of integration, causing them in addition to be produced as responsible for this "problem".

When more demands are put on immigrants to become integrated, policy development is in line with neoliberal logics in which immigrants are expected to prove themselves "deserving" of welfare benefits. Integration

is thus understood in terms of economic rationalities and valuations (Grace, Nawyn, and Okwako 2018; Rytter 2018b; Frazier and van Riemsdijk 2021). These factors play a role in subjectification processes of immigrants, though the newer documents show some tentative efforts of changing this perspective. We ask if the introduction of the voluntary sector as an integration actor and arena then reflects a policy realization that first, employment is not enough to become integrated, and second, that individualizing and formalizing integration does not contribute to reaching employment rate goals.

From integration through employment to integration through volunteerism?

The fact that Norwegian integration policies have for decades focussed on employment and its assumed decisive meaning for integration is for us a policy paradox. We have seen that the subjectification of immigrants as "unemployed" has caused discursive and subjectification effects, restricting both the mindsets related to immigration and immigrants' possibilities in society. Additionally, when immigrants are subjectified as "unemployed", it is evident that integration in terms of employment fails. This begs the question whether it indeed would be possible to integrate when unemployed, or to be employed yet not integrated. The resulting contradiction and paradox of employment as the only means and measure for integration became seemingly evident also for policy makers in the last decade when the voluntary sector is presented as a necessity for integration. The voluntary sector seems to kill two birds with one stone: Firstly, policy makers have acknowledged that employment is not enough to achieve societal participation and that the voluntary sector can contribute to immigrant's integration in this regard. Secondly, the voluntary sector may (indirectly) provide resources to facilitate entering – and remaining part of – the Norwegian labour market. Thus, the voluntary sector serves both as a means and goal in the integration policies (Ager and Strang 2008).

The ascribed role of the voluntary sector in integration is not exclusive to a Norwegian setting but also present in the other Nordic countries (Agergaard and la Cour 2012; Aasen, Haug, and Lynnebakke 2017; Karlsdóttir et al. 2020) and in EU member states (European Commission 2016). In particular during, and in the wake of, the so-called "refugee crisis", the voluntary sectors in Europe have received increasing attention. Their role in welcoming and accommodating the arriving refugees and their needs is mentioned to have been crucial in receiving the refugees in a safe manner (see among others Barne- likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2015b; Fleischmann 2019). Though studies on volunteering are challenging due to different understandings of the concept volunteering (Schwingel et al.

2016), generally studies point towards the beneficial role of voluntary arenas for immigrants in (high-income) countries, such as the contribution to building social and human capital (Handy and Greenspan 2009). Sveen and her colleagues (2022) show that volunteering may contribute to improving one's self-conception, building social networks, and developing skills in addition to understanding volunteering as one way to contribute to and engage with society. They also point towards the general health-promoting effects of volunteering. Volunteering can furthermore be understood as a form of active citizenship (Ambrosini and Artero 2022). Special attention has been paid in some studies to the role of immigrant and religious organizations in integration including the contribution to strengthened religious and civic identity (Peucker 2018), and the positive relationship between US American democratic traditions and religious identity (Dana, Wilcox-Archuleta, and Barreto 2017). This approach stands in contrast to many of the policy documents' neglect of these types of organizations' (beneficial) role in integration.

Nevertheless, using the voluntary sector in integration as proposed in the policy documents may pose several challenges. Policies in general may reproduce inequality between "the" majority and "the" minority (Rytter 2018a). Within this context, voluntary activities may under certain circumstances contribute to minoritization, as has been shown for instance by Stein (2022), in addition to immigrants, and in particular refugees and asylum seekers, tending to be perceived as "users" and not "actors" (Ambrosini and Artero 2022). Another challenge is identified by Slootjes and Kampen (2017) who show that though volunteering contributes to becoming active citizens, volunteering is seldomly recognized as work experience, thus does not actively lead to paid employment.

Concluding remarks

The aim of this article was to show how integration has been problematized in Norwegian governmental documents between 1973 and 2021. Following a WPR inspired approach, we have shown that integration has largely been problematized as unemployment and its resulting threat to the welfare state. Suggested solutions to this "problem" have been more formal demands to the individual immigrant including the successful participation in the Introduction Programme and individual integration contracts between Introduction Programme participants and the respective municipalities. These measures target to a large degree refugees and asylum-seekers which contributes to a subjectification of refugees and asylum-seekers as "unemployed". In recent decades, we see that societal participation has come to the fore in political documents as part of the concept *everyday life integration*. Here, the voluntary sector is seen to play a crucial role as both an arena and actor contributing to integration. We suggest that this is a turn in the political

approach to integration pointing towards de-subjectifying immigrants as "unemployed". Nevertheless, we also suggest that the voluntary sector is being put under increasing pressure to contribute to public tasks.

The developments described in this article need to be seen in the light of bigger changes, including an increasingly "civic" approach to integration especially in the Scandinavian countries, in that immigrants are to become "citizens" (e.g. Borevi, Jensen, and Mouritsen 2017). Moreover, recent developments in Norwegian integration policies should be seen in the light of what Vasta (2007) has called "moral panic", and what Djuve (2011) described as the (changing) public debate around immigration and integration to which research has contributed and during which the governmental documents and acts were written.

Notes

1. Comprised of the Conservative Party (H), the Christian Democratic Party (KrF) and the Liberal Party (V).
2. Comprised of the Labor Party (Ap), the Center Party (Sp) and the Socialist Left Party (SV).
3. Of which 7.7 per cent comprise immigrants from EU countries, Great Britain, USA, Canada, Australia or New Zealand, while 11.2 percent are from the rest of the world SSB. (2021a). *Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre*. https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/innvandrere/statistikk/innvandrere-og-norskfodte-med-innvandrerforeldre.
4. Target group for the programme are primarily newly arrived refugees with approved residence permit between 18 and 55 years old and their family members. Nordic citizens and citizens from an EEA country are not obliged to participate nor entitled to free tuition (cf. Norwegian Ministries 2022)
5. We are aware of the fact that the term "refugee crisis" is not a neutral term. Following Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017), we use the term to situate this study in the discourse evolving around the term in academia.

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Paper 2

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Minoritizing Processes and Power Relations between Volunteers and Immigrant Participants—An Example from Norway

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RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

The voluntary sector is a strong pillar in Norwegian society and has in recent years gained increasing attention as an arena for integration. Though voluntary activities can be valuable door openers for (recently arrived) immigrants, they may, under certain circumstances, contribute to minoritization processes. In this exploratory article, I will investigate social connections and relations between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants based on a focus group with eight participants involved in a community centre in a Norwegian town through analysing the volunteers' ideas of how the voluntary sector can contribute to integration processes of immigrants. Special attention will be paid to some of the participants' behaviour towards the only immigrant participating in the focus group, as this behaviour may reflect minoritizing processes. This article aims to contribute towards a more nuanced picture of what voluntary activities may achieve in terms of integration processes and to bring to light potential risks of creating unequal power relations in the social connections between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants and facilitating minoritizing processes.

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INTRODUCTION

The voluntary sector, or volunteerism,[1] is a strong pillar in Norwegian society and has gained increasing attention as an arena for integration (Kunnskapsdepartementet [Ministry for Education and Research] 2018a). Although often attention is paid to the participation of children of immigrants in voluntary activities, there is not much knowledge of what role the Norwegian voluntary sector plays in integration processes of adults. However, the Norwegian government has in recent years recognized the potentials of the voluntary sector in integration work not only for immigrant children and youths but also for immigrant adults (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2018b). In the Norwegian Strategy for Integration, which aims for immigrants' increased feeling of belonging and participation in social life, participation in the civil society and voluntary organizations is seen as a tool to counteract segregation and to further the understanding of core values and norms in the Norwegian society as part of the so-called 'Everyday integration' [*hverdagsintegrering*] (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2018b: 43). Here, voluntary activities hold a central position as these can become arenas for (social) integration because they create spaces for being social and being part of a community (cf. Haaland & Wallevik 2017: 184). Such an understanding can also be found in Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework on integration, where volunteer activities are seen as good ways to establish social connections. These connections in turn are understood to play a fundamental role in 'driving the process of integration on a local level' (Ager & Strang 2008: 177).

This article's core is an exploratory study based on a singular incident: one focus group discussion with eight participants at a Norwegian community centre. I will explore social connections and relations between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants through analysing narratives of the focus group participants and their ideas of how the voluntary sector can contribute to integration processes of immigrants. Special attention will be paid to some of the focus group participants' behaviour towards Azmia,[2] the only immigrant participating in the focus group. I interpret this behaviour to reflect minoritizing processes, and I aim to show that social relations between volunteers and immigrant participants may exist along multiple axes with the potential to promote power imbalance and minoritization.

I wish to stress that although I critically examine relations between volunteers and immigrant participants, voluntary activities can be valuable to (newly arrived) immigrants. The case of Azmia will show that such activities can be a springboard not only to becoming involved in the voluntary sector and to getting to know locals, establishing a social network, and even finding accommodation and employment. Moreover, these activities are offered by volunteers who seldom are professionally educated in social work or adjoining fields.

