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Integration from the bottom-up:

Using recognition to understand the relations between Norwegians and refugees

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Master's thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation, May - 2017



Abstract:

The relationship between Norwegian citizens and refugees is ambiguous, where some argue that refugees should adopt the mainstream culture in Norway. Others advocate the refugees' right to hold their cultures and beliefs, and stress the importance of a tolerant state of affairs. This leads to the debate about integration and how to best facilitate the inclusion of newly arrived refugees. Certain groups within the Norwegian community perceive foreign cultures as a threat to society, bolstering the exclusion of minorities. As a consequence, the integration process becomes strained for refugees, despite elaborate strategies designed by the government.

For this reason, the Red Cross refugee-guide program attempts to build a positive relation between Norwegians and refugees, on the local level. If integration is viewed from this level, how can interactions between refugees and Norwegians contribute to positive intergroup relations? In turn, can these types of activities lead to the creation of a common social framework? This thesis will focus on how intergroup relations in the context of the refugee-guide, can affect the ambiguous relationship between Norwegians and refugees in society.

By using George H. Mead's interactionism, one can describe the intersubjective relations of locals and refugees in the refugee-guide. However, because of the descriptive features of interactionism, Axel Honneth's theory of recognition can fill the missing normative framework. Grounded on Hegel's three stages of recognition and Mead's interactionism, Honneth suggests that intersubjective relations based on mutual recognitions, can direct the relations between refugees and locals to a positive and inclusive relationship. If this can be identified in the refugee-guide, then maybe it can be reflected to the relations between Norwegians and refugees in society.

Acknowledgements:

For many years, I have been extremely interested in the subject of integration. Writing a thesis about it with my heart and mind was a dream come true. For this reason, I would first of all like to thank the Centre for Peace Studies for giving me the chance and opportunity. I am sincerely grateful for everything you have helped me with.

Secondly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Vidar Vambheim, for guiding me through this process with his optimism, enlightenment and suggestions,

Thirdly, I would like to thank Nina Moe-Nilssen, the interviewees and the Red Cross for allowing me to conduct my fieldwork on the Refugee-Guide.

Finally, to everyone that have helped and supported me through this process by proof-reading my paper, discussing the topic with me and listening to my thoughts.

Many thanks.

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1. Introduction

In Norway, the framework surrounding integration has two focal points formulated in the introductory act which facilitates the integration process. The first point regards enrolling newly arrived immigrants into a 2 year-long program. During this program, they engage in various educational courses and practice, which include language courses, civic instruction and work-training¹. The second point is to promote community participation, where several actors create social arenas for refugees and locals to meet and interact. This thesis seeks to explore the second part, which is concerned with how organizations in the sector of volunteerism approach the process of integration. Specifically, the organizations that seek to mitigate the relationship between Norwegians and refugees. The Red Cross has been the target of this thesis as the organization, and they are involved with integration on the local level.

The underlying issue that this thesis is based on, is the ambiguous relationship between the host-society and refugees. During the last 60 years, Norway has granted asylum to a number of refugees who've migrated from war and persecution². Taking refuge in another country was once thought as a temporal solution³. Today, many of the refugees have settled into their receiving societies, transforming their host-state into a multicultural country. For Norway, this means that the country has a diversity of cultures and ethnicities. With this, new social and political matters emerged. The wave of far-right populism and nationalism in Europe, have affected the relationship between Norwegians and immigrants, which include refugees⁴. In turn, it has influenced integration on many levels, from the shaping of juridical policies, to tense relation between the mainstream-community on the one hand, and immigrants and refugees on the other. These factors will impact the integration process as it unfolds, especially for newly arrived and resettled immigrants. It is for this reason, that projects like the Refugee-Guide in the Red Cross are being created. In this project, they seek to mitigate the group relation between Norwegians and refugees and steer it towards a more positive affair. In effect, it may have positive benefits to the process of integration. From this perspective, integration is then viewed from a bottom-up rather than top-down perspective.

¹ Fernandes, 2015: 246

² Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008: 217, Figure 9.2

³ Ibid, 177

⁴ Berg, R & Eisenträger, S. 2017, *Det Hvite Raseriet: Møt Europas høyreekstreme*, Verdens Gang, p.5, 21.

1.1 Chapter presentation

In this introduction, the structure of this thesis will first be elaborated and summarized. The second and subsequent chapter presents the background of the thesis, which contains how present strategies on integration are dealt with. This include the current social framework between the host-society and refugees, and why volunteer organizations are involved with integration. Here, the introductory act will be explored as the main state-led strategy on integration. Is it enough to focus on this policy or should the state give equal attention to other strategies? This is a relevant topic to take into account when studying about integration in Norway, because it differs in various countries⁵. By studying the Norwegian approach to integration, one can get a better orientation on the general aspects of the integration discourse. The focus of labor-market participation will be questioned, in order to give attention to other strategies of integration. It is also worth to mention that this chapter will discuss the term ‘immigrant’, to narrow down towards a single focus on refugees. This is because various types of migrants generates different issues, which in turn affects the integration process.

The third chapter is the theoretical framework, were two slightly different but complementary approaches are selected to tackle the issue on integration from the bottom-up perspective. They are chosen as a proposal to explain the descriptive and normative account surrounding the refugee-guide program. The first theory concerns symbolic interactionism, where Herbert Blumer and George H. Mead will be referred to. This school, out of many interactionist views⁶ postulates that the social world is a result of human intersubjective interaction. By using significant symbols and meanings, individuals interpret each other's actions and construct their social reality out of the interpretations. This position is highly descriptive and seeks only to describe how the social world is shaped from the intersubjective relations between people. For this reason, the second theory is offered as a normative framework, to complement the descriptive feature of symbolic interactionism. This second approach is concerned with a theory on recognition, which suggests that recognition is the expression in a positive intergroup relation. The opposite is misrecognition, which contributes to the exclusion of those who are aren't socially and/or legally appreciated. Formulated by the Axel Honneth, recognition theory is situated in a critical social reality.

⁵ Bohmer, 2010: 214-15, 226-27

⁶ Carter & Fuller, 2016: 937-38

The fourth chapter entails the presentation of the methodology, which includes the process and experiences of the fieldwork conducted, the use of semi-structural interview and secondary analysis. A brief methodological debate about qualitative methods will also be presented. At last, ethical considerations will be elaborated on each of the sub-chapters, related to the insider-outsider debate experienced in the fieldwork, which is related to the use of semi-structural interview. Considerations will also be highlighted in the use of secondary analysis.

The fifth and last chapter, is concerned with the findings, analysis and discussion of the data. It will first present the findings and afterwards reflect on the different categories that is relevant to the research questions. While presenting the findings, they will be analyzed concurrently. Additionally, the findings from the fieldwork will be compared in a secondary analysis, through the presentation of the research questions. Some discussion about the results will also take place, in order to give a better scope of the study in this thesis. At last, the discussion of the analysis will include the theories and how they are relevant to the study. This exposition will include reflections, arguments and a brief remark about the limitations of the analysis.

2. Background

What is integration? The answer is complicated because an elementary definition doesn't cover the scope of the concept. Integration envelops a range of subjects, suggesting that an approach to the idea needs to be interdisciplinary⁷⁸. Technically, integration is the incorporation of a single unit into a larger component. In the sociological sense however, a unit becomes an agent and a larger component becomes society itself. Thus, integration becomes the social phenomena concerned with relations between individuals/groups and society. In many cases, minorities are the agents incorporated into the majority in society. How this relation works in practice, differs in countries, where some considers assimilation as a form of incorporation and others do not. In Norway and other states, this practice is called integration⁹. In the discourse on this subject in the 1970's, strategies such as assimilation faded away because the approach came at odds with modern democratic values¹⁰. The practice was forced on minorities, such as the indigenous Sami-population in Norway, which were compelled to learn Norwegian language and culture in boarding schools¹¹.

After the introduction of the concept integration, the political strategy shifted towards inclusion rather than incorporation. With the motto of inclusion, politicians and scholars meant to facilitate the participation of minorities in society. In addition, minorities would have the right and freedom to hold on their cultural heritage and roots, while contributing to the community. This new strand of relationship between minorities and majority in western democratic states, was in conjunction with the rise of multiculturalist ideas. Consequentially, new forms of social and political struggles emerged. Before an examination on what these struggles might be, the definitions of minority must be narrowed down, since different minorities have different struggles. Taking this into account, the focus of this thesis is the struggles of immigrant minorities; specifically the struggles of integration for refugees.

2.2 The modern refugee

In the 21st century, the aftermath of the world wars affected the continents in many ways. Countries were destabilized, more conflicts emerged, coup d'états occurred and atrociousness

⁷ Micrea, 2008

⁸ Phillimore & Goodson, 2008: 308

⁹ Brochmann, 2008: 4

¹⁰ Brochmann et al., 2017: 165

¹¹ Brochmann, 2008: 3

were seen all over the globe. Over the years, it has led to some of the biggest exodus of civilians the world has ever seen. The mass-migration has also changed the faces of many western countries. Though people always have crossed borders for trade and labor, this time, migrants were forced to flee their own country for the safety and security of their lives. Departing civilians were described as refugees, who sought refuge in what is called a "host-state", where security was ensured. However, the large numbers of migration produced a need to control the borders, as flows of refugees entered Europe¹². Borders were controlled through elaborate interstate and intrastate migration systems and frameworks. Each country holds their own distinct policy on migration, while collaborating with transnational organizations like the UN and the EU. It is within this enterprise that labels and status like "economic migrant", "refugee" and "asylum-seeker" have been created, in order to control the flow of migrants. Nevertheless, different status gives different challenges to integration, even if they tend to share the same issues, in virtue of being an immigrant-minority.

This thesis however, seeks to emphasize the struggles of refugees facing integration. For reasons of clarification, it is important to not confuse asylum-seekers and refugees. The former are those who formally have applied for protection, while the latter are those who have been granted asylum¹³. However, refugees and immigrants will be used interchangeably for analytical purposes, unless a clear distinction is given. Another issue to take into account before reading further, is that refugees is a general label on a group of displaced people. This group comes from all corners of the world, who have different backgrounds, history, culture, religion and language.

2.3 Norway's strategy on integration: The introductory act

Today in Norway, the official governmental statement on integration strategy, states that immigrants and their children should utilize their resources and contribute to the community¹⁴. This suggests that integration is measured through the immigrants' capability to participate and contribute to the community. Newly arrived refugees are informed by the government to participate in what is known as the introductory act. This law aims to empower the prospects of newly arrived immigrants, by facilitating their way into the labor

¹² Sassen, 1999: 5

¹³ OECD, 2016: 7

¹⁴ Johansen (ed), (2017), 'Integrering', URL:

<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/innvandring/integrering/id2343461/>, downloaded: 26.03.17

market and society. In fact, newly arrived refugees have ‘*the right and duty to participate in the introductory program*’¹⁵, which is an activation program that has two goals. The first goal is to learn the Norwegian language and educate refugees on the society's values, traditions and codes. Second, the program seeks to facilitate for the participation in the labor-market, through work-training in a customized period. This would make the transition to the labor-market smoother. The duration of the program lasts in 2 years, which means that after those years, refugees should have the capacity to become economically self-sustainable. Either through finding a job or building their education by enrolling in the general education-system. In addition, the implementation of this program is done on a communal level, where each municipality has the freedom to pursue the program in accordance with the integration policy.

2.3.1 Work-training and integration

Is it fair to say that integration can be measured through work-participation and community contribution through a 2 year program? Why this fast-track strategy on a multifaceted and complex issue like integration? To tackle the first question, one needs to divide it between labor - and community participation. Guiding newly arrived refugees into the labor market, is connected to the discourse between the Norwegian welfare system and refugees. This debate involves politicians and scholars, saying that high influx of immigration can threaten the welfare system¹⁶. Immigrants such as refugees, have the right to receive welfare benefits and goods, which is grounded in the egalitarian ethos of the welfare state. However, refraining from participation will result in punitive sanctions on their monthly income. Before the start of this activation program in 2003-2004, newly arrived refugees would receive *social aid welfare*¹⁷. However, the fragility of this system is that, on the one hand, it is the backbone of the social democratic state. On the other hand, welfare recipients can become a liability over time¹⁸, unless they have the necessary capabilities to contribute to the system itself. That is where the introductory act comes in, which is to ensure that newly arrived refugees can contribute to this system as fast as possible. Ideally, the program should be an efficient, educational and empowering process. However, it is not that straightforward because of the diverse background of refugees on education, experience and skill. This will be discussed in a

¹⁵ Davidsen, 2003, 'Introduksjonsloeven', URL: <https://lovdata.no/lov/2003-07-04-80>, Downloaded: 13.05.17

¹⁶ Brochmann, 2017

¹⁷ Djuve et al., 2001: 11

¹⁸ Djuve, 2015: 87

greater detail later, but for now, attention needs to be turned to the second part of the government's strategy on integration; that immigrants should contribute to the community.