As this study is exploratory, it puts questions forward rather than finding answers to what voluntary activities may achieve in terms of integration processes. It aims to contribute to a more nuanced picture of integration processes in and through voluntary activities and to bring into view potential risks of creating unequal power

1 The Norwegian term *frivillighet* (sometimes also *frivillig sektor*) can be translated to English as 'voluntary sector' or 'volunteerism'. In Norway, *frivillighet* is often used synonymously with *frivllig arbeid* or 'voluntary work' and encompasses organizations and activities which are unpaid and based on voluntary engagement outside of one's own home (cf. *https://www.frivillighetnorge.no/fakta/hva-er-frivillighet/*).

2 All data have been anonymized and names exchanged with pseudonyms.

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relations in the social connections between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants that may allow minoritizing processes.

I will start by introducing central terms and concepts and provide background for the case discussed in this article. I will then present the focus group and analytical approaches before continuing to present and analyse the data from the focus group discussion. Along three layers—the individual incident, a need to help within voluntary activities, and structural traits—I will explore and discuss minoritizing processes and power relations between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants. As this study is exploratory in nature, I will not come with conclusions in the end but instead present a short summary and issues for further research.

FRAMING THE PROBLEM: INTEGRATION THROUGH THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

INTEGRATION

The term 'integration' is a chaotic concept (Samers 1998: 128), or as Schinkel calls it: 'a conceptual quagmire' (Schinkel 2018: 2). Usually used in contexts around immigration, integration refers to processes of accommodation and settlement of immigrants (Ager & Strang 2008; Strang & Ager 2010). These processes can cover various aspects, from housing and health to employment and citizenship (Ager & Strang 2008), or more broadly speaking distinguished into several facets: social, economic, political, cultural (Rytter 2018). However, the term, and the underlying understandings and conceptual ideas, are highly contested—not least because it can refer to both a political idea and a theoretical concept (Simonsen 2017). Informed and used by both scholars, policymakers, and in a wide range of public discourses, its understanding is contextual and among others shaped by history, political ideas and ideologies, and policies. Therefore, integration is neither objective nor neutral (Gullestad 2002b) or innocent (Rytter 2018). In recent years, the concept of '(immigrant) integration' and approaches to study it have been increasingly under scrutiny in academia because of its unclarity and ambiguity (see among many others Korteweg 2017; Rytter 2018; Schinkel 2018; Sjørslev 2011; Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002). In this article, I follow Naguib's example who chooses not to deconstruct the term (Naguib 2017). Instead, like Naguib, I will use 'integration' because it is the term the persons, I talked with, used. This does not mean that the term 'integration' is used without deliberation. On the contrary, discussions on integration and its meanings and implications are also carried out by those involved in the processes with some preferring the term 'inclusion'. Yet, in a European context, it remains the most common term applied in debates on increasingly diverse and multi-ethnic societies and to describe settlement and incorporation processes of immigrants.

THE NORWEGIAN VOLUNTARY SECTOR AND (SOCIAL) INTEGRATION

In Norway, similarly to the other Nordic, and many western, countries, growing numbers of immigrants and descendants of immigrants have increased discussions about how to achieve integration. One aspect, the voluntary sector may contribute to, is lived democracy as one through volunteering participates in (democratically structured) organizations and learns democratic values (Haaland & Wallevik 2017; Hagelund & Loga 2009; Takle 2013; 2015). Other aspects of integration processes

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are creating social networks, social cohesion, and achieving a feeling of belonging (Hagelund & Loga 2009; Karlsdóttir et al. 2020). As Ager and Strang (2008) point out, these processes are in particular located on a local level and in everyday contexts.

For newly arrived immigrants in particular, participating in the Norwegian voluntary sector is seen as an arena for getting to know the local community, neighbours, and to practice one's Norwegian skills (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2018a). Moreover, voluntary activities can provide a platform to establish social connections. This can happen in a circumstantial way, meaning that immigrants participate in activities that would happen anyway, such as helping in a *dugnad* (Eng. 'voluntary community work')[3] and along the way meet people from the community and practice Norwegian. Alternatively, voluntary organizations can offer activities specifically aimed at (often recently arrived) immigrants. Such a targeted approach can result in one-off events such as presenting different organizations and activities. Another approach could be to offer specific targeted activities, such as tutoring, language learning, or regular events to introduce immigrants to Norwegian outdoor life. Sometimes, the target group are immigrants in general, sometimes families, and other times only adult men or women. Such activities share the idea of doing something *for* immigrants to support them in their processes to settle in Norway.

Another aspect of the voluntary sector's role in integration processes is that persons who are involved in voluntary activities or organizations can provide new residents with access to established social networks and to information which they then can communicate to new participants (Haaland & Wallevik 2017). Thus, volunteers may become door openers to the society for (newly arrived) immigrants as they 'can contribute to increased contact and understanding between newly arrived immigrants and the society they shall be integrated in' (Haaland & Wallevik 2017: 185, my translation).

MINORITIZING PROCESSES

When it comes to the concept of integration there is an implicit understanding of a 'majority' and a 'minority' that are supposed to merge somehow—namely 'the receiving society' and 'the immigrants'. Yet, the terms 'minority' and 'majority' imply a static relationship between two seemingly unambiguous entities. Consequently, using the terms 'minority' or 'majority' one favours a focus on numbers and a reduction of power relations to these numbers (Brah 1996). In contrast, the terms 'minoritization' and 'majoritization' encompass a dynamic and processual relation and allow an understanding of power relations that often run along multiple axes. As Gunaratnam (2003: 17) shows, 'the term "minoritized" [...] give[s] some sense of the active processes of racialization that are at work in designating certain attributes of groups in particular contexts as being in a "minority"'.

This understanding is supported by Gullestad (2002a: 100, my translation): 'The majority constitutes itself as the majority because of its power to simultaneously set the rules, be a fellow player, and function as judge'. Hence, an approach applying minoritization and majoritization processes not only acknowledges that 'majorities and minorities are constituted in relation to each other' (Predelli et al. 2012: 212) but also that

3 The concept of *dugnad* is an essential concept in Norwegian volunteering reaching back several centuries. Usually singular events, *dugnader* are aimed at a common cause serving a community. This could be cleaning and fixing things in a neighbourhood after winter or making waffles for a social event in schools or selling lottery tickets to raise money for sports clubs (cf. Great Norwegian encyclopaedia, https://snl.no/dugnad).

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> labelling of people as 'majority' and 'minority' is in large part determined by existing power relations and power differentials between different groups. Minoritization and majoritization processes occur through social relations that are shaped by power, resources, interests, language and discourse. (Predelli et al. 2012: 212)

Concerning the term 'integration' this begs the question of whether it is the 'majority'—that is the receiving society—which sets the rules for what integration is (supposed to be). In addition, 'integration' is usually understood as a two-way process (see, e.g., Klarenbeek 2019) implying that the receiving society is a fellow player in integration processes. At the same time, the receiving society may also pose as judge of who is integrated, and who is not.

Social relations also within the voluntary sector—that is, between volunteers and participants—are shaped by existing power relations that manifest themselves among others in language and discourse. I will show that voluntary activities with immigrant participants may involve understandings of what integration is, who is in need of integration and how integration can be achieved. I will also address whether voluntary activities set the stage for unequal relationships between volunteers and (newly arrived) immigrants and aid minoritizing processes.

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

THE FOCUS GROUP

This article is based on a focus group discussion that was conducted in spring 2019 as part of a larger research project.[4] All ethical considerations have been coordinated in accordance with and approved by The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD), and all data presented in this article have been anonymized. Although I only use data from that focus group discussion, this article is informed by the wider research project. The location for the focus group discussion was a community centre in a Norwegian town and the aim was to discuss the role of the voluntary sector in integration processes of immigrant women in Norway. The community centre was established in the early 2000s, aiming at creating a meeting place for people of various backgrounds. It hosts various organizations, coordinates activities, organizes social events, promotes work practice and business establishment, and in general, works on creating meeting places for everyone.

Initially, I established contact with the head of the community centre Rune via e-mail and informed him about the research project asking him for help to recruit people based on their experiences with integration processes of immigrant women and immigrants more generally. We agreed on contacting several people via Rune's network whom he characterized as 'knowledgeable persons' [*ressurspersoner*]. With the help of Rune serving as door opener, I ended with a focus group consisting of three men and five women, who all had a connection to the community centre. ***Table 1*** contains an overview and short descriptions of all focus group participants.

In addition, a research colleague served as observer while I led the discussion. I used an interview guide with a few open questions to structure the conversation. These questions concerned among other the participants' involvement in the voluntary

4 'Engaging Women in Integration: Exploring the Triangle Integration – Gender Equality – Civil Society', 2018–2022; NSD project reference number: 61392.

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NAME	DESCRIPTION
Anne	Woman in her sixties, retired, professional experience from refugee services and reception centre for asylum seekers
Azmia	Woman in her thirties, came to Norway from Syria three years before the focus group took place, trained teacher, now working with elderly and children, became involved at the community centre soon after her arrival first as a participant and later as a volunteer
Bjørn Arne	Man, middle aged, has been involved in the community centre as a staff member but also as a volunteer and a participant
Jan Olav	Man, middle aged, has been contributing to and working at the community centre for several years after not being able to continue in his profession
Malin	Woman in her thirties, an artist working at the community centre
Mette	Woman in her sixties, (retired?) teacher, has been involved in the community centre particularly in one voluntary organization but also other voluntary activities
Rune	Man, middle aged, head of the community centre, professional experiences from refugee services and child-care services
Wenche	Woman in her sixties, retired teacher, has been involved in the community centre for over a decade but has also been doing other volunteer work among others with immigrant women

Table 1 Overview over focus group participants.

sector and which role they think the voluntary sector has in integration processes. The focus group discussion lasted for 2.5 hours including a more informal part during lunch, which was provided by the community centre. The discussion was conducted in Norwegian, tape recorded and afterwards transcribed by me as closely as possible to the original.

THE EXPLORATORY APPROACH

To explore the data from the focus group discussion thoroughly and systematically, I used the qualitative data analysis computer software NVivo to identify recurring topics and narratives. In addition to the sound recording of the discussion, I used notes written by me and the observer.

This article is exploratory, not only because of the semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions for the focus group discussion. A study can be exploratory from the onset, but at times the empirical data may make it necessary to apply an exploratory approach. In the case of the present study, the focus group discussion yielded rich and surprising empirical data going beyond of what was asked in the interview guide (Swedberg 2020).

Given the exploratory design of the study, the analytical approach has been strongly influenced by abductive reasoning. As Alvesson and Sköldberg (2008) point out, '[abduction] means that an (often surprising) individual case is interpreted on the basis of a hypothetical overall pattern, which, if true, explains the case in question' (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 55, my translation). Generally, abductive reasoning is especially equipped 'to go beyond the data themselves, to locate them in explanatory or interpretive frameworks' (Coffey & Atkinson 1996: 156). Therefore, abductive reasoning and exploratory research complement each other well. For the case at hand, the data are analysed and interpreted in the light of potential (hypothetical)

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overarching patterns. To strengthen validity and transferability, interpretations and possible explanations should subsequently be corroborated by new cases and new observations in further studies (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008; Swedberg 2020).

Yet, '[a] story is always situated; it has both a teller and an audience' (Abu-Lughod 1993/2008: 15). In this case, the focus group is both context of a story—specifically Azmia's story—while also being worth a retelling in itself—namely an example of how an immigrant to Norway is talked with, talked to, and talked about. However, a focus group is not a natural setting but a staged gathering for interaction with the goal to gain information. Though the participants seemed to know each other to various degrees, the presence of two researchers presumably has influenced their contributions. Moreover, immigration, integration and volunteering are easily politicized topics, and the participants were likely trying to both show themselves in the best possible light and be 'politically correct'. Or as Brinkmann and Kvale (2015: 114) summarize: Interview '[...] subjects are often trying to act as "good interviewees," according to what they guess is an appropriate way of "doing interviews"'.

The analysis process has also been influenced by my positionality: I am a young female researcher at a Norwegian institution though I am originally from another European country. My positionality has not only influenced the way I got access to the field and how the focus group participants interacted with me but also affected my vision of the case because it provides me 'with prototheories of the world, ways to "case" the phenomena in front of [me] that are already deeply ingrained in the ways we perceive the world' (Timmermans & Tavory 2012: 172f.). These aspects are part of the situatedness of the case and help understand the knowledge derived through abductive reasoning to be socially located and positional knowledge (Timmermans & Tavory 2012). I discussed my ideas and thoughts with the observer, whose perceptions of the case overlapped with mine thus confirming and validating my interpretations and analysis.

The following data presentation and analysis section are structured in a way to reflect on the recursive process between data and theory with the aim to make preliminary interpretations on what the occurrence may point towards.

THREE LAYERS OF ANALYSIS

Azmia recounted that shortly after arriving in Norway she had started to go to the community centre to meet and get to know locals and to learn Norwegian. She apparently started attending the community centre by participating in different events and activities, such as a knitting group for established and newly arrived residents organized by Mette. Subsequently, Azmia became more active in the community centre. By the others in the group Azmia was described as 'a great girl' (Wenche) and 'a fantastic woman' (Mette), 'like a daughter' (Mette), and not least praised as a 'splendid example for somebody who wants in into society' (Bjørn Arne).

Exploring how minoritizing processes and power relations may manifest themselves in language and discourse, I will look at the focus group discussion through the lens of three layers; I will firstly provide an in-depth presentation of the individual layer, formed around Azmia, her story and her social relations with the other participants in the focus group. The second layer is shaped around a critical examination of a seemingly 'need to help' (Malkki 2015) on the part of the volunteers and how this may affect minoritization processes in the given setting. The third and last layer is an

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exploration and discussion of what factors may have shaped the two previous layers and what structural issues they point to that may serve as an explanation for the way Azmia and other immigrants are treated and talked about in the focus group.

FIRST LAYER: AZMIA

Introducing Azmia

> I just ask myself: What can I do here? How can I do it? Yes, it is something I am not good at, but I shall try because I'm going to stay here [in Norway]. I don't want to say: No, I can't, I don't want to. I forget this word: I can't. I shall try. So now I have a good life here. (Azmia)

This quote illustrates my impression of Azmia as an outgoing, strong-minded and resourceful woman. I mean this in the sense that she appeared to be a person who takes the initiative and who wants to get engaged in the new place she has moved to. Located across the street from where she took Norwegian classes, she saw that there was a café as part of the centre and started going there. Eager to learn, she used the café and the community centre in general to talk to people and ask them anything—from bureaucratic challenges such as housing to taking a book or homework and ask for translations. From then on, she has been regularly at the community centre and getting more and more involved.

How is Azmia talked to and talked about?

> Azmia is a splendid example for somebody who wants in into society. Well, with the way she worked when she came here and got engaged so much in everything and helped everyone. (Bjørn Arne)

Bjørn Arne points to Azmia as someone who launches herself into things. As the only immigrant participating in the focus group, the other participants often pointed towards Azmia and her story using her repeatedly as a positive example of integration. This shows that Azmia held—and perhaps to a certain degree was given—a particular role in the focus group.

Still, on several occasions, Azmia would not get the chance to finish a sentence. Instead, one of the others would interrupt her—often Mette or Wenche—and finish her sentences for her. For instance, when Azmia told about a mix-up regarding housing, which meant that she did not have a place to stay, she hardly got the chance to finish one sentence before Mette interrupted her. However, it remained unclear why Mette would repeatedly interrupt Azmia. One explanation could be that Mette had been involved in finding a new place for Azmia and drove her back and forth to the different offices and places during the day. She was thus part of the story Azmia was telling and therefore could supply information. Another possible reason for the interruptions could be that Mette wanted to strengthen Azmia's story and make sure that we others understood the severity of the instance and how it affected Azmia. Yet one could also wonder whether Mette thought that Azmia needed her help and did not trust Azmia to get the point across.

When the others described Azmia and her integration processes, they often pointed towards her personality and her motivation and engagement, as shown in the following quotes:

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> Not everyone has this sort of go-ahead spirit like you [Azmia]. (Mette)
>
> Not everyone is like you [Azmia] and dares to go alone. (Anne)

However, these quotes also show that Azmia seemed to be perceived differently and set in contrast to something or someone 'other'.

> She [Azmia] is unique when it comes to such things because she is good at launching herself into things. But think of those women who are stay-at-home mothers. They don't have the resources like Azmia who gets out and gets that contact. They stay there [at home]. (Mette)

Mette not only described Azmia as a positive example but contrasted her achievements with other immigrant women. During the discussion, it was implied on several occasions that Azmia was an exception among immigrant women who were described as not as integrated or as engaged as Azmia. One of the reasons specified by the focus group participants was that other immigrant women were often mothers, had several children and therefore were bound to the home. Azmia, in contrast, was married but had no children.

Azmia's background was another element being mentioned several times:

> But you, Azmia, are a woman with perhaps a good background and you obviously also have a family who supports you. There are many kinds of women [...] with different backgrounds. Not everyone has it perhaps equally easy to get integrated or included. (Mette)

Azmia's apparently good background and the support she received from her family seemingly allowed her to integrate more easily.

With comments like these Azmia seemed to be talked about and presented as a contrasting (positive) example, a 'good immigrant' perhaps, who had mastered the challenges of integration, whereas the 'others' were not as good, as motivated, or as engaged as Azmia. Thus, Azmia was described as not being part of 'them'. Yet, at the same time it remained rather palpable that Azmia was not part of 'us', as illustrated by the following quote:

> Those like her [Azmia], I take with me to knitting [events], take them home, and ... (Wenche)

Though it is not clear, who exactly Wenche meant by 'them', she considered Azmia part of 'them' and not 'us'. These narratives leave Azmia in limbo: she is neither fully 'them'—that is, 'the' immigrants who presumably struggle to integrate—nor is she fully 'us'. Through these narratives, Anne, Mette and Wenche remain in power to define who is 'us' and who is 'them' in certain circumstances, indicating minoritizing processes through language and discourse.

Neither 'us' nor 'them'

As shown by the examples previously, throughout the focus group the other participants ascribed certain attributes to Azmia. In terms of Azmia's integration process, she is often pointed out as a good example. Though on the surface the ascribed attributes seem mostly positive such as describing Azmia as resourceful, a person 'daring to go alone', from a 'good background', and with a 'supporting family', these descriptions are often used in contrast to something else, namely other

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(female) immigrants who do not have these attributes. Being seen and described as a 'good immigrant' tend to make her 'other than' both other immigrants living in Norway, but also the (Norwegian) volunteers. Azmia is set into a limbo between being neither 'them' nor 'us'. The speakers not only seem to serve as judge over who is seen integrated, or who is doing well in integrating (cf. Gullestad 2002a). They, too, seem to be in a position of putting Azmia into a category that is not 'us' (the majority) thus minoritizing her. Yet moreover, the speakers imply through their language that Azmia is neither fully part of 'them' (the minority) either. Despite likely good intentions, the apparently unintentional choice of words and behaviour contributes to minoritizing. This may lead to a position for Azmia where she continues to be minoritized and exposed to a power imbalance.