2.3.2 Community and integration

What comes first in mind is that refugees will contribute to community by labor and taxes, albeit contribution means more than that. In Norway, participating in community exists in several social arenas such as recreational activities, volunteerism and volunteer organizations, religious organizations, sports, arrangements at schools, political participation, if not many more. For refugees however, engaging in these type of arrangements and activities requires language skills, at least self-confidence and extroversion (less required). The idea is that, if immigrants are badly represented in these type of typical Norwegian arenas, the process of integration may take longer than expected¹⁹. In the same line, the majority of the population would have less opportunities to interact with and come in contact with refugees. One could ask the question if these type of arenas are the only place refugees could meet the host-states community. Certainly, the answer would be no and arenas could range from public libraries to cafés, stores, schools etc. However, there are many reasons for attending to social meeting places. 1) It allows refugees to practice and better their Norwegian language. 2) Refugees would get to know Norwegians or other ethnics and vice versa. 3) Refugees have the possibility to form a social network. 4) Last and most important, recreation is an important activity that defines the Norwegian community life²⁰. In addition, participation in social arenas also means getting to know the Norwegian culture in an interactive way. It doesn't mean and it is not suggested anywhere that refugees "should be more Norwegian", but getting a first-hand view on Norwegian culture through interaction, can ease the process of integration.

To summarize, the introductory program seeks to ensure the possibilities for newly arrived refugees to become self-sustainable during 2 years. Furthermore, the program aims to instigate a smooth transition for refugees to the labor market or general education. By informing about Norwegian recreational culture, refugees have the possibility to participate in the community in an interactive way.

¹⁹ Brochmann et al., 2017: 141

²⁰ Ibid, 134

2.3.3 What is the effect of the introductory program?

There is no doubt that this strategy is well-structured, and that the government invested a lot of resources in this. Since the start of the program in 2003-2004, Statistics Norway have been monitoring the percentage of program-participants, which is active in the labor market or pursues education one year after finishing the course. In the last track in 2015, 58 % percent of refugees who completed the program got employment, pursued education or did both²¹. In 7 years of monitoring, the percentage has been hovering around 60 %²²²³. However, as Kavli points out, these statistics only gives a picture on how the differences occurs annually, and that it isn't a full evaluation on the effectiveness of the course²⁴. What Djuve & Kavli are saying, is that there doesn't exist any study were one can assess the real significance of the introductory course, and its effect on the process of integration²⁵. To argue for this, the data on employment is based on labor that gives at least 1 hour of payment during the week referred to (Ibid). This gives an indication that there may be a huge variation on type of employments, ranging from full-time-, part-time- and temporal jobs. These three types of jobs can affect the process of integration in different ways and outcomes can vary²⁶.

Moreover, what happens in 5 years? Are refugees still in the same position as they were 1 year after the program? A recent study conducted by Bratsberg, Raaum & Røde, assessed the longitudinal effects of admission classes like the introductory program. They found out that five years after completion, the labor-market integration²⁷ goes into decline²⁸. This finding is more evident for refugees from low-income countries. The joint authors speculates on three factors for why this can be so. First, refugees from low-income countries are overrepresented in precarious firms that is prone to downsizing, in which refugees are more exposed to than natives. Second, they argue that there is a strong connection between human capital²⁹ and success in labor market. Third, social insurances dependency is

²¹ SSB, 2016, 'Introduksjonsordningen for nyankomne innvandrere', URL: <https://www.ssb.no/utdanning/statistikker/introinnv>, downloaded: 13.05.17

²² Ibid

²³ Djuve & Kavli, 2015: 41

²⁴ Ibid, 40

²⁵ In 2015, there was a lack of study on this topic, however, a recent study conducted by Bratsberg, Raaum & Røde, researched the longitudinal effects of admission classes.

²⁶ Ibid, 75

²⁷ Which is emphasized in the introductory act.

²⁸ Bratsberg et al, 2017: 31

²⁹ Bourdieu, 1986: 17

juxtaposed with the reverse of labor-market integration. This is also connected to poor health and disability, in which they argue that it impacts refugees more than the natives³⁰.

2.3.4 is the program enough to become “integrated”?

After finishing the introductory program, the obstacles facing refugees is to settle in the everyday life like any other citizen. However, the starting position amongst refugees is unequal. Age and gender plays a part in the challenges from the introductory course, where study shows that younger adults are more likely to succeed than older adults, or that men are more likely to succeed than woman³¹. Another difference to highlight is the quality of the program, which varies in municipalities and in turn affects the work being done on the program³². Although, this subject is not studied enough in order to give clear assessments³³. Nevertheless, indication can be pointed on how municipalities structure their framework and their cooperation with local actors like vocational rehabilitation companies, the sector of volunteerism, and tuition for Norwegian and education³⁴. If there is a low standard on these domains, the effects can be critical for the refugees’ transition to labor and general education. Taken all of this into account, it will ultimately affect the process of integration.

Empirically, it is difficult to find evidence on the long-term effects of the introductory program³⁵. If ca. 40 % of refugees doesn’t complete the program, one could argue that their prospects of integration might be crippled. Even the 60 % who complete the program may face obstacles. Conversely, what the introductory program positively affects, is the relation between welfare distribution and refugees. A fast-track strategy can transform newly arrived refugees into welfare contributors, rather than becoming a liability. In addition, the course have given more possibilities for refugees to speed up their integration process. Before this activation strategy, most newly arrived refugees were depended on social aid. As Djuve et al. pointed out, social aid distribution to refugees were not sustainable in the long run for the welfare state and the recipients³⁶. Even the strategies applied in the introductory course have been criticized for its engagement with actors from the marketing sector.

³⁰ Bratsberg et al., 2017: 32

³¹ Ibid, 44

³² Ibid, 42-43

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Ibid, 35

³⁵ Ibid, 79

³⁶ Djuve et al., 2001: 11

One of the main critiques against this form of practice, questions the nature of activation programs in light of empowerment theory. The chief question is whether these type of measures empowers or disempowers individuals³⁷. If there is an unequal distribution of power in society, the goals of empowerment theory is to ensure an equal power-distribution, so that those who have lesser capabilities has the same prospects as everybody else³⁸. In terms of the introductory act, the goal of the program is to transmit power to refugees, so that they can transform and build their skills and knowledge towards self-sustainability, in economic terms, like any other citizens. However, the contention that their skills and knowledge needs to be processed, can actually contradict the very essence of empowerment. This is a result of two things, first, the introductory course in Norway follows a liberal empowerment ideology, which converts into a neoliberal market ideology when implemented in practice. Here, the assertion is that the free-market advertises services (social work) to “service users” (e.g. government), which the market customizes to suit the demands of the buyers³⁹. This implies that the services which flourishes prevails, while those who fail to meet the user demands diminishes. Second, this ideology regulates rather than emancipates individuals, as a result of situating the social work enterprise in a free-market environment⁴⁰. By buying services, the government as users gets less influence in the work being done for refugees. Instead, they rely on the expertise of their sellers. In the sense of their liberal empowerment ideology, refugees are placed in a vertical power relation, as they are placed below the professionals⁴¹.

Much earlier, it was mentioned that the introductory course would be an efficient, learning and empowering process, given its fast-track strategy during 2 years. If one takes the issues of empowerment theory into account, it might illuminate on the difficult obstacles refugees might face. It is not suggested that other factors are excluded, but that marketing the social service measures for refugees, have both its limitations and benefits⁴². Though the introductory course has its pitfalls, the advantages are better than the measures available before. Thus, a relevant question to ask is if the introductory act is adequate for the integration process. Maybe the focus is unbalanced and relies too much on the economic capital of refugees and gives less attention to community participation. Even if refugees do

³⁷ Fernandes, 2015

³⁸ Ibid, 248

³⁹ Ibid, 249

⁴⁰ Ibid, 250

⁴¹ Ibid; Bob Pease, 2002, *see quote*

⁴² Ibid, 249, *see Askheim, 2007, Wright-Nielsen, 2009*

become self-sustainable shortly after the program, there is no guarantee that these individuals would become “integrated” into society, albeit having better prospects. This is especially true for people who lacks or struggles to have affiliations with the host-states community. Such questions and issues are hard to deal with it, because one enters a sensitive part of integration, were policy making can neglect ethical issues and strategies can be insufficient. The results has been a constant reshaping of the very definition of integration, on a political, sociological, juridical and academic level.

2.4 Integration as a multifaceted subject

Initially, this chapter presented the framework surrounding integration as a multifaceted subject, due to the fact that the topic occurs in many domains. This has been illustrated with the actions in state legislations, activation programs, work-training, language courses and recreational activities. Integration can even be found in areas like religion, sports and education. Taking this into account, the framework of integration can be divided into three main category, which are integration on a state -, collective - and psychosocial level. The three levels are interrelated and inter-dependent, in the sense that if the process fails on either level, the effects will have a sweeping impact. This concern can be illuminated by looking into the contents of the three categories. The first which regards the state level, mainly contains the government and its strategy on integration. Here, the government can legislatively execute their strategies, which in the case of Norway is performed by the ministry of justice and public security. The second regards the collective level, which is concerned with the diversity of communities. Despite being a pluralistic state, the mainstream-community is the usual standard followed by the other groups. This suggests that the process of integration for refugees is to be included into the major community. The last and third category regards the psychosocial level, which is engaged with the well-being of individuals. If the implementations of strategies and approaches on integration, executed by the government, isn't in line with the expectations of the collective community and well-being of immigrants, it can flinch back and jeopardize the framework on integration.

What this contemplation on the three levels of integration shows, is that the system of integration has a hierarchical structure, were the legislative actions performed by the government, determines the integration framework in society and the integration process for

refugees⁴³. This top-down scheme has led to critiques from different angles, pointing straight towards the relation between structure and agent, or in this case, government and refugee⁴⁴. However, in a democratic state like Norway, the government is made up of from a just and legitimate election, where sitting governments reflect the choice of the people. This means that, virtually, the approaches surrounding integration is justified from the election results, derived from the aspirations of the societal majority. From the perspectives of newly arrived refugees, they arrive in a territory where everything is facilitated without their awareness. It is thus the responsibility of the state to enlighten the newly arrived about their rights as humans and citizens. In addition, the state is also the facilitator for their prospects, which should be done without violating the rights and virtues of refugees.

2.4.1 Problem Statement

Having Norway's strategy on integration in mind, joined with the difficult issues involving the concept itself, the result of the problem statement is influenced by the second focal point of the introductory act, which is concerned with community participation. In Tromsø, the Red Cross refugee-guide stresses the need for more interaction between refugees and local citizens⁴⁵. The goal is that refugees and locals would assist each other in building a positive intergroup relation, despite challenges posed from language. Thus one can ask the question: Can results from intergroup relations in this framework affect group relation in the broader social context?

2.4.2 Research questions

In Tromsø, the Red Cross creates social arenas which attempt to better the group relation between refugees and local citizens. Through the program known as refugee-guide, the Red Cross facilitates a one-to-one interaction between individuals, as well as other activities where refugees and locals can meet and interact. This one-to-one interaction is known as a *link*, which mainly consists of two individuals, that is, a guide and refugee, but can also include two families from the respective groups. This program attempts to ameliorate the group relations through contact and interaction. First and foremost, this arena is a good opportunity for refugees to interact with locals. Secondly, local citizens have the opportunity to learn

⁴³ And other types immigrants.

⁴⁴ Sardinha, 2009: 47-48

⁴⁵ Paulsen et al., 2012: 11

more about the refugee's diverse cultures and vice versa, that refugees have the possibility to learn about Norwegian (local and national) culture in an interactive way. These two factors defines the scope of the thesis, which can be transformed to relevant research questions. 1) How can interaction between refugees and locals contribute to positive intergroup relation? 2) Can these type of activities contribute to the creation of a common social framework?

2.4.2.1 First question

The study of intergroup relation is a common subject in social psychology and sociology, which focuses on the relation between groups. The refugee-guides aim doesn't only focus in bettering the language skills of immigrants, their goal is also to build a bridge between the Norwegian majority and immigrant minority. This is done through situating refugees and locals in different activities. From unformal one-to-one interactions were participants would meet each other, to formal activities organized by the Red Cross like "Food for men", "winter days" and "Quiz night". Here, the intergroup relation and language learning complements each other, thus becoming a dynamical social process. Can this dynamical process contribute to positive intergroup relation?

2.4.2.2 Second question

The second question may not be the goal of both community groups, but it is still an important question to explore. Not only does it concern intergroup relations, it also discusses the status of the current social reality for the group relation. The contacts between the refugees and locals lasts in a 1 year period, in the refugee-guide. Given that refugees and locals are consistent with meetings, one can argue that a shared social framework may be forming. If this is so, and can be identified, can this discovery be reflected in the society at large?