SECOND LAYER: A 'NEED TO HELP'?
Passive or active?

> I got more Norwegians to help me. I couldn't manage 20 participants over time. (Mette)

When Mette talked about the knitting café she organized for immigrant women, she explained that there were too many participants for her to manage. One could interpret the statement as the (Norwegian) volunteers being described as playing a more active part, whereas the (immigrant) participants needed managing. Such an understanding can leave immigrant participants in a passive position. This statement also raises questions about whether similar voluntary activities create spaces for where immigrants and long-term residents can meet on a level playing field when Norwegian volunteers are depicted as managers and immigrant participants as needing managing. Instead, language use like Mette's may point towards processes maintaining the divide of majority and supposed minority. A similar notion can also be seen in the following quote:

> We are catalysts for coming in into the Norwegian society. We can teach them something. (Wenche)

Although Wenche's statement strengthens the argument of voluntary activities serving as door openers (Haaland & Wallevik 2017), it also carries an understanding of a 'us/them' divide, in which 'we'—that is, the (Norwegian) volunteers—help and guide 'them' during the processes of settling in the new country and society. One can argue that here, too, there is a narrative in which (Norwegian) volunteers are depicted as playing active roles in contrast to more passive (participating) immigrants. Though it may be true that integration is also about learning language, social codes and much more of the new place, a narrative in which immigrants are talked about as passive recipients of teaching may minoritize them. It may deny immigrant participants a story in which they are playing an active role in voluntary settings and integration processes in general.

Though Mette apparently was the only one who regularly organized a voluntary activity aimed at immigrants at the community centre in the form of a knitting café to bring local and immigrant women together, there were also other events targeting immigrants arranged at the community centre. There were, for example, tours, sometimes overnight, organized by among others, Jan Olav and Rune.

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In the following quote, there are two aspects to be considered:

> Anne: You, Azmia, are from Syria, but we had a lot of different ones. We had some from Somalia. We had all those – I was about to say – polite Tamils
>
> Azmia: Afghanistan, Iraq
>
> Mette: We had a group from Bosnia

First, it is interesting to see how immigrant participants of voluntary activities are talked about. This is just one instance of several where focus group participants would, by saying 'we have', display an almost possessive attitude. Through this narrative, one could argue that immigrant participants become a static, uninvolved feature of these activities enforcing an image of passive participants. Hence, these volunteers set the stage and the rules on which these activities are supposed to take place.

Another interesting aspect is which countries are mentioned when talking about countries of origin. Throughout the focus group discussion, the participants almost exclusively talked about immigrants from non-Western countries in context with potential participants for immigrant-targeted activities.

Throughout the focus group discussion, it seemed as if many immigrants—depending on countries of origin, if mentioned—were perceived as in need of support from voluntary activities. Such assumptions would point towards minoritizing processes when it comes to ideas of integration and the perceived role of the voluntary sector. This is because these assumptions would affect the way who is recruited for voluntary activities targeting immigrants, and how. Volunteers may despite good intentions enforce a divide between volunteers and participants, and between active and passive, thus favouring minoritizing processes.

The volunteers' role

Another aspect to be considered is the role the volunteers in the focus group ascribe to themselves. Especially Mette would highlight her personal contributions to Azmia and the community centre throughout the focus group discussion. Mette made it clear on several occasions that volunteering meant a lot to her—also because she got something in return, for example, the friendship to Azmia, and, I would interpret, perhaps, a feeling to do something good. Beyond that, it seemed that her motivation to organize voluntary activities targeting immigrants came from her relationship to Azmia:

> Azmia was the first [refugee/immigrant] I took care of. (Mette)

In addition, Mette claimed that Azmia was the first refugee woman at the community centre, which the other focus group participants vehemently contradicted. Maybe this means that Mette did not see or was aware of especially refugees at the community centre, and perhaps even in town, before she met Azmia, which roughly coincided with the so-called 'refugee crisis' in Europe in 2015.

The quote also shows Mette's personal involvement in Azmia's story. Mette seemed to be rather attached to Azmia, and the two women appeared to have a close and familiar relationship. Mette talked about Azmia as 'like [her] daughter' and seemed throughout the focus group to be concerned about Azmia's well-being and that Azmia's voice was heard. This resulted at times in Mette interrupting Azmia and not giving her the full room to tell her own stories. Mette's behaviour can be interpreted as a form of protectiveness towards Azmia. This protectiveness was physically visible

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throughout the focus group discussion, as Mette would occasionally stroke Azmia's arm or almost seemed to cuddle her though Azmia appeared at times to shrug her off. Although Mette's behaviour may not only be understood as perhaps unconscious seeking to be meaningful to someone, it may also be interpreted as mothering or even clucking and therefore infantilizing or minoritizing. One situation when this became visible was when Mette talked about how she and her husband helped Azmia to settle:

> We [Mette and her husband] arranged an apartment for her, and my husband arranged a job for her in a nursing home.

I interpret Mette's behaviour as a way to show both her contributions, and herself, in the best possible light. Taking into account that volunteering is seldom absolutely altruistic but rather multi-layered (Malkki 2015), organizing voluntary activities for immigrants can also be linked to a 'need to help'. Through these activities, volunteers can get a connection to the 'wider world' (cf. Malkki 2015; Naguib 2017), based on the wish or neediness on the side of the volunteers to 'be a part of something greater than themselves' and 'to keep busy and useful' (Malkki 2015: 9f.).

The term 'need to help' was introduced by Malkki (2015) when she explored the motivations and desires of Finnish Red Cross workers and their engagement in humanitarian aid. She looks at both workers travelling 'out there' (doctors, nurses, and other specialists) and explores humanitarian aid work for the Red Cross 'from home', such as elderly women knitting and crocheting for the needy abroad. Malkki points out that it is not always clear who is in need of what and identifies throughout her book several kinds of 'need' and 'neediness' within a humanitarian aid context. The most straightforward kind of need here seems to be that of people needing humanitarian aid for instance because of war, genocide, or natural disasters. Yet, irrespective of whether professionals travelled abroad or non-professionals engaged in humanitarian aid work from home, Malkki's research 'revealed a coeval, co-present neediness on the other side, *the neediness of the helper, the giver*' (Malkki 2015: 8, emphasis in original). Common for both travelling and staying-at-home humanitarian aid workers and volunteers is that they wished 'to be part of something greater than themselves, to help, to be actors in the lively world' (Malkki 2015: 4).

The case discussed in this article falls somewhat in between the examples given by Malkki. It is neither a case of a professional 'going out' into the world to help 'there', nor is it a complete detachment of 'here' and 'there'. Rather the activities discussed here are examples of where 'there' comes 'here' and the two realms meet. The 'world' comes to the volunteers in Norway in form of immigrants, and the voluntary organizations strive to help where help is needed while the act of helping can also be a means in itself for some of the volunteers.

There probably is a mix of both altruistic and egoistic reasons for organizing activities for immigrants as seen here with Mette's behaviour towards Azmia (see also the study by Naguib 2017). The altruistic reasoning can be, as is the case with Mette's knitting café, to bring together (newly arrived) immigrants and long-term residents to give immigrants the opportunities to get to know locals and improve their language skills. At the same time, volunteers like Mette may get in return a feeling of neededness and purpose. However, it may be a thin line between seeing someone as in need of help and perceiving this person as passive thus denying them a say in how to organize these activities. This begs the question of whether, or perhaps rather to what degree, such activities may contribute to minoritizing processes.

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THIRD LAYER: STRUCTURAL TRAITS

The aspects named previously, such as 'a need to help', the voluntary structures and assumptions of who may be in need of integration or specific activities to help with integration, may affect the relationships between (Norwegian) volunteers and participating immigrants. Ultimately, these factors may have the potential of resulting in a power imbalance and minoritization of immigrant participants. Yet, these aspects do not exist in an empty room and may be manifestations of larger, overarching structural issues.

Firstly, when it comes to the role of the voluntary sector in the integration processes of immigrants, the (Norwegian) voluntary sector finds itself in a difficult position. On the one hand, participating in voluntary activities and volunteering is seen as an arena for social integration. Actors within voluntary organizations can serve as door openers in particular for newly arrived immigrants (Haaland & Wallevik 2017). On the other hand, it remains unclear whether, or to what degree, voluntary organizations and actors in voluntary organizations are prepared to take on this role.

The second issue concerns an understanding in which potential immigrant participants are seen as in need of the help of (Norwegian) volunteers. Such an understanding can also be found in the Norwegian government's Strategy for Integration 2019–2022: 'The civil society and cultural milieu arrange for fellowship and diverse meeting places, and therefore constitute important arenas to better achieve everyday integration' (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2018b: 46, my translation). In this statement, the role of the voluntary sector as being active is highlighted, whereas immigrants seem to be passive participants who through their participation contribute to everyday integration.