2.5 Integration from the bottom-up

Rather than viewing integration from the top-down, examining it from a bottom-up evokes other point of views. The important factors to highlight from this angle, are the underlying concepts and principles embedded in community relations. The assumption is based on the suggestion that integration should be approached from different angles. Here, proponents

argue that one should pay equal attentions to relevant fields that is concerned with inclusion and settlement for refugees. The sector of volunteerism is one of the relevant fields involved with community relation and participation. Some of the organizations within this area, who specializes on the subject of integration, attempts to include and aid immigrants in various ways. With inclusion, volunteer organizations creates arenas for refugees and natives to interact on common ground. From activities involving the sharing of cultures and traditions, to more trivial relations like getting to know each other. Additionally, some organizations focuses on assisting refugees with language training, school tasks, social network to mention a few. Conversely, the reciprocal nature of interrelations also affects natives, in the sense that they get know the diversity of cultures and traditions of refugees. Some organizations even holds explicit sessions for Norwegians, where they are enlightened about the integration framework and how refugees are coordinated within it. Taking this into account, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate the potential effect volunteer organizations have on integration, through inter -relations and actions between locals and refugees.

The starting position about the underlying concepts in community relations, comes out from the interactions between individuals. There are a number of subjects covered in this relationship, including theories on intersubjective inter - action and relation. Regarding the research questions, the goals of this thesis is to investigate how interaction between refugees and locals contributes to positive group relations and the potential generation of a common social framework. One possible way to tackle this issue is to view it from the perspective of contact theory on intergroup relation⁴⁶. This perspective suggests that humans naturally forms distinct groups based on affiliations, similarities and alliances. The outcome of this is the exclusion of others or ‘out-groups’, which eventually can lead to the breeding of group-bias, stereotypes, prejudice and intolerance. By introducing superordinate goals, both in-groups and out-groups members needs to cooperate in order to achieve them. With cooperation comes an increase in intergroup contact. The postulation of this theory suggests that, consistent intergroup contact will lead to the reduction of group-bias. In turn, the group relation will lean towards a positive affair⁴⁷. Despite how sound this perspective can be, it will not be the point of the departure of this thesis. This is because the theory doesn't fully uncover the inner dynamics of interactions and interrelation. For instance, the experiences connected to negative group bias mentioned above, is taken for granted as an outcome of

⁴⁶ Pettigrew, 1998

⁴⁷ Ibid, 66-67

disapproving others. What are the underlying causes and processes that leads to the creation of negative attitudes and beliefs about out-groups? And what are the potential alternatives to it? From these questions, the attention on human interaction and interrelation will be turned to the theories of symbolic interactionism and recognition.

2.5.1 Integration from a Symbolic Interactionist perspective

Both of these theories will be contemplated and explored in a much greater detail in the theory chapter. However, it is important to argue for the selection of these perspectives, in order to understand why it fits to the process of integration. Chiefly, in light of interactionist ideas, integration contain the dynamical relations between subjects, which are the majority and minority. The majority in Norway instigates the process of inclusion, by guiding and including the minority into society. This interrelation is based on symbols and meanings which are interpreted by individuals. The interpretations from individuals is the foundation of the created social reality, which both subjects share. Additionally, the interpreted symbols and meanings are superimposed on the interactions of individuals, which in turn defines their actions, attitudes and behaviors.

Symbolic Interactionism is descriptive in the sense that it doesn't underline the preferable outcomes of intersubjective relations. Rather than saying that negative and positive intersubjective actions leads to 'bad' or 'good' relations, they state that the outcome is defined by the nature of the relationships between the subjects. In the case of integration process and framework, this perspective suggests that the outcome of the social framework between the host-society and refugees, is defined by their interpretations of the symbols and meanings. The social reality can either be positive or negative, either way, it is the result of how both groups construe their actions. Taking this into account, it is evident that this theory simply describes the intergroup relations and social framework between locals and refugees. It doesn't explore the normative aspects of why both groups should build positive relations and abstain from negative relationships. For this reason, the theory of recognition is highlighted as a framework supporting symbolic interactionism, which can tackle these questions and issues.

2.5.2 Integration from the viewpoint of recognition theory

This theory was formed and introduced by the philosopher Axel Honneth, who bases his ideas from Hegel's practical philosophy and Mead's framework on intersubjective relations.

It presupposes that humans create their social reality from the point of view of interactionists. Honneth applies his theory of recognition as the normative basis of human interaction and interrelation. The postulation is that mutual recognition between humans, is vital for maintaining a positive and beneficial relationship. The opposite, which is misrecognition, can lead to the exclusion of groups who aren't recognized in society. Regarding the relation between the Norwegians and refugees, it is important that they live in a state of mutual recognition. Honneth points to the principles of democratic societies, which have adopted the view that every human should have the right and autonomy to self-realization. It would be contradictory if certain groups lacked the independence to pursue their goals. The inner dynamics of misrecognition can cripple the aspirations of individuals. If this is true, it is important to identify what those crippling factors can be, so that society can create countermeasures to avoid such circumstances. The rehabilitation and mitigation of tense intergroup relations is exactly the goals of some organizations in Norway. Thus, in light of recognition theory, this thesis will investigate the outcomes of the works of the Red Cross' refugee-guide.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will present and go into detail on what entails in the theory of symbolic interactionism and recognition. Chiefly, the former will be contemplated through various understanding within the field, and the origin of the theory from George Herbert Mead's framework. This perspective is mainly conserved with social psychology and seeks to describe how the social world of humans enfolds. In addition, symbolic interactionism will be conceptualized in the integration framework, to illustrate its relevance for this thesis. Finally, the interactionist theory will be discussed in a sociological context, which involve the micro – macro perspective debate. This discourse will be the benchmark and introduction of the second theory in this chapter, which is concerned with a critical social perspective.

Recognition theory has a normative character and is presented in order to address why groups should maintain and create a positive relation. This sub-chapter will be concerned with the historical origins of the framework, which is grounded in practical philosophy. The inspiration of this social philosophical enquiry, stems from George W.F. Hegel and George Herbert Mead. The deviser of recognition theory, Axel Honneth, uses the two previous philosopher's hypotheses, to present a philosophical theory that is in line with the modern world. Through the exposition of trivial concepts like, self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem, Honneth argues that these three forms of self-relations (ways of relating to oneself) are the intersubjective basis for the formation of identities⁴⁸. Additionally, the three forms can only be attained and realized, if individuals live in state of mutual recognition. In this way, recognition is an important contributor for identity formation. Honneth argues that if agents in society misrecognizes each other, it will cause contempt and infringement, which is equivalent to the deprivation of other's independence. Taken these two brief descriptions into account, the goal of this chapter is to show why humans forms their social reality as a result of intersubjective interactions. Additionally, it will also show why maintaining a positive relation based on reciprocity is beneficial for everybody. Especially for the formation of identity and the perception about others, but first, attention will be given to the symbolic interactionism.

⁴⁸ Honneth, 2007: 151

3.2 Symbolic Interactionism

What is Symbolic Interactionism? The sociologists Carter and Fuller define symbolic interactionism as "*a micro-level theoretical framework and perspective in sociology that addresses how society is created and maintained through repeated interactions among individuals*"⁴⁹. Symbolic Interactionism is concerned with the interaction between individuals. This terminology was coined by the sociologist Herbert Blumer, as a reaction against current mainstream sociology (Realism) in the 1960's. He defined symbolic interactionism as "*the peculiar and distinctive character as it takes places between human beings*"⁵⁰. He further emphasized the intersubjective relation between individuals as they interact and create meanings in their social reality. In addition, meanings and social reality are constantly reinterpreted by the actors. Blumer argues for a subjective methodological approach rather than an objective and positivist stance. This is because researchers needs to take the standpoint of the actor whose behavior is being studied. Afterwards, the research should utilize the actor's own categories, to try and capture the meanings from the actor's perspective⁵¹.

Other sociologists like Manford Kuhn and Sheldon Stryker argue for a positivist rather than interpretivist approach. Kuhn argues that one can use symbolic interactionism to systematize and categorize human behaviors. He highlights the studying of social behavior in a laboratory, because that will allow us to identify natural behavioral patterns that can be universally applied. Kuhn's methodology is concerned with positivism and he is known for the creation of the Twenty Statement Tests⁵². He believed one could use the test too reveal attitudes, behaviors and identities of individuals, as they emerge from the symbolic interactions⁵³. For Sheldon Stryker, the similarities with Kuhn are in the positivist method deployed. The difference from Blumer, is that Stryker emphasizes the fluid process of meaning and the self during interaction. Instead, Stryker postulated that meanings and interactions led to relatively stable patterns, which creates and upholds social structures. Stryker uses Meads role playing concept as an example. Social roles are results from interactions between individuals that are attached to social positions (e.g. male, female, doctor, dentist, mother, father). Here, individuals are influencing each other reciprocally, through patterns within and between the different relations. In this way, individuals uses the

⁴⁹ Carter & Fuller, 2016

⁵⁰ Ibid, 933

⁵¹ Ibid, 934

⁵² Ibid, 935-36

⁵³ Ibid

patterns to "cue behaviors" in what Stryker calls symbolic cues. Individuals utilizes the symbolic cues to modify their behaviors and assess potential line of action. Thus, one can predict individual behavior based on their social position or social category. This view of symbolic interactionism is known as Stryker's 'Structural Role Theory'⁵⁴.

3.2.1 Mead's view on interactionism

These three stances of symbolic interactionism, comes from the implications and works of George Herbert Mead. In his work '*Mind, Self and Society*' (1934), he asserted that social reality is created through four phases: 1) the first phase regards language, which is vital for communication. In turn, meaning is created as a result of conversations, in which Mead defines as significant symbols⁵⁵. Individuals uses significant symbols as a point of reference for social objects and each other. 2) The second phase concerns meaning, which is the outcome of the interaction between the initiator and the respondents of the significant symbols. Objects are only given meaning to if individuals relate to them. Therefore, they come only into existence by the subjective meanings of individuals. 3) The third phase is known as interaction, which occurs in a particular social and cultural context. Additionally, situations must also be defined during interaction and not only physical and social objects. 4) The fourth and last phase regards the repetition of interactions, which are repeated, recreated and created through interpreting processes. This means that meanings are temporal and dynamical, and may change over time⁵⁶. In sum, social reality is a temporal phenomenon, constructed by the intersubjective interpretations of meanings and significant symbols by individuals. It is also dynamical in the sense that interactions are repetitive, which means that social reality is constantly reconstructed through interpreting processes.

3.2.2 The Emergence of the 'self' and the generalized other

The notion of 'self' emerges during the four phases, which is a product of social interactions. Mead asserts that the 'self' can be identified through internalization, which is some sort of introspective process⁵⁷. This process can be described by three basic forms of inter-subjective activity which are Language, Play and Game, and is the social foundation of the 'self'⁵⁸. The

⁵⁴ Ibid, 936-37

⁵⁵ Mead, 1967: 67

⁵⁶ Ibid, 42-44

⁵⁷ Ibid, 160

⁵⁸ Ibid, 160-161

first form is the social process which generates meaning as mentioned above. The second and third form are interrelated and makes up what Mead understands as role-playing. This fusion of the two latter forms is the key to the generation of the 'self'. For instance, children uses 'play' as an activity where the child acts like if she was some specific "other" (being a mother or doctor). It involves the internalization of a single role at a time. This single type of role-playing is connected to 'game', which is a more complex form of role-playing. This type of activity requires the child to internalize all "others" in the game. She must also comprehend the rules of the game that coordinate all the different roles (e.g. if the game is about family, she must understand the different roles of the family members). Comprehending the various social mechanisms that emerges from the organized game, uncovers the attitudes of all of participants. Comprehension also involves the understanding of various rules in the game⁵⁹. The result of this is a symbolized unity, which Mead coins 'the generalized other'.

The generalized other is some sort of organized and generalized attitude, which individuals use as a reference frame when defining their conduct⁶⁰. It is in this process that the 'self' emerges, because individuals uses their ability of internalization to interpret their own standpoint of the 'other'. Moreover, Mead asserts that there is a dual process of internalization, which are the 'me' - the attitudes that reflects the generalized other and 'I' - the internal process that responds to the generalized other. The 'I' is the reflective 'self' that constantly reinterprets the 'me'⁶¹. How does all of this relate to society? The focus have been on Meads contemplation on the different social interactions and processes amidst individuals, and how the 'self' and social world emerges as a consequence. For Mead, society is the result of a complex formation of individuals, such as civilized communities or groups. He further states that there exists two types of social groups; which are 'subgroup', that is, concrete social classes like "Norwegian citizens", "Refugees", "middle class", "low class" etc. and 'abstract subgroups', that is, indirect groups that works as social units, such as "male", "female", "human", "youths", "students" and "teachers"⁶².

⁵⁹ Ibid, 154 - 169

⁶⁰ Ibid, 195

⁶¹ Ibid, 175

⁶² Ibid, 260-273

3.2.3 Mead's consensus & conflict theory

In relation to this, the 'self' is not confined to one or more specific generalized attitudes of others. Instead, there is no limit for the individual to relate to various subgroups, thus giving the 'self' a dynamical ability to encompass various groups⁶³. Mead also makes some interesting comments about consensus & conflict theory, which is a matter for intergroup relation. He says that there is a problem with consensus and conflict in society. In turn, this can be divided into two models. The first model contains intra-group consensus & extra-group conflict, which suggests that members of a given group are united in opposition to another group perceived as the common enemy. Mead says that the notion of a common enemy is frequently the major reference point of intra-group consensus. The second model contains intra-group conflict & extra-group consensus, which describes the process where individuals react against their own group⁶⁴. People oppose their group by appealing to a higher sort of community that is superior to their own. For instance, "humanity" is a superior community than "Europeans" or "Norwegians".

Mead's descriptive account on human society is a complex subject that entails several concepts. He is vague when describing the epistemological and ontological framework of the intersubjective relations of individuals. This has led to a debate about what symbolic interactionism is and the divisions within the field. A reference to this is the different versions of symbolic interactionism, iterated by Blumer, Kuhn and Stryker⁶⁵. However, the application of this theory have been met with different reactions. Some argue that it is too descriptive and is thus only confined to micro-sociological stances⁶⁶. Others argue that its confinement to micro-sociology is not its fallacy, suggesting that macro-sociological phenomena can be viewed from the bottom-up⁶⁷. Some have even suggested a middle-level that consolidates the micro-macro distinction, giving equal importance to the different levels⁶⁸. Nevertheless, before this debate will be explored and presented, attention will be given to why symbolic interactionism might be relevant for the enquiries of this thesis. Some points from the fieldwork, which will be elaborated in the fifth chapter, will be used as an illustration for the relevance of symbolic interactionism.

⁶³ "George Herbert Mead" by George Cronk, *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ISSN 2161-0002, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/mead/>, 14.05.17

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Carter & Fuller, 2016

⁶⁶ Fine, 1993

⁶⁷ Maines, 1982

⁶⁸ Parsons, 2012

3.2.4 Applying symbolic interactionism

From the standpoint of symbolic interactionism, locals and refugees in the Red Cross' refugee-guide program constructs their social reality, by interpreting their shared meanings and significant symbols. The shared framework are generated by the intersubjective relations of the two individuals, during the period of their link. For instance, in the fieldwork, one of the questions asked in the interviews was about the similarities and differences between them. Not only as persons, but also belonging to different cultures. Although there was acknowledgement about differences, which was more or less superficial, all of them highlighted values such as kindness, family and unity. Others highlighted the importance of being social and extrovert. What they all had in common, despite knowing that they don't have the same cultures and thus inhabit different worldviews, was the ability to see past differences. It is these reconstructions that may change the generalized other about refugees and vice versa, the generalized other about locals. For this reason, one could argue that they try to reconstruct the current social framework, by steering it towards a common understanding of the social reality. Conversely, one could argue that they, without being aware, was already biased to be more tolerant. This is because people who joins the Red Cross usually emphasizes humanity as a group. However, these people only represent a minor part of the society in Norway. This will be more elaborated on in the analysis chapter.

Symbolic interactionism also contributes with the idea that individuals, have the ability to create and recreate the social framework despite differences in culture, religion and belief. In this way, one could use Mead's account on conflict and consensus to state that, the Red Cross utilizes the refugee-guide program to project some sort of extra-group consensus. This projections reflects their creed of humanitarianism and this "abstract-subgroup" concept may be the reason why a portion of locals and refugees engages in these organizations. But are these factors sufficient to argue that symbolic interactionism is the right analytical tool? The problem of applying this theory isn't that it lacks the sufficient tools to describe the different mechanisms and processes of intergroup relation. It lacks the normative aspect. This issue leads to the micro and macro debate about symbolic interactionism, on how this descriptive theory can be related or connected to normative theories and frameworks.

3.2.5 The Micro – Macro debate and organizational theory

According to Gary Alan Fine, the theory is too concerned with micro-sociology. It is too occupied with describing how things work and are not saying anything about how things

should work⁶⁹⁷⁰. On the contrary, scholars like Anselm Strauss argues that symbolic interactionism is an important asset to organizational analysis, because he believed that organizations could be understood from the bottom up⁷¹. This means that macro-structures could be understood from a micro-analytic framework. Other scholars suggests a middle level, the mesostructure, in order to link the micro-analysis to macro-structures. In the level of mesostructure, interactions from peoples are coordinated by patterns⁷². Ultimately, as Gary Alan Fine states: "*all levels of analysis must be considered in an adequate analysis*"⁷³. The two latter understandings will be elaborated in their respective turn, because they offer to bridge the gap between micro and macro, from an interactionist perspective.

There are a number of paradigms in the micro-sociological feature of symbolic interactionism. Some of these attempts to bridge the gap between the micro – and macro demarcation. The focus will only be on the paradigm of “the negotiated order” and “mesostructure”. One of the most influential attributions in this debate comes from Strauss's organizational analysis. In this viewpoint, macro-structures such as institutions and organizations can be analyzed from a micro-sociological point of view. Subsequently, these structures come to define and constantly shape superior bodies such as government and society⁷⁴⁷⁵. The source of this can be traced down to the interactions between individuals. Following the works of Mead and Blumer, Strauss believes that individuals are constantly modeling their social reality through intersubjective interactions. He coins this social process as 'the negotiated order', which is an ordinary aspect of everyday interaction⁷⁶. Negotiating individuals decides and agrees formal and informal rules between them and organizations. These rules are set to regulate conducts and attitudes, not as fixed cues, but as mere guidelines that may be renegotiated and reinterpreted. The formal rules involves instances such as procedures and policies, while informal rules are concerned with agreements and understandings. The latter instance is necessary since it allows the renegotiation of formal orders⁷⁷. Moreover, the construction of social reality is contingent by the social environment. This means that changes in the social environment might affect social order and relations⁷⁸.

⁶⁹ Carter & Fuller, 2016: 937

⁷⁰ Fine, 1993

⁷¹ Fine, 1993: 68

⁷² Ibid, 68

⁷³ Ibid, 69

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Maines, 1982: 274-76

⁷⁶ Parsons, 2012: 4

⁷⁷ Ibid, 1

⁷⁸ Ibid, 2

In summary, the negotiated order framework attempts to describe how individuals affects larger structures such as organizations and ultimately, society.

Be this as it may, Parsons argues that this version of symbolic interactionism is too narrow. She acknowledge Strauss's justification in the negotiated relationship between actors and organizations. However, being too one-sided about negotiation might be its pitfall since it may neglect other characteristics of organizations; such as manipulation and coercion. Subsequently, Parson argues that neglecting these alternatives suggest that this view fails to recognize the topics of power and politics within organizations. Sufficient or not, Strauss's contribution to this theory, the negotiated order, still underpins some relevant points. One of the points concerns the issue of viewing organizations as a fluid and dynamical social structures⁷⁹. People have a tight intersubjective relationship with organizations and individuals are the foundation of macro-structure. Organizations and ultimately society depends its consolidation on individual interactions. Even though the negotiated order framework are contingent by specific contexts, scholars like Hall and Spencer-Hall suggests that it can go beyond that, by showing different patterns of negotiated orders. In their case-study on '*the conditions that gives rise to negotiations*' from two secondary schools, they found factors that could categorize the different orders⁸⁰. The implications of this is that one could argue for an empirical tone in the negotiated order paradigm. David Maines points in the same direction by presenting his concept of mesostructure. He asserts that this structure resides somewhere in the middle of the micro-macro distinction. In this middle level, social orders comes to light and becomes identifiable patterns and processes. These dynamics are solely meant to understand the social orders, because they are bound to be temporal in a negotiated social environment⁸¹. Maines further states that the mesostructure has a better utility than the micro-macro distinction, so it can avoid being either or⁸². Nevertheless, Fine argues that the micro-macro debate about symbolic interactionism, have been solely focused on organizational theory. He further states that it also extends to other theoretical concepts such as identity and structuration⁸³.

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ Maines 1982: 273

⁸¹ Maines, 1982: 277

⁸² Ibid, 274-75

⁸³ Fine, 1993: 69

3.2.6 Conclusion

Symbolic interactionism contributes with a micro-analytic perspective for understanding integration. The point of departure of what integration is can originate from the bottom up, from the interactions between individuals. This can be interpreted from the aspirations of the refugee-guide in the Red Cross. All though the discourse of integration in this society is complex, the idea is mere individual interaction and can ameliorate the group relation between Norwegians and refugees. By applying symbolic interactionism, there is the possibility of understanding and uncovering certain patterns and expectations in the refugee-guide program. However, it may not be representative of society, since the Red Cross with humanitarianism, might only attract individuals with compatible creeds. Nevertheless, the goal of this thesis is to see if that can affect social framework in society at large. One could argue and suggest that this a good starting point for discussing the topic of integration. That, in spite of humanitarianism, the program still attracts individuals with different beliefs, who wish to reinterpret the generalized other towards a positive perception.

3.3 A theory on recognition

3.3.1 Introduction

Following the micro-macro debate, a theory of recognition is presented by Axel Honneth as a framework that emphasizes the importance of relations on a micro-level. Here, recognition is understood as an imperative moral concept that is inherent in every individuals. Humans are naturally inclined to form relationships, which can only be attained if individuals recognizes each other's normative perspectives⁸⁴. If this primary interrelation is not based on reciprocal trust, the relationship will likely diminish or consists of an unequal power-distribution⁸⁵. From this perspective, the outcome of the consolidation of society is based on intersubjective relations of individuals in the community.

Based on the works of Hegel`s pragmatic philosophy and Mead`s intersubjective theory, Honneth lays out a contemporary version of a critical social theory, with focus on agency - structure relation and identity formation⁸⁶. Hegel and Mead`s contemplation on society was much influenced by its time. Therefore, Honneth translates their works to fit contemporary understanding of modern society⁸⁷. To discuss Honneth`s concepts, an article written by Fleming & Finnegan investigates how recognition is rectified in order to understand experiences of adults returning to higher education, in Ireland. Here, education is used as a platform to promote social concepts such as self-confidence. Fleming & Finnegan bases their research on Honneth`s theory, which works as a framework to understand social concepts underlying in education⁸⁸. The findings are not exclusive to adult education and can be used to understand the connection between recognition and social integrity. Honneth postulates that if the various forms of self-relation⁸⁹ aren`t maintained properly and with care, individuals, groups, as well as whole societies would struggle. The idea is that cultivating positive forms of recognition would not only benefit individuals, but society as whole.

3.3.2 Hegel`s three stages of recognition

First of all, like Mead, Honneth argues that social reality emanates from the intersubjective interactions of individuals. In this process, people gains recognition by viewing themselves

⁸⁴ Fleming & Finnegan, 2010: 3

⁸⁵ Rogers, 2009: 187-88

⁸⁶ Fleming & Finnegan, 2010: 1

⁸⁷ Honneth, 2007

⁸⁸ Fleming & Finnegan, 2010: 1

⁸⁹ Self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem

through the normative perspective of the other⁹⁰. In other words, humans are constantly engaged in an intersubjective activity of mutual recognition. Secondly, Individuals will base their self-esteem or self-valuation on the feedback they get from others, being positive or negative. In addition, identity is being formed and shaped through the dynamical intersubjective interactions, which is also influenced by the feedbacks of others. Honneth illustrates this through a tripartite model by 'borrowing' Hegel and Meads philosophy. However, it is first important to unravel Hegel and Meads understanding on the intersubjective relations, in order to grasp Honneth's philosophy.

For Hegel, humans travels through three stages of recognition. The first stage of being recognized as an individual involve love relationships⁹¹. Here, emotions and affections are primary tools used for interaction. This is evident in the parent - children, friends or erotic relationships⁹². Stemming from the most primitive aspects of humanity, recognition through love is an inevitable consequence of interaction. Hegel points to the fact that love stimulates the needs of individuals. From love, the relationships between individuals transforms into family or friendship, which is the first source of identity formation⁹³. The second stage concerns the right to be recognized as legal persons. Hegel refers to Hobbes' state of nature as the precursor to the second phase, but downplays the dramatic part about humans existing in a state of conflict. Rather than living in fear of losing property, people are living in a fear of being overlooked⁹⁴. Being neglected is connected to misrecognition, which means the same as not recognizing others existence. This is means that recognizing each other's immediate existence is vital during individual encounter. If not, the feeling of being excluded might instigate a negative and physical response in order to be recognized. The characteristic of the intersubjective interrelations in this sphere, is based on a mutual respect of each other's existence⁹⁵. Hegel's last and third stage concerns a common or shared will. Hegel uses the term 'contract' as an allegory to illustrate how individuals engages in a reciprocal exchange of virtues. The right to existence is thus extended to a trade of different forms of rights, making existence and recognition a social right. Consequentially, this circumstance leads to the construction of a shared will, which are transformed into a common constitution of laws

⁹⁰ Honneth, 2007: 101

⁹¹ Ibid, 45

⁹² Ibid, 104

⁹³ Ibid, 48-49, 104

⁹⁴ Ibid, 53

⁹⁵ Ibid, 49-57

⁹⁶ Fleming & Finnegan, 2010: 5

that protects its members and society⁹⁷. Hegel uses the term *Sittlichkeit* as the source of the shared will, which is the foundation of shared norms and values in society. For him, *Sittlichkeit* is understood as an order of customs where habits and norms derive from⁹⁸. Taken all of the stages into account, recognition is thus an integral part of the formation of identity and society. Hegel is influenced by the ideas of his time, which is evident in his reference to Hobbesian contract-theory⁹⁹.