Thirdly, voluntary activities are based on structures affecting the ways in which relationships are formed. Many voluntary activities in general rest upon the idea of providing a form of offer or service, such as sports practice. This frame sets a stage in which volunteers may see themselves as more in charge, or even superior, compared to participants. Likewise, voluntary activities targeting immigrants tend to be structured in a way in which volunteers provide support that immigrant participants make use of—for example, in form of language training or providing arenas for socializing. Though one may be in need of help when making use of these offers, it is a thin line for volunteers and organizers between arranging these activities and perceiving participants as passive or not providing room for them to help shape the activities according to their needs. This begs the question of whether, or perhaps rather to what degree, such activities may contribute to minoritizing processes.

Fourthly, the volunteers have the power to define what to do, and how much they want to give or when to withdraw. Thus, though most volunteers wish to do good and to feel part of something greater, they may, unintentionally, amplify unequal relations between them and immigrant participants. Malkki (2015) describes, for example, a Finnish Red Cross service where 'volunteer friends' meet persons with few to no social relations, so-called 'client-friends' (Malkki 2015: 149). Already the wording creates distance between the volunteers and participants. The commitment of the volunteers is furthermore influenced by their life situation. Herslund and Paulgaard (2021) show for instance that in voluntary activities for immigrants, older volunteers more often focused on 'hygge'—or cosiness—whereas younger volunteers were more likely to drop out after some time because of a feeling of too much responsibility or busy everyday lives.

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Additionally, the volunteers are already settled in the locality where especially newly arrived immigrants aim to settle, too. Therefore, volunteers often stand with more knowledge, at least at first. This knowledge pertains a large variety of aspects, such as language proficiency, more knowledge about how things usually are done, in this case, in Norway. Volunteers can thus see themselves, and be seen by others, as guides for immigrants which in turn may lead to enforcing a passive/active divide. Furthermore, a guide is usually a person leading the way with a participant following and limited possibilities to affect the path to be taken.

The last issue to be addressed emerges when looking at the immigrant participants' countries of origin named during the focus group discussion which were predominantly non-European and non-Western, for example, Syria, Somalia, Bosnia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Though that may be because immigrants in the town were predominantly from these countries, it may also point towards an understanding of immigrants from predominantly non-Western countries as the target group for voluntary initiatives for immigrants. During the discussion, it was mentioned for example that Swedish immigrants would not need the same support. Though Swedish immigrants may have few things to adjust to when moving to Norway as language and welfare state structures are very similar, it begs nevertheless the question whether there seems to be an understanding of immigrants from non-Western countries being especially in need of help. For voluntary activities for immigrants, this would have consequences on not only who is the target group, but also what kind of offers are provided based on the ideas of what kind of help is needed. Picking up the understanding of Gullestad (2002a) of a majority having the power of setting the rules, being fellow player, and judge in one, volunteers and organizers of activities with immigrants and integration as the target group set the rules of what is considered both the aim of the respective activity and how the concept 'integration' can (should) be understood. They appear as fellow players as they usually participate in those activities, albeit often not actually on equal footing with participating immigrants as they are in a position in which they do this voluntarily always having the possibility to withdraw while participating immigrants perhaps hope to create lasting and deep relationships with the volunteers. Last, but not least, volunteers and organizers may hold the position of a judge evaluating whether participating immigrants fulfil the rules and criteria they have set for 'successful' participation and eventually integration. In combination, the issues mentioned previously may lead to an imbalanced relationship between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants, where volunteers create the frame and content for voluntary integration activities, define who can or should participate and how, and whether this participation is successful or not.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on one case in form of a focus group with volunteers at a Norwegian community centre, I have explored social connections and relations between (Norwegian) volunteers and immigrant participants through analysing narratives of the focus group participants and their ideas of how the voluntary sector can contribute to integration processes of immigrants. I have shown along three layers (individual, a 'need to help', and structural traits) that social relations between volunteers and immigrant participants exist along multiple axes. These axes are among others related to assumptions and ascriptions on the side of the volunteers regarding (potential) immigrant participants, the volunteers' motivation and perception of their own role, the role that may be ascribed to the volunteers and overarching structural

issues. These aspects have been shown to potentially favour minoritizing processes. However, in accordance with abductive reasoning further research is needed to validate the arguments and surmises presented in this article.

This article raises questions concerning for instance, the role of gender in minoritization processes within a (Norwegian) voluntary setting and whether women are in particular subject to minoritizing processes, especially when seen in light of intersectionality (see also Thun 2012a; 2012b; 2015). It remains to be seen whether a 'need to help' and minoritization may be amplified by an assumption of, for example, 'Muslim women needing saving' as proposed by Abu-Lughod (2002, 2013), see also Comim & Nussbaum (2014) and Nussbaum (2012). Lastly, further inquiry is needed to explore whether these social relations and power imbalances may reveal something about integration processes in the society at large.

COMPETING INTERESTS

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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Paper 3

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Volunteering from an immigrant perspective – An example from Norway

Abstract

While there is a relatively large body of publications on how the civil society and voluntary organizations may contribute to integration (processes), there is little known on *how* and *why* immigrants join voluntary activities and/or organizations in a new country of residence, or how they experience volunteering in the new context. Considering that volunteering and the voluntary sector in general have been assigned growing importance for integration in policies in e.g. Norway, this seems to be a considerable knowledge gap. Drawing on five focus group discussions, this study seeks to contribute to a more nuanced picture of (non-)participation of immigrants in voluntary activities. It finds that experiences and understandings constructed during the focus group discussions may point not only towards the positive aspects of volunteering, but also towards certain obstacles discouraging others, particularly immigrants, from participating.

Key words: Immigrants; volunteering; civil society; Norway; thematic analysis

Introduction

Traditionally, the voluntary sector has played an important role in the Nordic countries and the rate of people contributing to voluntary activities or organizations is high for all the Nordic countries (Karlsdóttir et al., 2020). Because of its central role in the Nordic societies, the voluntary sector has increasingly been looked at as one way to facilitate integration of immigrants, and policies have been shaped to include its role (Stein & Fedreheim, 2022). In Norway, the government introduced a strategy in 2021 on so-called "everyday life integration" (*hverdagsintegrering*) including how the civil society can be strengthened when it comes to integration (Ministry of Culture, 2021). The strategy acknowledges civil society's and voluntary organizations' importance in integration processes as they create social inclusion by establishing social meeting spaces and opportunities for networking.[17]

[17] In this article, I use the terms civil society and voluntary sector synonymously.

While there is a relatively large body of publications on how the civil society and voluntary organizations may contribute to integration (processes) and how they can tackle the increasing diversity in their respective communities, there is little known on how immigrants experience and perceive voluntary activities and the voluntary sector in general. The survey done by Dalen et al. (2022) for Norway is one recent exception. Most research seems to address the questions on *who* and *what* in addition to *why should immigrants join voluntary activities,* while there is little literature on the question of *how* and *why* immigrants join voluntary activities and/or organizations in a new country of residence, and how they experience volunteering in the new context. Considering that volunteering and the voluntary sector in general have been assigned growing importance for (everyday life) integration in Norway, this knowledge gap seems to be considerable and might have consequences for policymaking related to integration of immigrants.

In this study, I assume that volunteerism and volunteering is socially constructed (Cnaan et al., 1996). Drawing on five focus group discussions, I hence seek to investigate how immigrants construct volunteering and volunteerism in a Norwegian context by exploring how immigrants perceive and experience the Norwegian voluntary sector, and how the voluntary sector is understood. Thus, this article seeks to contribute to a more nuanced picture of (non-)participation of immigrants in voluntary activities, as well as giving immigrants a voice in the discussion on the voluntary sector's role in integration (Damen et al., 2022).

Framing the study

Volunteering can be understood as any kind of work or engagement that is non-compulsory, unpaid, and outside of one's household or family, and it can take place both through an organization or directly for others (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2011, p. 13). In Norway, roughly two thirds of the population reported that they had done voluntary work in 2020, including the period before lockdowns to contain the spreading of Covid-19 (Frivillighet Norge, 2020). Yet, immigrants tend to be underrepresented in wide parts of the Norwegian voluntary sector (Enjolras & Wollebaek, 2010) though the rates vary depending on among others region of origin, reason for immigrating, length of residence in Norway, Norwegian language skills, health and the overall socio-economic status (Barstad & Molstad, 2020; Eimhjellen, 2022; Eimhjellen et al., 2021; Voicu & Şerban, 2012). This can be argued to be problematic in a democratic setting, as the voluntary sector represents its members and participants in democratic processes and thus immigrants become underrepresented in said processes, too (Christensen & Christensen, 2006; Hagelund & Loga, 2009; Ministry of Culture,

2021). However, immigrants are not underrepresented in *all* areas of the voluntary sector. For instance, in religious organizations immigrants tend in fact to be overrepresented compared to the majority population in Norway (Eimhjellen & Segaard, 2010). Furthermore, statistics on volunteering can be quite inaccurate, as understandings of what constitutes volunteering vary or volunteering can carry a negative connotation based on historic events (Hustinx et al., 2010, p. 414; ILO, 2011, p. 11).