Honneth considers the importance of history when contemplating about society, because several significant changes have taken place during the evolution of modern society. Honneth uses Hegel as a reference to the origins of practical social philosophy. Many idealists during Hegel's time were developing comprehensive philosophical theories about ethics, morals and society such as Kant and Fichte. However, unlike Kant who situated the origins of moral and actions in a metaphysical realm, Hegel viewed them as mundane and practical necessities. Like Aristotle, Hegel saw humans as social beings who naturally engage in reciprocal interactions¹⁰⁰. Thus, Hegel's understanding of the social life of humans has a pragmatic character. The practical philosophical tradition of Hegel was later highlighted by Mead, who sought out Hegel's writings in order to understand social reality.

3.3.3 Mead's systematic description

Mead's framework has already been laid out in the previous theory, so a detailed and elaborate account about its contents is not necessary. What is needed however, is why Honneth makes use of interactionism in order to build on Hegel's concept of recognition. Honneth argues that Hegel is too metaphysical when contemplating about the formation of society through reciprocal recognition. By introducing Mead, Honneth brings down Hegel's account to a mundane matter, because Mead presents a systematic and empirical description about the same topic. In *'Mind, Self & Society'*, Mead highlights the intersubjective relations of people as the source of the emergence of consciousness, identity and construction of social world. Individuals engage in these relations because they face obstacles that need others' interpretations to resolve them¹⁰¹. Thus, individuals interpret and reiterate each other's

⁹⁷ Honneth, 2007: 59-61

⁹⁸ Ibid, 66

⁹⁹ Ibid, 24-25, 50

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 19-26

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 79-81

actions. As a result of this mutual dependency, individual develops their consciousness through the process of internalization, which is a dimension that processes the behavioral patterns of other subjects. As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, Mead divides this dimension between the "me", the exterior self that executes actions, and "I", the interior self that regulates the "me"¹⁰².

However, unlike other scholars that defines Mead's framework as a descriptive ontological account, Honneth argues that it has normative aspects because of the "generalized other" generated from intersubjective interactions. First, Mead states that along with interactions comes the interpretations of each other's normative perspective. Therefore, people always engages in a reciprocal exchange of morals through the reiteration of each other's normative expectations¹⁰³. Secondly, this can only be attained through to internalization of "play" and "game". The former is the interpretations of the behavioral patterns of individuals social caregivers (e.g. parents). While the latter is the interpretations of the groups socially generated behavioral patterns¹⁰⁴, which presupposes the "generalized other". By Honneth's understanding on Mead, the generalized other is a collective of normative expectations, in which individuals that belongings group regulates their behaviors from¹⁰⁵. In turn, if individuals creates a social identity that is based on and accepted from the groups generalized other, it is the same as recognition¹⁰⁶. This is for Honneth one of the main connections between Hegel and Mead, were the latter gives the formers ideas of mutual recognition an empirical tone.

The generalized other is not only a shared social framework by individuals. When the concept is transferred in the practical self-relations, given that individuals are socially accepted, it is the same as the notion of self-respect. This is because the individual experiences the social value of its identity, in virtue of being a member of a community that practices its shared will¹⁰⁷. However, Honneth states that Mead limits these actions to the experiences of legal recognition and doesn't give a sufficient justification on individual self-realization, which defines the idiosyncrasy of individuals. In order for individuals to feel distinct from one another while still being socially accepted, Mead situates the process self-

¹⁰² Ibid, 82-83

¹⁰³ Ibid, 85

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 86

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 86-87

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 87-88

realization in the experiences from cooperative labor. Here, he states that: "*individuals that fulfill their function within the cooperative labor in a "good" way, becomes recognized in a scope that is adequate for the individuals to be conscious of their distinctiveness*"¹⁰⁸. This means that if an individual wants to be recognized by its own achievement, it is only possible if it is being recognized by the others as a positive contribution to society¹⁰⁹. Therefore, individual self-realization is conditioned by the generalized others, which in turn regulates the ethical and moral frameworks of individuals.

Hegel and Mead's account on the formation of social life is the source of Honneth's theory of recognition. The pragmatic characters of the philosophers' theories makes their contentions practical and concrete. Hegel viewed the three stages of recognition as a growing process, each time individuals gained mutual respect from each level. These instincts takes the shape of a systematic and empiric hypotheses in Mead. However, the need to extend both Hegel and Mead's ideas was necessary for Honneth, since they could not give an adequate description on the social dynamics of contemporary world¹¹⁰. This means that Honneth had to adapt the teachings of Hegel and Mead into the postmodern view on society. Today, most western societies are characterized by democracy, being either liberal or social democratic state. Already in the texts of Hegel and Mead can one see traces of democratic influences, as they characterizes individuals as independent and autonomous beings, residing in a society where they can realize their own aspiration. However, the definition of a citizen that can take part in civil society was different in the times of Hegel and Mead. In order to make the views of these philosopher relevant for today's social life, Honneth proposes his ideas about recognition.

3.3.4 Honneth's theory of recognition: The first sphere of recognition

Society is based on the reproduction of communities as a result of the moral imperatives of individuals. This can only be attained through mutual recognition, which in turn is only possible if humans understand each other's normative perspectives as social addressee¹¹¹. Honneth explains this by recalling Hegel's tripartite model of recognition. First of all, love relationships are the primary source of relations, which is constituted by strong affective

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 97

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 98

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 101, 103

¹¹¹ Ibid, 101

bonds between individuals¹¹². Love as an abstract concepts can be changed to the practical term devotion. Recognizing individuals through devotion is the same as giving cognitive accept to others independence¹¹³. Freedom of independence must be based on affective trust which is grounded in a reciprocal notion of good will. If this is the case, a positive relation of mutual recognition is attained. Conversely, if individuals are unsure and feels unsafe of the good will of others, then this is the same as not recognizing each other's independence¹¹⁴. With this statement, Honneth suggests that independence and autonomy is a result of the human instinct of sympathy. Further, since positive emotions are involuntary impulses, affective relationships cannot exceed from the sphere of primary social relations¹¹⁵. Like Hegel, Honneth agrees that only these kind of relations can create individual self-confidence¹¹⁶, which is necessary for the participation in the public life as autonomous being. For Honneth, self-confidence is the practical outcome of the recognition inherent in love relationships.

To illustrate the significance of recognition based on devotion, the refugee-guide can shed some light to this issue. Here, the interactions between refugees and locals are based on the links. One of the aims of this program is for the individuals to create a relationship based on mutual trust. If this can be attained through a relationship based on friendship, one can argue that the feeling of being recognized by the other is a huge step, especially towards the inclusion of refugees into society. If the guides symbolizes the majority, having the trust of one member of this majority can ease the relations to others in that group. Conversely, if the guides feels that they are recognized by the refugees, that feeling can affect the guides approach towards other immigrants. Thus, the feeling of self-confidence generated from this positive relationship according to Honneth, can have a significant impact on the process of integration for refugees in different levels. This idea will be further elaborated in the analysis chapter.

Going back to Honneth's exposition of the first sphere, this stage facilitates the recognition experienced in the second sphere. Due to the fact that individuals interacts with others outside their primary social sphere, actions are then a result of arbitrary impulses based

¹¹² Ibid, 104

¹¹³ Ibid, 116

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ Ibid

on legal relations, rather than affective relations. In order for subjects to protect their right to independence, a concept of a legal recognition must take place, which supersedes the mere good will of individuals¹¹⁷¹¹⁸.

3.3.5 Second sphere of recognition: Legal recognition

Legal rights as a form of recognition is somewhat different from affective recognition, although they tend to share the same social patterns. According to Mead and Hegel, the connection between these two forms of recognition lies in understanding ourselves as beings of rights. That is, if we recognize the normative duties towards each other. Mead bases the 'generalized others' on a shared normative perspectives, which teaches us to recognize members in the community as legal persons. In this way, individuals would comprehend each other as right holders, in the sense that each of their claims should be socially fulfilled. For instance, Mead states that with the concept of the generalized other, subjects will be recognized as legitimate members of community, based on their participation in labor. Through work participation, individuals are related to the basic orders of cooperative rights and duties¹¹⁹. To make Meads account relevant for modern society, Honneth refers to T.H Marshall's understanding of the historical development of the modern constitutional state. Today, modern judiciary system have been extended with various categories of rights. It is also equipped with a sense of universal moral principles, which should extend to every humans. However, it is fair to say that this is not the case for all modern societies, even though they subscribe to the non-binding universal declaration of human rights. Back to Honneth's comments on Marshall, only when the judicial system are preconditioned by universal moral principles, can it be understood as the shared will of the citizens universal interests. As such, it can no longer allow exceptions and privilege to other members of society¹²⁰. When individuals obey the same law, they will see each other as autonomous and independent subjects. Through mutual recognition, they will also presuppose that each one is capable of making rational judgements based on moral norms. These ideas led Honneth to ask two questions concerning the structural feature of legal recognition, under the characteristics of modern constitution.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 106, 114

¹¹⁸ Fleming & Finnegan, 2010: 4

¹¹⁹ Honneth, 2007: 118-119

¹²⁰ Ibid, 124-125

First and foremost, the form of recognition that gives all members of the legal community the same autonomy must be described. Hegel said that the universal form of respect can no longer be understood as an attitude of emotion¹²¹. It should rather be understood as a purely cognitive deliberate action, which sets boundaries on emotional impulses. In this context, he points at the emotional feeling of respect, in which he understood in two ways. On the one hand it departs from the feelings of sympathy and affection, while on the other hand it controls individual behavior¹²². Thus, respect is seen as the emotion that guides our affective impulses, in the intersubjective interactions in community. Secondly, Honneth emphasizes that there exist two types of recognition in this social sphere; legal recognition and social appreciation. Already elaborated, the former concerns the legal rights of subjects by virtue of being a member of a community. While the latter is based on a social system of values, where subjects measure each other's abilities, which makes them distinct from one another¹²³. In this latter form, the essential matter of mutual recognition is based on the characteristic of a system of values. Therefore, one can only base a person's specific abilities through these systems. This can be understood as a social dimension of legal recognition. In turn, this can impact society in the sense that citizens do not need to belong to a particular community, in order to gain mutual respect¹²⁴. Since the former type of recognition is concerned with the legal rights of individuals, societal constitutions ensure the integrity of their legal rights as persons. For instance, the insurance of refugees as right holders in Norway as equal citizens, protects them from exclusion by the constitution. However, if there is evidence of juridical marginalization, appeals to higher forms of constitutions can be made, in order to correct the denial of rights¹²⁵. The differences between the legal and social dimension of recognition is evident, where the former is better positioned to have their recognition respected by all members of society.

Taking all of this into account, one must assume that there are members or groups in community or society that would act against the legitimate legal order. As a result, the institutionalization of the freedom of legal rights is in a constant process of innovation, which brings forward new categories and subjective rights. This can be seen as a protective response to those who act against the legal order. Two factors are necessary in order to act as a morally

¹²¹ Ibid, 119

¹²² Ibid, 128

¹²³ Ibid, 122-123

¹²⁴ Ibid, 122-123

¹²⁵ e.g. Universal declaration of Human rights,

accountable person. One is the legal insurance from authoritarian invasion on the person's freedom. The other is a legal guarantee and option, to participate in the formation of the shared will in public relations¹²⁶. However, in modern society, this can only be possible if individuals have achieved a certain standard of living. Throughout history, one has agreed that cultural education and financial security is a minimum, for individuals to act freely from their rational insights¹²⁷. The mutual recognitions as legal persons in the modern constitutional state, have more comprehensive contents than it had at the beginning of its development. What is also equally important to include, is the extension of the principle of equality in modern rights. Not only did it proliferate contents of legal rights, it also extended in a social sense to include more members of pluralistic societies¹²⁸. Honneth emphasize that legal recognition leads to the fact that individuals comprehends their actions as an expression of their own autonomy, respected by everybody else. In this way, he asserts that self-respect has the same meaning as self-confidence in the primary social sphere¹²⁹. Legal rights can be understood as symbols of social respect. While love evokes the mental foundation of individuals, to trust their own desirous impulses, self-respect creates an awareness in that individuals respect themselves, since they deserve the respect of others¹³⁰. Through the development of the basic legal rights, self-respect has taken its desirable shape, while holding that moral accountability makes up the core of a person who deserves this. For this reason, Honneth suggests that the practical relation of legal recognitions, can be seen as self-respect. However, justifying the empirical existence of self-respect is only possible in principle, its counterpart, the lack of respect is more visible in old and modern history¹³¹.

3.3.6 The third sphere of recognition: Social appreciation as recognition

The second sphere of recognition which is concerned with the intersubjective relation of legal persons, takes place in the third sphere. This level supersedes the former because it is involved with the social appreciation and valuation of all members of society. Honneth states that to achieve an uninterrupted form of intersubjective relation, individuals needs to be socially appreciated and not only feel the experience of affective devotion and legal

¹²⁶ Ibid, 126

¹²⁷ Ibid, 126-27

¹²⁸ Ibid, 127

¹²⁹ Ibid, 128

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹ Ibid, 130

recognition¹³². In this way, individuals would positively recognize each other's abilities and skills through valuation¹³³. To illustrate, if Norway is to be described as a society that recognizes its citizens with social appreciation, the recognition of its member's abilities and skills is vital for the individuals' self-realization. Recalling Hegel and Mead, the former talks about reciprocal valuation as a form of recognition, through the concept of *Sittlichkeit*. The latter didn't give any clear account on this type of recognition, but it is implicit in his concept of cooperative labor, that some form of recognitions are oriented towards social appreciation or solidarity¹³⁴. In traditional societies, it was mentioned that the social appreciation was concerned with specific features, which distinguishes individuals from one another. In modern societies, social appreciation needs an instrument that can, in a general and intersubjective way, express the differences of the skills between individuals. Society's cultural self-understanding can be seen as the appropriate instrument, which gives the criteria for the social appreciation of individuals¹³⁵.

To understand the ideas of social appreciation and society's cultural self-understanding further, one must take the structural changes of these concepts into account. To elaborate the chief concept first, Honneth states that the first structural alteration in this idea, derives from the changes in the social concept of honor¹³⁶. In traditional society, honor was perceived as the relative standard of social reputation. A person can achieve honor if he habitually fulfill the collective expectations of behavior that is ethically bound to a person's social status. When social appreciation is organized after this traditional order, its form of recognition can be described as internally symmetrical¹³⁷. This means that social appreciation will be a form of recognition experienced inside specific groups, rather than being spread throughout society¹³⁸. Honneth defines traditional society as a vertical and culturally stylized order. Reciprocal valuation may exist internally in the different groups, but externally, social appreciation exists in an asymmetrical relation in society. Historically, frictions between different "status groups" was a result of this hierarchical order of society. With a transition to

¹³² Ibid, 130

¹³³ Ibid

¹³⁴ Ibid, 99

¹³⁵ Ibid, 131

¹³⁶ Ibid, 132

¹³⁷ Ibid, 133

¹³⁸ Ibid

modernity, not only did the social appreciation get liberated from this order, but the order itself was submerged into a long and conflictual structural process¹³⁹.

Honneth also pointed to the fact that in modern society, social appreciation of members is not only a matter of legal recognition, but also a matter of social and intersubjective recognition. To exemplify, Honneth says that individuals can only feel itself “valuable”, if they know that their achievements and accomplishments are recognized. These social achievements should also be a unique feature of the individuals own creation. Social appreciation is then oriented towards the abilities and skills of individuals. This opens up new sets of characteristics for modern society’s cultural self-understanding, where individualization is a key factor¹⁴⁰. Today, it is the pluralism of values that shape the cultural frame of orientation. This makes today’s society more externally symmetrical in the relations between cultural groups. Honneth argues that, the more vertical orders weaken for the benefit of horizontal orders, the stronger will social appreciation emphasize individualizing traits and produce symmetrical relations¹⁴¹. As Norway developed into a democratic state, the society's cultural self-understanding is more or less symmetrical, because of its diversity of cultural group. However, the fact that achievements and skills resides in the social and not legal sphere, the shared framework of the social appreciation is contentious. For instance, in the introduction of this thesis, it was mentioned that ethnic nationalists didn’t value the culture and/or belief of certain immigrant minorities¹⁴².

Recalling the contemplation of the concept of honor, in modern society, the social status no longer follows this traditional concept of social appreciation. Instead, Honneth states that honor has been replaced with concepts like social ‘prestige’ or ‘reputation’¹⁴³. In this way, individuals can decide each other's individuals achievements separated from their specific groups. Their societal value are no longer bounded to internal appreciations of cultural groups. People will rather be valued as autonomous individuals in virtue of being a member of society. Social honor is thus a diluted concept, altered to the idea of social prestige, as a result of historical struggles¹⁴⁴. The meaning of prestige or reputation is now just the degree of social recognition of the individual’s way of self-realization. This is a form

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 134-135

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 133-135

¹⁴² Berg, R & Eisenträger, S. 2017, ‘*Det Hvide Raseriet: Møt Europas høyreekstreme*, Verdens Gang, p. 21

¹⁴³ Ibid, 135

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 135

of recognition, earned through the contribution to the realization of society's abstract goals (Ibid). However, all of these social concepts creates tensions in the modern forms of social appreciation, which makes it an object of cultural conflict over time. Although a pluralism of values leads to the appreciation of individualization, there is no guarantee of social appreciation. Honneth says that there is always a need for a second practical interpretation of society's goals, before they can be deployed as a criteria for valuation in social life¹⁴⁵.

Society's abstract goals doesn't make up the general frame of reference. On the contrary, it always needs to be specified through cultural interpretations, in order to be utilized in the third sphere of recognition. If modern society cannot be understood this way, Honneth says that the social appreciation is placed under a permanent struggle. With the use of symbolic violence, different groups attempts to increase the value of their abilities, which are connected to their way of life. Oppressed groups have demonstrated against this type of behavior. The better they succeed in social movements to aware the public of their neglected collective abilities, the bigger the possibility they have to increase their member's social value¹⁴⁶. Also, since social appreciation is indirectly connected to the distribution of wealth, economical conflict is also contributing to this form of struggle for recognition¹⁴⁷.

Taken all of this into account, Honneth concludes that individualization in the third sphere of recognition also changes the individual's practical relation to itself. Social respect which individuals attains in line within the cultural standard they appreciate, must not only be awarded to the particular collective, but be a positive relation to the individual itself¹⁴⁸. Under these changing conditions, emotional trust can be the foundation of intersubjective relations in society. From their self-confidence and self-respect, individuals recognizes each other as valuable members of the larger society. Additionally this mutual recognition suggests that every individual can produce accomplishments or hold skills that is valuable to society. In its colloquial sense, this form of practical self-relation can be called self-esteem¹⁴⁹. Joined with self-confidence and self-respect, all three forms of practical relation, can be called self-valuation. In the extent that all members of society can appreciate themselves in this way, we can talk about a post traditional state of societal solidarity. Since every member of the various

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 135

¹⁴⁶ given than their social value was low or unequally distributed.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 136

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 137

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 138

cultural groups will live in a symmetrical relation in society, it is fair to term this state of affair in as solidarity¹⁵⁰. From this perspective, understanding integration from Honneth's third stage of recognition requires a society that presupposes a pluralistic cultural self-understanding. This is line with the appreciation of the individuals' self-realization in a legal and social sphere. It remains to be seen if this is the case in the Norwegian society. If not, a claim for recognition can be rectified in order to correct the alleged misrecognition. To argue for this, a look into Honneth's understanding of contempt might shed some light.

3.3.7 Honneth's three understanding of contempt; Psychic death, social death and infringement

Throughout this presentation of Hegel's recognition theory, the experience of contempt have been signaled in relation to integration, intergroup relation between Norwegians and refugees, and some comments about the experience of misrecognition. This latter experience of degradation can be argued in all of the three stages of recognition, because it is intimately linked to the crippling of a person's identity¹⁵¹. In affective recognition, the experience of contempt is understood as "psychic death", which Honneth view as a loss of self-confidence¹⁵². The breach of trust experienced during interaction with others harms the individual's intersubjective relation to the social reality. This means that the actions of individuals will be regulated by the feeling of shame or rage. Additionally, the loss self-confidence will cripple of individuals autonomy, as people will act according their negative emotional experience¹⁵³. Contempt experience in legal recognition is understood as "social death"¹⁵⁴. This form is characterized by the degradation of an individual's moral self-respect. It is the same as perceiving an individual as a morally unaccountable person in society. This contempt is connected to the exclusion of people through rights and constitutions¹⁵⁵. In history, one can exemplify this by pointing to the systematic discrimination and marginalization of African-American minorities in USA. In present days, similar instances have also occurred (and still is) for the LBGTQ-community in many countries. This misrecognition of individuals as right-holders is thus connected to the loss of self-respect¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 140

¹⁵² Ibid, 142, 144

¹⁵³ Ibid 141

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 144

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 142

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

The last form of contempt is understood as an infringement to the individuals or groups social value. Honneth argues that misrecognition in this stage, that is, injuries and insults expressed towards a group or culture, is the same as depriving individuals their possibility to give social value to their skills¹⁵⁷. This means that the goals and aims that is not conceived as socially appreciated in society, cripples the individual's ability of self-realization. If a certain group is excluded because society doesn't value their aspirations, individuals belonging to this group will have lesser possibilities to excel in society. This will affect the individuals self-esteem not only in society at large, but also within its cultural groups, as they acknowledge that their value will hold them back if they are to realize their aspirations. Honneth states that the recognitions which individuals have acquired in their groups, is perceived as less worth in larger society, given that the general social value system excludes certain groups¹⁵⁸.

The two latter forms of contempt is different from the first, because Honneth emphasizes that they are subjected to historical change¹⁵⁹. What this means is that, the experience of being denied rights and infringement, can instigate a social and political movement that seeks to restore their social integrity. The reason for why the first form of contempt, "psychic death", isn't subjected to historical change, is because of its emotional character. The experience of shame or torture will always lead to the loss of self-confidence, no matter the historical or cultural frame¹⁶⁰. One could argue that the individual's experience of psychic death can motivate to social or political movement. However, it will always be conditioned by the political – and cultural environment that can transform the individual's degradations to a political-moral sentiment¹⁶¹¹⁶².

3.3.8 Discussing Honneth's theory of recognition

Honneth's theory of recognition can be summarized as way to view how the individuals intersubjective relations has the potential to maintain and protect everyone's social integrity. In a modern democratic state, society is characterized by pluralism which is evident in the diversity of cultural groups. In such societies, Honneth suggests that the social order needs to be horizontal, in order for its members to experience recognition and maintain the solidarity.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 143

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 142

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 147-148

¹⁶² McNay, 274

However, this postulation can be threatened if certain individuals or groups, express contempt in such a way that it affects the self-relations of individuals. In these cases, Honneth have been criticized of being to “monistic and subjectivist”, when he says that all major social conflicts and the conflicts over distribution of goods and wealth, is always depended on a struggle of recognition¹⁶³¹⁶⁴. Nancy Fraser argues against the recognition theory’s focus on cultural and symbolic struggles over identity. Unwarranted claims might strengthen the economic inequality and reinforce repressive forms of injury¹⁶⁵. If the warrants of claims is not in line with distributive justice, it might backfire and increase the differences between the cultural groups. To answer this critique, Honneth argues that the categorical framework of his theory, is better equipped to deal with the link between the “*social cause of wide-spread feelings of injustice and the normative objectives of emancipatory movements*”¹⁶⁶. There is a psychological and moral aspect behind the motivation of a struggle for recognition, in which Honneth argues that his theory detects. The emancipation of individuals involve more than the redistribution of resources and goods. It also involves the freedom from contempt that restrains an individual's identity formation. Though nobody can guarantee that individuals will never experience infringements in their course of life, they have a social and legal right to realize their objectives without restraint. In Fleming & Finnegan's study on adult education in Ireland, they conclude that pursuing Honneth’s theory of recognition, is a process of identity formation. After the individuals acquired higher education, the increase of self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem were enhanced¹⁶⁷. By the experience of recognition, individuals boosts their self-relations in the sense that their self-realization and social integrity, sustains a positive development for identity formation.

Another scholar, Melvin Rogers, criticizes Honneth’s theory of recognition of being paradoxical. Rogers argues that individuals constructs their struggle for recognition through the vocabulary of their oppressor. Moreover, he asserts that “*They become active participants in their own domination, alienating themselves from their capacity of constructing the symbols through which they understand themselves*”¹⁶⁸. For Rogers, if one focuses too much on the categorical framework of social struggles, one can miss the point of other possible

¹⁶³ Fleming & Finnegan, 2010

¹⁶⁴ McNay, 2008: 283

¹⁶⁵ Ibid

¹⁶⁶ Fleming, 2016: 14

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 22

¹⁶⁸ Rogers, 2009: 192

forms of struggles. He exemplifies this by referring to the oppression of the African-American communities when they were marginalized and excluded. The forms of cultural chants and various forms of music in general, kept alive the social integrity of individuals¹⁶⁹. Even if Honneth is correct when he points to the feeling of disrespect and marginalization as threatening for the psychological integrity of an individual, Melvor got a point when Honneth doesn't say anything about other forms countermeasures.