Volunteering and the voluntary sector have been in the last two decades increasingly included in Norwegian integration policies, with policies actively seeking the civil society's contribution to integration (Agergaard & Michelsen la Cour, 2012; Stein & Fedreheim, 2022), since it is generally assumed that volunteering is beneficial to integration processes. This beneficial role includes volunteering's role in forming social capital and social networks (Ager & Strang, 2008; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Voicu, 2013; Ødegård et al., 2014), and in reducing exclusion as well as contributing to an increased feeling of belonging and trust (Karlsdóttir et al., 2020). Moreover, the voluntary sector contributes to creating meeting spaces where one may learn about (democratic) values through participating in voluntary activities (Lee, 2020; Takle, 2015; van der Meer & van Ingen, 2009) and may facilitate the acquisition of "citizen-like" skills and thus contributing to citizenship (Ambrosini & Artero, 2022; Goodman & Wright, 2015; Midtbøen, 2015; Nawyn, 2011; Peucker & Kayikci, 2020).

The aforementioned beneficial aspects of volunteering for integration can be attributed to the voluntary sector as *arena* for integration. In addition, the voluntary sector can be understood as an active *actor* (Ministry of Culture, 2018). In terms of immigration and integration, voluntary organizations have been shown to provide services such as facilitating the reception and accommodation of refugees and asylum seekers (Semprebon et al., 2022; Togral koca, 2019), providing language training for (newly arrived) immigrants (Garkisch et al., 2017; Ødegård et al., 2014), and supporting the integration into the labour market (Collini, 2022). Both as actor and as arena, the voluntary sector can thus be seen as a *means* for integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). Yet, under certain circumstance, one could argue that volunteering may be implicitly understood as a *marker* for integration, too, for instance when comparing rates of volunteering between immigrant populations and the general population.

Studies have also shown that there are barriers in place making it difficult for immigrants to join voluntary activities and organizations. These barriers can be found on an individual, organizational and systemic level (Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig sektor, 2016), thus ranging from health-related issues, difficult work circumstances, lack of economic means, and lack of knowledge on how to become part of the Norwegian voluntary sector

(Eimhjellen & Segaard, 2010; Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig sektor, 2016), to recruitment strategies reaching immigrant populations to a lower degree (Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig sektor, 2016). Other studies have moreover cautioned that the voluntary sector is not an unconditional panacea for integration, pointing towards power imbalances between volunteers and immigrant participants (Ruiz Sportmann & Greenspan, 2019; Stein, 2022), nor that it unconditionally contributes to the establishing of social capital and trust (van der Meer, 2016; van der Meer & van Ingen, 2009). Another objection pertains to the fact that immigrant associations and religious congregations seem to be excluded in public debates or policies on the voluntary sector's contribution to integration (Stein & Fedreheim, 2022). This is despite the fact that researchers in the past twenty years at least have increasingly been addressing immigrant organizations and their (beneficial) role in receiving countries (Greenspan et al., 2018; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005; Sinha et al., 2011).

The concept of volunteering and theoretical considerations

Volunteering refers to any non-obligatory, unpaid work performed outside of one's own household (ILO, 2011). Yet, volunteering is an act that is deeply embedded into historical, social, political and traditional structures, which makes comparisons difficult (Wilson, 2012). Another challenge of studying volunteering is the multitude of definitions of volunteering, and sometimes a lack of definitions, in research. Cnaan et al. (1996) suggest that the reason of a lack of a definition in some research may be attributed to an assumption of the concept being self-explanatory. Still, there have been several attempts to create comprehensive theoretical frameworks to explain and account for volunteering, most often with the individual as the unit of analysis (cf. Wilson, 2012). In the following, I will present theoretical and conceptual frameworks regarding volunteering, with an emphasis on a delineation of the concept and effects of volunteering for the individual.

Assuming that volunteering is a social construct, Hustinx et al. (2010) seek to establish one comprehensive framework to volunteering and go partly beyond the individual as the unit of analysis. Their framework aims to provide an overview over existing theoretical approaches to volunteering, which range from addressing what volunteering is (not) (*what do we study*), to the challenges that emerge in this very multidisciplinary research field (*why do we study it*), to the challenges of multidimensionality covering theory as explanation (*why do people volunteer*), theory as a narrative (*how do people volunteer*), and theory as enlightenment (*critical perspectives*). In terms of previously done research as presented above, there seems to be little knowledge on how volunteering is experienced. This aspect goes beyond the question

of *why do people volunteer*, and rather addresses the individual's experiences with volunteering and how volunteering is constructed, both as an individual and a societal phenomenon.

In line with an understanding of volunteering as deeply embedded into societal contexts, Cnaan et al. (1996) assume volunteering to be a social construct. Through analysing definitions provided in a range of different academic and public documents and taking the individual as the unit of analysis, they propose four dimensions common to these definitions: (1) the voluntary nature, (2) the nature of the reward, (3) the context or auspices under which the activity is performed, and (4) who benefits. Within these four characteristics, the authors propose a continuum between "pure" and "broadly defined". Thus, within the first dimension, volunteering may range from purely for the benefit of others to being obligated to do the service, such as if it is part of an obligated community service. Regarding the second dimension, rewards may range from none on one hand, to some form of remuneration being acceptable on the other hand. Considering the circumstances of volunteering, Cnaan and colleagues state that some definitions only embrace activities under formal organizations, while broader definitions also include informal help to for instance neighbours. In the final dimension, the more purely aligned definitions require the acts to be services for the benefit of complete strangers in contrast to broader definitions which also include recipients to be people of similar backgrounds, or at the most extreme self-help groups. Central here is the assumption that these characteristics are on a continuum, and that all dimensions also include categories in-between the extremes. Though their study is primarily based on data from the USA, their findings provide a helpful tool to analyse and understand volunteering in other geographical areas.

More recently, another dimension has entered the scholarship on volunteering: time. Time in the context of volunteering can be seen as either the time spent on a voluntary activity, which can also be understood as one cost of volunteering (Cnaan et al., 1996; Handy et al., 2000; Omoto & Snyder, 2016). Yet, time can also be seen in terms of the nature of a voluntary act in that volunteering can be primarily regular acts. However, in the past three decades, scholars in the Global North have pointed towards volunteering becoming increasingly episodic (Cnaan & Handy, 2005; Cnaan et al., 2022). Volunteers increasingly prefer one-off activities, which has been both argued to be due to flexibility and time having become a more limited commodity (Cnaan et al., 2022; Snyder & Omoto, 2008).

Kelemen et al. (2017) address the aspect of volunteers' experiences, which can be linked to individual motivation and the question of *why do people volunteer*. Based on 30 interviews with volunteers in a region in the UK that has experienced post-industrial decline, they build a typology of volunteering consisting of four types of volunteering: altruistic, instrumental,

militant and forced, all of which are embedded into collective and individualistic discussions and wider social relations. Thus, volunteering can be experienced as self-serving (altruistic) yet at the same time provide benefits in form of personal satisfaction, learning of new skills, or extending one's network (instrumental). Militant types of volunteering rather focus on the social and collective purpose their volunteering can serve. The fourth type – forced volunteering, or "voluntolding" – is understood as volunteering that one does not embark on out of pure free will, but which has been imposed for instance as part of a programme that ideally leads up to paid employment. These four typologies are not mutually exclusive but may be experienced overlapping to various degrees by the volunteers.

Considering volunteering as a social construct, embedded into historical, political, and traditional structures, the individual volunteer's motivation and experiences need to be explored with these factors in mind. The societal and individual sides of volunteering–volunteering, or volunteerism, as a societal phenomenon and volunteering as an individual phenomenon – intersect and affect experiences of volunteering. Taking both factors into consideration, in addition to the ascribed positive effects of volunteering for integration, studying how immigrants experience volunteering may provide answers to why there seemingly is a gap between the so-called immigrant and non-immigrant population in for instance Norway.

Methods and methodology

The main empirical data for this article stems from five focus group discussions with in total eighteen participants who had all migrated to Norway as adults from different regions and for different reasons. The discussions were conducted as part of a wider research project studying the role of the voluntary sector in integration processes of adult immigrants in Norway. The focus group participants were among others asked for their views on and experiences with volunteering in Norway and the Norwegian volunteerism in general. Using focus group discussions, the aim was to provide space for the participants to discuss experiences and to jointly construct knowledge and understandings. The groups consisted of three or four participants each and were composed in a manner to ensure diversity among the participants in terms of regions of origin and reasons for migrating to Norway. Further, the groups were arranged as three all-female focus groups, and two focus groups consisting of only male participants. The divide along a dichotomic definition of gender was originally intended to facilitate uncovering gendered traits in immigrant volunteering. Following a thematic analysis approach, which I will present below, the aspect of gender faded into the background, while

experiences with volunteering and Norwegian volunteerism in general came more to the foreground for me.

The participants were recruited through purposive and snowball sampling (Blaikie & Priest, 2019, p. 173). I contacted different voluntary organizations, both 'traditional' Norwegian organizations, asking if they had members with a not-Norwegian national background, and associations for immigrants with the same ethnic background. In addition, I used personal contacts. The recruitment criteria were that potential participants had moved to Norway as adults and were involved or had experience with any form of volunteering or the voluntary sector in Norway. Arenas of participation ranged from volunteering at one's children's sports clubs, to religious congregations, to political parties and labour unions. Some of the participants were active in more than one arena, while others have had an "on and off" relationship to volunteering, largely affected by the life situation and motivation. The age of the participants varied and could be estimated to lie between their thirties and the oldest participant having just reached retirement age. Since the discussions were conducted in Norwegian, a certain level of language skills was a prerequisite and the participants had been living in Norway between two and 32 years. The discussions lasted between 1,5 and 2,5 hours and were audio-recorded and later transcribed orthographically. The focus group discussions were conducted in summer 2021 in person in line with the then restrictions imposed by the Norwegian government in the fight against the spreading of Covid-19. All ethical considerations for this study have been coordinated in accordance with and assessed by NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data. All data presented in this article have been anonymized and each participant was assigned a pseudonym. Quotes have been translated and edited carefully to improve readability.