3.3.9 Relevance for integration

During my fieldwork, I discovered that 50 % of the refugees whom I interviewed found the integration system in Norway difficult. The other 50 % were ambiguous about the framework, saying that it has its advantages and disadvantages. 75 % of the interviewed agreed that much more needs to be done on integration. 25 % acknowledged that there is a lot being done, but expressed that more can be done. Through the introductory act, refugees have the right to education, followed by experience in the labor market through work-training. During this 2 year period, the idea is that refugees would be better equipped for further development, either by getting general education or employment in the labor market. Regarding the background chapter, it was asked if this strategy is sufficient for refugees to “feel integrated” in the Norwegian society. In relation to the work done by the Red Cross on reducing group bias, the relevance of Honneth’s theory of recognition arises. Either by viewing integration as a form of struggle for recognition, or by discussing Honneth’s critiques by Melvor and distributive Justice.

The argument of this thesis is that recognition theory is relevant for the research questions, if the type of activities like the refugee-guide can contribute positive intergroup relation and the creation of a shared will. Finding a common social framework may be a difficult task. In modern democratic societies, individuals are protected by universal moral principles. However animosities between groups still exist in one form or another. Thus the relevance of Honneth’s concepts of the practical self-relation, social integrity and identity formation, is important for the identification of potential struggles. Can it be that struggling refugees lack any of the self-relations, in order for them to realize their ends? In what way can Norwegians misrecognize refugees and thus jeopardize their psychological integrity? If this is the case, the refugee-guide program attempts to better the social relations between these

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 193

groups, through practical and social intersubjective relations. In what way can this affect the group relation in the broader social context?

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In terms of the methodological framework chosen for this thesis, this chapter will contemplate on the research design and fieldwork process. First, I want to argue why I chose the Red Cross' refugee-guide program as the organization to study. After that, I will present my fieldwork and go into detail in the process. At last, I will present and discuss the use of semi-structural interview and secondary analysis. I will also underline how they relate to my fieldwork throughout the exposition of the methods. There will also be some comments and considerations on ethical issues, which were faced in the fieldwork and research methods.

4.2 Background

There exist many volunteer organizations in Tromsø that creates arenas for interactions between refugees and locals. One of these is the refugee-guide program, a volunteer based activity formed by the *resource-group* of the local Red Cross. From 2013 - 2015, I was a participant in the program the first year. In the last year, I was involved with the resource group, which is the engine for the program. They plan and arrange various annual activities, were they invite the 'links' to join and participate. For the sake of the thesis, I quit the resource-group since I wanted to give an objective as possible view of the study. There is no doubt one could question my bias and the objectivity of the study. However, being an insider doesn't necessarily mean that one is blinded from taking a neutral stance. As Dwyer pointed out, researchers, being aware of their position as a researcher, cannot fully be an insider or outsider¹⁷⁰. I will discuss some of this later, in light of the insider-outsider discourse. In the beginning of planning the fieldwork, I wanted to study the refugee-guide program and another activity by Norsk Folkehjelp called 'language-café'. I only managed to build communication with the Red Cross and couldn't get in touch with the people behind language-café. Be this as it may, I considered the program in the Red Cross an adequate representation of these types of arena. Thus, I hoped to extract sufficient information and data in the re-analysis of my fieldwork, on the interactions between refugee and guide.

¹⁷⁰ Dwyer & Buckle, 2009: 61

4.3 Study area

The fieldwork took place in Tromsø during 2 weeks and a room was booked in the public library. In one occasion, I had to improvise the location since the room was occupied at the time, which took place in a nearby café. Choosing Tromsø was mainly due to practical reasons, but other cities or places was also a possibility. In addition, I had also gotten in contact with the local Red Cross' refugee-guide program, which had been active in Tromsø for almost 10 years. Although the city have a population flow of ca. 75 000, it is considered as one of the medium sized cities in Norway, and larger cities in the northern region. Despite a relatively low, Tromsø is a vibrant city which holds many volunteer organization that works to better the integration process of immigrants. During the interviews, it appears that the size of Tromsø as a city had some effects on the participant's views. Had other cities been chosen as the study area, maybe answers could have been different or even affected differently.

4.4 Who were the Interviewees?

In May 2016, I acquired a list of 8 possible interviewees from the facilitator of the refugee-guide program. 4 of them were Norwegians which were guides, while the other 4 were refugees from different nations. I asked the facilitator if she could ask participants in the program, if someone would like to partake in my study. As an incentive, they would get a gift-card from the cinema to use as a part of their activities. Specifically, I asked for links which were close or about to finish their programs. Every individual was linked to their respective counterparts, which I hope would give me a wider scope of the experiences during the program. By getting information from both participants, the accuracy of the information could be better measured. All of the links were completely different from one another and they were put together, systematically, by the coordinator of the program. The links were described as followed: 1) Family link, 2) Men and 3) Older woman - young man. The first link consisted of two families, the second link contained two men and the third link consisted of an older woman and younger man. Out of 8 participants, there were 5 men and 3 woman, 2 older aged adults, 5 middle aged adults and 1 young man.

In august 2016, I agreed to meet 7 of the interviewees in a booked room in the public library of the city. One additional meeting took place in a café, since the room in the library was not an option at that time. Each interview lasted about 30 min while following an interview-guide as a template. Questions were divided into four parts concerning 1) intergroup relations, 2) language and communication, 3) social framework and 4) integration.

The last question was formulated as an open question, while the other questions followed a predetermined form. However, many of the questions were followed up by other questions, different for each interviews. In light of this, the characteristics of my interview method can be described as semi-structured¹⁷¹.

4.5 Semi structural interview

Choosing the correct design for the interview is vital for the structure of the thesis. There is a tendency in research that epistemological and ontological stances dictates the methods employed. However, Bryman emphasizes that there is no definite connections between philosophical stances and research methods¹⁷². This means that choosing the design for the research needs to be argued in relation to a theoretical framework. In chapter 5, an analysis of this will be more elaborated. In my study, I decided to use qualitative methods as the primary source, rather than quantitative. This is due to the complexity of the topic of integration. Even if statistics can show the views of individuals and groups, they have difficulty in explaining the meaning behind those views. Rubin & Rubin argue that qualitative methods is the best tool to capture a complex and nuanced world¹⁷³. As a result, I chose semi-structural interview as the primary source for my research, as this could allow me to capture distinct views from individuals. Though the interview-guide was structured with 4 parts and a fixed order of questions, space was made for follow-up questions and probes. Rubin & Rubin asserts that “good answers” in qualitative research, can be characterized by as probing, which is basically the concept of depth and detail¹⁷⁴¹⁷⁵. This was needed in order to get distinct information from every individuals, even if they tend to give the same answers with variations. Bryman asserts that semi-structure interview is characterized by its flexibility and that it gives room for interviewees to frame answers from their viewpoint¹⁷⁶. This was done in my interview, usually when participants gave short answers or when their answers tend to be broad. It allowed me to go into detail or depth on some interesting answers, getting different views on answers that were similar for many participants. Why I didn’t decide to choose other methods like questionnaire or observational studies, is because the latter has an overemphasis on

¹⁷¹ Bryman, 2012: 212

¹⁷² Ibid, 614

¹⁷³ Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 19

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 127

¹⁷⁵ Bryman, 2012: 478

¹⁷⁶ Bryman, 2012: 473

behavior¹⁷⁷. The former cannot probe for questions in order to get a deeper meaning of the answers¹⁷⁸.

4.6 Outline of interview-guide

For the interview-guide, the questions reflected the research questions. In fact, three topics mirrored the research question in this manner:

Research question 1) how can interaction between refugees and locals contribute to positive intergroup relation? This question is concerned with the topic of intergroup relation.

Research question 2) how can language help to mitigate the relationship between refugees and locals? This question is concerned with the topic of language and communication.

Research question 3) can these type of activities contribute to the creation of a common social framework? This question is concerned with the topic of social framework.

The last topic which asked about the participant's viewpoint on integration was formulated in a broad and unstructured way. Recalling the concepts of depth and detail, the question allowed me to pursue on the one hand the depth of their notion on integration, and on the other hand some details about their statements. Though these two concepts overlap, Rubin & Rubin state that detail allows you to understand the unexpected, that minor concern may in fact be major¹⁷⁹. While depth seeks to give a deeper understanding of the participant's view¹⁸⁰. Even if the answers were distinct for each interviewees, many of them still shared the same patterns.

4.7 The process of the interviews

In the beginning of each interview, participants were asked if the conversations could be recorded. In addition, they were made aware of their right to anonymity in the thesis. Only one of the interviewees rejected this request, making the interview depended on notes. Unfortunately, this one interview was not as detailed as the other since it was not recorded. However, some really interesting information was noted and will be elaborated in the findings in chapter 4. Nevertheless, recording was vital for the transcription of the interview.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 283-284

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 234

¹⁷⁹ Rubin & Rubin: 2005, 130

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 130-131

This helped me to transcribe the interviews with accuracy, as some of the interviewers did not have Norwegian as their first language. After informing the participants on recording and anonymity, they were informed about the thesis and what it entailed. They were also asked for any clarification, especially the refugees. Thereafter, they were briefed about the process of the interview and the estimated time. Some interviews exceed the estimated time and others were slightly under. A key aspect of the interviews concerning the refugees, was language since I did not have any translator. This made the interviews depended on my ability to explain the questions. Because of this, I encountered some ethical issues concerning my role as a researcher and their role as interviewers.

4.8. Ethical considerations

In the interviews, the biggest ethical problems faced was first and foremost the Norwegian language. This matter is exclusively a concern for the refugee participants, since they didn't master the language. I also didn't have or knew any translators, so the only option I had left was my ability to formulate the questions. Patience was given in making the questions as sound as possible for the participants. I always made sure they understood the question if they were unsure on the questions. It was important for me to make sure the questions were more structured than normal, although I paid attention to keep the semi-structured form. This means that in some occasion, I asked the interviewees to go into detail, as far as their Norwegian can take them. As expected, some of the refugees struggled and some struggled while still managing to go into detail. Thus, in the interviews with refugees I sometimes relied on probing their answers. Bryman argues that it can become problematic when researchers probes for answers. This is because they can influence the answers from the participants¹⁸¹. The level of reflection was also more obvious at the guides compared to the refugees, because of the language. However, this is not say that they didn't give sufficient answers to questions, as was not the case.

Another consideration to take into account is the insider-outsider discourse. The fact that I used to be involved with Red Cross places me in the insider perspective more than its counterpart. There are several advantages for being an insider in areas such as data collection, analysis, research design and accessing and recruiting participants¹⁸². In the last factor, my connection to the Red Cross have given me the advantage of recruiting participants. When it

¹⁸¹ Bryman, 2012: 223

¹⁸² Hayfield & Huxley, 2015

comes to data collection and research design, my background from the Red Cross and as an immigrant have given me advantage on two points. First, during the collection the data, participants were made aware of my familiarity with the refugee-guide, which could affect the interviewees' perception of me as more than a research. Thus, the 'researcher' vs 'researched' power relations can be less hierarchical¹⁸³. However, as Hayfield & Huxley points out, breaking down this barrier can be a disadvantage, as ethical issues might rise if the interviewee doesn't see the interviewer as a researcher¹⁸⁴. Second, being an immigrant myself could potentially also affect the participants' formulation of answers. On the other hand, the fact that they were within a research environment might also have similar effects. Second, the advantages of being an insider when forming research design have its points, by formulating nuance and meaningful questions¹⁸⁵. Formulating the interview questions was partly influenced by my interest in the topic of integration, as well as inside information about the refugee-guide. Since I was familiar with the contents of the program, the advantages was when making and connecting the interview questions relevant to the thesis. The strength of being an outsider, lies in the ability to maintain the objectivity as a research¹⁸⁶. From this perspective, my role as a researcher is more subjective when assessing the research. As Kanuha points out: "*questions about objectivity, reflexivity, and authenticity of a research project are raised because perhaps one knows too much or is too close to the project and may be too similar to those being studied*"¹⁸⁷. What this statement suggests is that my involvement with the Red Cross might question the objectivity of my research, however, if I were an outsider, I might not have the same advantages found in accessing and recruit participants, data collection and research design. This means that being outsider can potentially reduce the researchers chance go in depth in their data collection, have a harder time to recruit participants and more likely to create interview questions that are superficial.