The analytical frame of this study is rooted in a (social) constructionist tradition and in an understanding that "social reality has to be discovered from the 'inside' rather than being filtered through or distorted by an expert's concepts and theory" (Blaikie & Priest, 2017, p. 104). With this understanding as backdrop, I was guided by a reflexive thematic analysis (TA) approach, as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2022), and followed its six phases: (1) dataset familiarisation, (2) data coding, (3) initial theme generation, (4) theme development and review, (5) theme refining, defining, and naming, and (6) writing up. Concretely, I followed steps (1) through (3) and then focused on the participants' narratives specifically on volunteering and the voluntary sector. Thus, I refined the frame in relation to the question "how is volunteering experienced" and repeated phases (2) and (3) before continuing with phases (4) through (6) within this narrower frame for relevant sections of data. In line with the main aim to shed light on personal experiences of the focus group participants, the coding and theme

generation processes have been first and foremost guided by the participants' stories and experiences, as proposed in a relativist TA approach (Braun & Clarke, 2022). After initial systematic coding on the sections of the discussion on volunteering and/or volunteerism, I aimed to find commonalities, to merge these and develop them into themes, which I subsequently reviewed and refined. The following analysis is structured according to these themes.

Constructing volunteering and volunteerism in Norway

Volunteering as a notion is highly contextual and one's understanding is influenced among others by one's background. In the case when one moves across borders, some of the understandings one brings along, for instance of volunteering, may resonate with common understandings in the new place of residence, while other understandings may differ. To elicit the participants' understandings of volunteering, no definition of volunteering was given during the focus group discussions. In line with a social constructionist approach, the participants were given room to come with their own understandings and delineations, and to together construct definitions and what they saw as volunteering in a Norwegian context.

Understandings of volunteering

> Tarik: Well, volunteerism in Norway is so much. Volunteering in Norway is basically everything that happens outside of the four walls of a house. […] You do something without getting paid for it, first, and second, without having been forced to do it.

In this quote, Tarik provides a broad definition of volunteering in a Norwegian context. He states that volunteering is any activity happening outside of one's own home, which could be construed as anything which does not involve one's own household (members). He further points out that volunteering needs to happen out of one's own free will. Later in the discussion, he deconstructed the Norwegian term for volunteering *frivillig*, separating the term into two components which can be translated as *free* and *willing*. His understanding of volunteering resonated with another member of the focus group:

> Halim: The thing about volunteering is just like Tarik said about understanding. You have to have an understanding of voluntary work without one being forced to work, to do it, and without … you have to like it.

In addition to the importance of volunteering having to happen out of one's own free will, Halim adds the aspect that one should like what one is doing while volunteering. Understanding volunteering as broad as Tarik and Halim was equally present in the other focus group discussions with many participants expressing an understanding of volunteering going beyond

participating in formal voluntary organizations. They referred to other forms of volunteering, such as helping one's neighbour by shovelling snow or mowing the lawn (Nasir), or putting in extra time and effort at work, which goes beyond what is strictly expected in one's work contract (Marie).

Yet, some found it difficult to see or describe their involvement in volunteering, hinting towards a complex structure and delineation. Mark seemed most uncertain of his own contributions:

> Maybe those things I've done without getting paid, like playing [music] in an elderly home, okay that maybe counts. And it's often through music that there are many different occasions where you can show up and play a little song and so people enjoy it.

After some consideration, Mark acknowledged that for instance making music without getting paid could be considered volunteering. It seemed that his own motivation for that type of contribution was the positive effect it would have on others. His contemplation of what of his activities could be called volunteering may point towards the complexity of volunteerism itself. One could for instance argue that Mark did not consider his contributions as volunteering at first, as they happened outside of the formal frame of a voluntary organization.

Volunteering and leisure activities for children

In all focus group discussions, the role of volunteering for children's leisure activities played a central role. Most participants disclosed having children, and many of them had children (still) living at home with them. One participant mentioned to be living separated from his kids, and the children of at least two other participants had already moved out. The participants experienced that leisure activities for children in Norway are almost exclusively organized through voluntary organizations, which puts parents – and other relatives – on the spot, as described in the following quote:

> Simon: In the Norwegian society, leisure activities are entirely dependent on volunteers. It's like that it's run. If you have children that want to play football, then you need some committed parents who step in as coaches, as referees, you name it. […] Here in Norway, it's different. It's us parents who have to get involved.

Kaarina, who has a higher education degree in sports and physical education, further stated that in the eyes of Norwegians she is considered a "sinner" because she commercially offered sports training for children. In her words, children's sports in Norway are "supposed to be free and you're not to pay for it". Yet, some of the participants, including Kaarina, were critical towards volunteer-run children's activities, as there is the danger of people with no qualification

or competence coaching children. At the same time, participants reflected over the benefits of leisure activities for children based on volunteering. One advantage that is mentioned concerns the considerably lower costs, as mentioned by Liisa:

> And you don't need loads of money either. Most things you manage. In Finland if you want to play ice hockey, you need at least 2000€ per month so your kid can train four or five times. But here in Norway, you perhaps don't have the highest level for your kid, it's not done on a very high level but it's for everyone. So it's about equal opportunities and everyone should get the same possibilities.

Dugnad

In connection with leisure activities for children, the focus groups discussed *dugnad*; a term which is difficult to translate. As a concept, *dugnad – dugnader* in its plural form – usually covers collective voluntary activities for the benefit of a community. Examples of *dugnad* are cleaning up in the neighbourhood after winter and baking and selling cakes or waffles to earn money for an organization. *Dugnad* holds a central position in the history of volunteering and in today's society in Norway (Ministry of Culture, 2018). The focus groups primarily discussed *dugnad* in light of children's activities, which, according to Kaarina, involves the whole society:

> So dugnad in children's sports is actually not only for the one child or the one family, it's for the whole society. It's expected at you participate in it one way or another. You buy raffle tickets and that you do one thing or another.

Though mostly critical of *dugnad*, Kaarina acknowledged the social aspect of it in a dialogue with Karolina:

> Kaarina: And then it's unnecessary to do that dugnad work at the kindergarten, for example, there are others that can do a much better job, but then there's the social bit, maybe that's there. You meet the other parents in a slightly different way than in the cloakroom [entrance of a kindergarten or school] when you only say "hi". So you maybe talk a bit more with one you cleaned windows with than if you hadn't been there.
>
> Karolina: Yes, sounds familiar. And suddenly we even have the same interests.

The two women observe that *dugnader* provide arenas where one can get to know the other parents under different circumstances than for instance while bringing or collecting the children from school or kindergarten. Thus, *dugnader* may offer a chance to connect with other parents, as in this case, and build or extend one's network.

Many of the participants described different forms of *dugnad* for a variety of causes. As an example of their involvement as parents in their daughter's sports club, Hiba explained:

> And they said "yes, 1000 kroner [ca. 100€] per semester" [membership fee in the sports club], yes fine. And afterwards comes dugnad. We have to bake cakes, sell raffle tickets, or sell cards. How can I sell them? I put them on Facebook for a couple of months, and afterwards me and my husband buy them. So we pay for them.

In this quote, Hiba clarifies the costs of voluntary-based children's activities. Though the membership fee is relatively low, other costs are required of the parents. These costs not only involve time, but the pressure to sell raffle tickets to generate income. However, Hiba and her husband ended up buying these raffle tickets when they were unable to sell them to anyone else. Thus, *dugnad* can be understood as extra costs for participating in voluntary activities and organizations besides potential membership fees.

Dugnad as a substitute for public responsibility

The expectations to contribute to especially children's activities were in some focus groups critically discussed. Kaarina for instance calls it "forced dugnad", while Mark admits that he actively tries to avoid having to do any *dugnad* work. Contemplating why, he says the following:

> Mark: I try to avoid it [dugnad].
>
> (laughter)
>
> Int: Why's that?
>
> M: But [pauses, thinking] It's in a way a bad excuse, but I think sometimes that Norway has so much money that there's less need.

Kaarina expressed a similar sentiment, being more concrete and referring to *dugnader* held at schools or kindergarten. In Norway, it is common that parents and other family members are for example invited to upgrade the playground or other facilities around (public) schools and kindergartens. Comparing with Finland, Kaarina clarified that

> Finland and Norway are rather similar in many different ways, and voluntary work certainly plays a big role in Finland, too, but it's extreme here [in Norway]. What's different between Finland and Norway in my opinion is that in Norway some of the tasks are taken care of through dugnad which in Finland it's in a way obvious that they are taken care of by the state or the municipality or the school or kindergarten.

Mark and Kaarina are taken here as examples of what many of the focus group participants expressed. Though Mark's and Kaarina's statements express differently their critical stance towards *dugnad*, one can nevertheless argue that they point towards a similar root, namely that Norway is one of the richest countries in the world. As such, the state, or municipality, should

not expect their citizens to volunteer at public institutions for maintenance. Both Mark and Kaarina further expressed that as expectations to participate in *dugnad* are so high, it often feels forced and not voluntary anymore.

High expectations

Related to the aspect of expectations linked to *dugnad*, another focus group participant comments on high expectations in general in Norwegian volunteering. Tarik shared his observations of (some) Norwegian volunteers and their dedication:

> No, it [volunteerism] is not unfamiliar, but I don't know, in Norway there are so high expectations. It's interesting to observe Norwegians when they do something; either it's 100 percent or not at all. […] So, there are those enthusiasts [ildsjeler], the Norwegian enthusiasts, they run volunteerism. I don't know any Bosnian who behaves like this in their own profession like they [the Norwegian enthusiasts] behave towards their hobbies.

It remained unclear whether Tarik found this dedication frustrating, admirable, discouraging or simply inscrutable. Still, he felt that this dedication led to high expectations, going as far as stating:

> I struggle with performance anxiety […] if you understand. People are so dedicated.

Regarding these high (perceived) expectations, one can also acknowledge the (perceived) formality of Norway's voluntary sector, to which Tarik said:

> We are a bunch of people who would like to have fun, do I have to sit on a board, do I have to deliver financial statements [for an organization]?

"Cracking the code"

The focus group participants recounted different experiences of volunteering, how they perceived volunteering in a Norwegian context, and the significance of volunteering. Some talked about the importance of the cause, such as Benjamin when telling of his previous involvement with Save the Children, while others talked about volunteering for the benefit of their children (Nicole). Yet, many agreed how important it was to understand the centrality of volunteerism in the Norwegian society.

> Tarik: So, the concept is perhaps a bit foreign, but those who crack the code, they get […] not necessarily to get integrated, but to get to know Norwegians. Invited, initiated in the culture, in a ritual, in something or other, here and there.

In this quote, Tarik elaborates that the form of volunteerism as it is common in Norway may be foreign when coming to Norway. It is therefore pivotal to understand it, to "crack the code". He even went as far as calling it a "ritual", indicating the perceived centrality of

volunteerism in society. For him, understanding this central position is important in getting to know Norwegians and Norwegian society.

Similarly, yet on a more personal level, Karolina recounted the significance of understanding Norwegian volunteerism:

> When I was in adult education [to learn Norwegian], we learned a lot about Norwegian traditions and laws, too, a lot of different topics. But when we as a family joined the skiing club, in a way we had to integrate in that culture. And we got to know, not only from books, what Norwegian culture is, or what dugnad is. It was completely different.

Karolina's story addresses the difference between *learning about* a culture and *living* a culture. Though she has learned about volunteering and *dugnad*, actually being part of it was a very different experience not only for her, but for her family as a whole.

Significance of volunteering

In addition to understanding the central role of volunteerism in the Norwegian society, many focus group participants talked about the significance volunteering had for them personally. Some of these aspects concerned trying out and improving Norwegian language skills (Isa), observing national holidays with others from the same national background (Anong), helping others as interpreter (Hiba) or organizing events including different cultural performances and food (Halim).

Relating to her personal experiences, Hiba recounted how different forms of volunteering benefitted her and her family at different stages in their life in Norway. Hiba came with her family to Norway as a refugee. In the early days of living in Norway, she and her family were matched with a Norwegian family ("refugee guide") who welcomed and supported them in the initial phase of arriving in Norway. Their support ranged from explaining how things at school work, to showing them how to dress their children for the Arctic climate, to occasionally driving them to appointments. Hiba further told us that this family had become friends, and that they even after many years still are in touch. Though Hiba herself was not a volunteer at that point, the "refugee guide" was a first point of contact with Norwegian volunteerism. She early on sought out other arenas where she could contribute on a voluntary basis. Yet, the networks that she built through volunteering did not necessarily yield benefits beyond the social bit or the feeling of contributing.

> Hiba: Voluntary work in the beginning gives me a good network, to make friends in the society. But it doesn't help directly. […] No one from my network could help me get a job [in Hiba's area of expertise].

Hiba's comment shows that though volunteering can be perceived as beneficial and meaningful on a personal level, volunteering is not a panacea to achieve all forms of social participation and belonging, as it perhaps may be envisioned in some policy documents on integration (Agergaard & Michelsen la Cour, 2012; Ministry of Culture, 2021; Stein & Fedreheim, 2022).

Discussion and concluding remarks

This study has sought to explore how immigrants perceive and experience the Norwegian voluntary sector, in addition to how the voluntary sector is understood. The five focus groups provided a mostly broad understanding of volunteering, going beyond a more formal understanding predominant in Norwegian society, as seen for instance in governmental documents or as provided by The Association of NGOs in Norway (*Frivillighet Norge*). The participants' understandings focused on aspects such as volunteering out of one's free will, activities that happen outside of one's house, and volunteering for the benefit of one's children. Some participants further discussed the central role volunteering holds in Norway, and that it was important for them to "crack the code" to better understand Norwegian society. Generally, the participants recounted both positive and critical observations of different forms of volunteering. Central in larger parts of the discussions was the Norwegian concept *dugnad*, a collective voluntary effort. The participants' experiences with *dugnad* were two-fold: On the one hand, they acknowledged the possibilities for socializing and networking. On the other hand, some of the participants were highly critical, expressing their lack of understanding for *dugnader* being used as a substitution for public responsibilities, and calling it a form of "forced volunteering". These observations point towards complex structures which, though under the umbrella of volunteerism in Norway, do not entirely fit for instance ILO's definition of volunteering. Moreover, the participants' contemplations unveil some of what could be described as hidden costs of volunteering in form of time and paying for extra expenses if one for instance lacks a network to sell raffle tickets to.

In recent years, policymakers have increasingly included volunteering and the voluntary sector in questions on integration, in particular regarding so-called *everyday life integration* (Ministry of Culture, 2021; Stein & Fedreheim, 2022). *Everyday life integration* is proposed to happen in, but not limited to, voluntary arenas, which in turn makes it more desirable from the viewpoint of policymakers for immigrants to participate in said arenas. Though the participants in this study constructed volunteering as providing arenas for socializing, building connections, and receiving practical support which are also mentioned in documents like the strategy by

Ministry of Culture (2021). Other aspects raise the question of to what degree one can assume the (normative) notion that volunteering per se is beneficial no matter the personal background (see also Hustinx et al., 2022).

The importance of acknowledging personal backgrounds became particularly apparent in the accounts of Halim and Tarik and their experiences with volunteering in their countries of origin. Halim and Tarik were born and grew up in respectively Somalia and Bosnia. Their experiences with volunteering in these countries was that it was used as a tool by dictatorial leaders. Though called "volunteering" or "voluntary work", they perceived these activities as imposed on the citizens. This context may explain both their emphasis on volunteering needing to happen out of one's own free will. Their accounts show the importance of previous experiences and how these may affect volunteering in the new country of residence, as also shown by Voicu (2013). One could argue that a history of imposed volunteering, or voluntolding, may contribute to an aversion to Norwegian (formal) volunteering as one could assume due to immigrants from certain countries or regions being less likely to show on surveys on (formal) volunteering. This consideration would need further examination, in particular in light of experiences of "forced dugnad".

The variety of accounts and experiences show that it is difficult to generalize the role of volunteering for integration or to what degree one can assume a universal positive relation between volunteering and integration as increasingly envisaged in policymaking for instance in Norway (Stein & Fedreheim, 2022). Nor does it allow for any conclusions why "immigrants" – set in quotation marks here to emphasize the heterogeneity of that group – do not volunteer at the same rate as "Norwegians". This fact may lead to certain forms of volunteering not being recorded in surveys, thus leading to assumptions of lesser volunteering among the immigrant population. The survey done by Dalen et al. (2022) is one recent exception in that it addresses this issue and contributes to a more nuanced picture of immigrants' participation and experiences with Norwegian volunteerism. It shows among others that "immigrants" tend to volunteer in other areas of the voluntary sector than "Norwegians".

One can identify certain limitations to this study, especially concerning the sample. Firstly, agreeing to participate in a focus group for a research project without direct benefit points towards a personality that is interested in contributing and perhaps even to a certain degree altruistic. Secondly, the focus group participants have been involved in voluntary activities on different levels, among others as participants, volunteers, board members. Though the reasons for why they are involved in these activities vary, the fact that they are committed already shows a certain degree of social involvement and perhaps a wish to contribute in one way or another.

Thirdly, all participants had higher education and could be ostensibly identified as middle-class, thus fitting well in the category of the "average" volunteer in Norway (Frivillighet Norge, 2020). These and other background factors affect the background in front of which volunteering is constructed. Yet by looking on volunteering through the focus group participants' eyes and how they constructed volunteering and its significance, one may uncover how volunteering is understood and what volunteering has meant for them personally.

This study has shown that certain obstacles exist deterring immigrants from participating in voluntary arenas, such as previous negative experiences or hidden costs of volunteering. In conclusion, these reflections point towards that one should not leave previous experiences out of consideration when contemplating the benefits of volunteering for integration processes. Further, one should not universally assume that volunteering irrespective of the form is beneficial for immigrants or for integration processes without knowing how and why immigrants do (not) volunteer.

Nevertheless, their experiences and understandings constructed during the focus group discussions may point not only towards the positive aspects of volunteering, but also towards certain obstacles discouraging others, particularly immigrants, from participating.

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