To summarize, the insider/outsider discourse regards my role as a researcher, my past experiences with the program, research design and being an immigrant myself. First, my role as a researcher mostly concerned language and probing for answers when interviewing refugees. When it comes to language, I did not acquired a translator for the refugees, thus weakening their ability to reflect and give more meaning to their answers. However, in

¹⁸³ Ibid, 98

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 92

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 95-96

¹⁸⁶ Hellawell, 2006: 485

¹⁸⁷ Dwyer & Buckle, 2009: 57

general, I had to be flexible in all interviews as participants gave a lot of information. This means that I had to go in depth and detail in some cases, while in other cases I had to make participants stay on track. Second, in the introduction of this chapter, I talked about how I was involved with the Red Cross. I made sure to inform all interviewers about this in the beginning of the sessions. This was to amplify my role as more than a researcher and student, to a person who is familiar with their program. Third, the fact that I was previously involved with refugee-guide eased my approach to the process of research design. Fourth and lastly, being an immigrant, I could potentially affect the interviews. I did not migrate to Norway as a refugee but through family reunion. Language was a concern for me in terms of clear formulation. Even if I'm fluent in Norwegian, it is my second-language. Although I heard some unclear formulations from myself during transcription, I always made sure participants understood my questions.

The design of the qualitative interview was semi-structured, as I pursued to capture the genuine views of the interviewees. An interview-guide was used to maintain order and flow during the sessions. Probing the answers with follow-up questions and asking participants to go in-depth or give more detail was also used. Language was the main obstacle in my interview, especially in the cases of the refugees. However, it was not a hindrance for refugees to answer questions adequately. This semi-structural interview gave me a lot of insights in how programs such as the refugee-guide affects individuals view on intergroup relation, language and social framework. A relevant question to ask then is if it is representative in the broader social context. Some researchers points to the subjectivity of semi-structural interview. It is indeed fair to ask how 8 participants can represent a larger group. To answer this, I will shift my attention on secondary analysis.

4.9 Secondary analysis

In research where qualitative methods seems subjective, secondary analysis are used to support the findings as objective research. To be more specific, it is the analysis of data collected by other researchers, used to solidify findings in one's own research¹⁸⁸. Taken this into account, sample size is an essential matter, because a small size of samples may signal a lack of representativeness. The significance of secondary analysis has many advantage, which includes access to quality data that have been gathered through longitudinal research. In

¹⁸⁸ Bryman, 2012: 312

addition, the researcher is spared for a lot of time and cost, and data's are more representative than usual. Another advantage which Bryman mentions is the opportunity to conduct subgroup-analysis, which is the investigation of deviant subgroups in larger research¹⁸⁹. However, secondary analysis has some pitfalls in the data collected. First of all, it is collected by other researchers, meaning there might be absence of key variables in one's own research. Second, analysis in the form of official statistics can be controversial, since they only record individuals who participates in the surveys. Third, the researched phenomena vary over time, suggesting that reliability of the secondary analysis should constantly be updated. In all, secondary analysis seems to have more advantages than disadvantages¹⁹⁰.

In my own research, I came across a number of reports and statistics relevant for my topic. The most significant of the texts is a large-scale evaluation on the refugee-guide, conducted by Paulsen et al. (2012). The Red Cross in Norway inquired Paulsen et al. to examine and evaluate their program, which the authors published through NTNU (Norwegian University of Science and Technology). In the report, they utilized different methods in their data collection technique. They used two large-scale surveys and several in-depth interviews of program-participants, coordinators, and employers in 5 municipalities which cooperated with the Red Cross on the program. First, the report emphasizes that through the program, the Norwegian language is enhanced for refugees¹⁹¹. Second and most relevant for my own research, is how the program shape the relationship between the subjects, which in turn positively affects their view on each other's background, community, groups and culture (Ibid). Paulsen et al. underlines that this positive effect on each other is reciprocal. Other texts to mention is an investigation conducted by the Norwegian government on '*Integration and Trust*' (2017) by Brochmann et al, a report on Norwegians attitudes to immigration by Blom (2015) and Aftenposten's survey in 2017, which suggests that 1/3 of the Norwegians believes that immigrants threatens Norwegian culture.

The second report by Brochmann et al. stems from the Norwegian governments department of security and service organisation (G.S.S.O), which have the title '*Integration and Trust: Long-term consequences of high immigration*'. This report focuses on other topics such as migration and immigration, economic consequences of immigration, how

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 314

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 327

¹⁹¹ Paulsen et al.: 2012, 10

immigration effects the welfare system and most importantly, solidarity and trust in society. This latter topic is relevant for my research since it focuses on how immigration affects the social, cultural and political climate in Norway. In addition, they will discuss how to reduce polarization between conflicting groups and enhance the feeling of safety and fellowship in society¹⁹².

In the third report by Svein Blom, he studied the attitudes of Norwegians on immigrants and immigration. It is based on a survey conducted by Statistics Norway in July and August 2015. Their sample size was 2000 were age difference ranged from 16 to 79. Most of the questions in the survey have been the same since 2002. In this report, a number of topics are covered through discussions and statistics. Relevant for my research, are the examination on the attitudes of Norwegians on topics like, the contribution by immigrants on culture, solidarity and community. Another relevant feature is the examination on the Norwegians interaction with immigrants¹⁹³.

The fourth and last statistic in the secondary analysis was conducted by an agency called Response Analysis in February 2017, on an enquiry by the newspapers Aftenposten and Adresseavisen. The newspapers wanted to look into the idea of “the populist wave”¹⁹⁴ through topics such as immigration. They asked an agency to conduct a large scale interview, which they did by phone, asking 1000 interviewees on their views on immigration. The main question was if the participants believed immigration posed a threat to the Norwegian culture. For my research, the relevance of this statistic is highlighted in the attitudes of Norwegians on immigration. Some variables are emphasized in the survey, such as the beliefs of younger vs older peoples, beliefs in large cities vs smaller cities and rural areas, and the beliefs in different political parties.

4.9.1 Thoughts and considerations on secondary analysis

All of the data in the reports and official statistics are gathered by other researchers, which have both similar and different goals like in my own study. On the one hand, key variables in my research are presented as fragments in their studies. This means that it is only covered through chapters, rather than being the main focus of their research. I have yet to find a complete report, research or any evaluation on intergroup relation between Norwegians and

¹⁹² Brochmann et al.: 2017: 161

¹⁹³ Blom, 2015: 4

¹⁹⁴ Aftenposten, 2017

refugees. However, covered through the chapters as fragments in the reports chosen for analysis, the findings in my study are supported and embedded in the reports. This will be much more elaborated in the following chapter. Another point to consider is the size of the samples in the surveys and statistics. This is only a matter for 3 of the texts and is most concerned with the last two. As Bryman pointed out, the agencies only asked those who participated in the surveys. If Statistics Norway and Response Analysis asked a more significant number of people, the outcome could be different. If Paulsen et al. studied more than 5 municipalities, their evaluation could be different. For this reason, the representativeness of this study can be questioned. However, asking five million, five hundred thousand or fifty thousand subjects for the sake of representativeness, is time consuming and costs a lot¹⁹⁵. A solution to this, is to have a consistent longitudinal study with similar questions over time. In Blom's reports, he asserts that Statistics Norway have been using a lot of the same questions, since 2002, in their 2015 edition of the statistics¹⁹⁶. For Aftenposten and Adresseavisen however, Norwegians believing if immigrants poses a threat to Norwegian culture, might change in the following months. Taking all this into account, secondary analysis works as a strong support for primary sources. In the case of my research, with a sample size of 8, the longitudinal studies in the reports which shows similar findings, helps the objectivity of my study.

4.10 Conclusion

Choosing the correct research method was a constrained process. In the beginning, I mentioned that Norwegian People's aid (Norsk Folkehjelp) was also in my radar, but I couldn't get in touch with them. As a result, I turned my attention to secondary analysis as a support and control for my findings. Fortunately, it turned out that there existed studies that touches on topic of intergroup relation between refugees and Norwegians. All of the reports covers various topics on the subject of immigration and integration, but intergroup relation is fairly presented as one of the main topics.

¹⁹⁵ Bryman, 2012: 320, 322

¹⁹⁶ Blom, 2105: 7

5. Findings, analysis and discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the analysis and discussion of the findings from the fieldwork. Chiefly, the results will be elaborated through the research questions in an orderly fashion. Here, some statements from the interview objects will be highlighted and compared, in order to give a picture on the experiences and effects from the refugee-guide. Afterwards, the findings will be analyzed and compared to the reports conducted by Paulsen et al., who evaluated the refugee-guide in 2012. Although there is a 5 year span between this research and their study, the goal is to find consistent patterns that can objectify the findings in this thesis. After analyzing and comparing the research questions, the attention will be turned to the discussion of the results, by referring to the other research in the secondary analysis. The aim of the debate is to reflect on the broader impact the refugee-guide might have the integration framework. Additionally, the theoretical framework in this thesis will also be referred to, as shown in the previous chapter. At last, the problem statement will be emphasized and discussed in relation the research questions.

5.2 Findings from the study; Research question 1)

In the first research question, the goal was to find how refugees and locals can contribute to a positive intergroup relation. The content of the refugee-guide is a one to one relation between individuals. Each pair is called a “link” and lasts up until 1 years which was shown in the previous chapter. The object of study is the content in this 1 year-long interaction, specifically the relations involved with the concept of intergroup relation. In this examination, intergroup relation is divided into four categories, which are:

- 1) Frequency of meeting
- 2) Experience from the meetings
- 3) Introducing their link to family/friends
- 4) The effects of the refugee-guide

5.2.1 Frequency of meeting

The first category concerns how often the links met, which was more or less customized by the links themselves. Though the refugee-guide program recommended to meet as often as possible, it led to different interpretations. Most of the links met occasionally every second week and only one of them met each week. One of the Norwegian interviewers also said that: *“In the beginning, we met every week. Now it’s looser as we have initiated a friendship relationship. It’s more like meeting each other impulsively just like we do with other friends”*. This is consistent with the evaluation conducted by Paulsen et al., as they found that most of the links (48%) met occasionally 1 time each week¹⁹⁷. Establishing a stable pattern of meeting is, of course, vital for the consistency of the relationship. As exemplified with the statement above, some of the relationship has transformed into friendship.

5.2.2 Experience from meetings

The second category is related to the first, and is concerned with the contents of the meetings. Here, there is a huge variation because of the nature of informal social relationships and the different types of links. For the refugees, they emphasized the importance of being social and practicing their language. Food was also a common topic that were used as a means of getting to know each other's cultural cuisines. All of the refugees gave minimal data about the contents of the meetings compared to their guides. This is due to two reasons: 1) language did not suffice to describe most of their activities in detail and 2) the expectations of activities weighed more on the shoulders of the locals. To argue for this, the findings shows that the locals invested a lot of resources in their roles as guides, which is to orient the refugees in the local society. Three of the guides explained how they have assisted their links with understanding and creating a CV. One of the guides helped her refugee with the driving certificate and another guide helped his link to understand his tax settlement notice. Otherwise, the activities has been everything from going to cafés and cinemas, to fishing and arranging birthdays for the children.

¹⁹⁷ Paulsen et al., 2012: 57

5.2.3 Introduction of link to family/friends

Building a positive intergroup relation is, according to the contact hypothesis, having a positive relationship despite differences in group characteristics, such as background, culture and aesthetics. In turn, this newfound perception of the perceived out-group is too be projected on the members of the out-groups. This signals to the idea that the more an individual meets members of the out-group in a positive light, the more that view is strengthened¹⁹⁸. The third category is relevant for this reason, in which almost all of the interviewees, except one refugee, said that they introduced their link to family members or friends. However, one refugee who introduced the guide to his family, admitted that he hesitated to introduce the guide to his friends. This only shows that the expectations are different and that the roles of both guides and refugees are unclear, as Paulsen et al. notes¹⁹⁹.

5.2.4 Effects from the refugee-guide: Refugees' view on locals

The fourth category regards the effects of the refugee-guide on the participants view on each other. Previously held views have been investigated, were some factors can be emphasized as follows: Two of the refugees had little contact with Norwegians in their everyday life, while the other two had contact with Norwegians occasionally during work and in work-practice. In addition, their perception of Norwegians in general were mixed, were two of them expressed that Norwegians were not extroverts and social, unless one gets to know them. The other said that Norwegians were great and inclusive, further asserting that they did a lot of work on integration, especially in Tromsø. These factors are subjective in nature. One of the refugees who said he had a said that Norwegians were inclusive also stated:

“I believe Norwegians are socially introverted. Not because they necessarily are like that, but because in the history, they have are used to live alone which makes it normal. I believe that Norwegians in the future will be more open. It can be difficult for immigrants to rapidly integrate themselves into society (since Norwegians are introverted), but I also think Norwegians understands that.”

The other refugee who shared a lack of contact with Norwegians perceived them as non-social. According to these factors and beliefs about Norwegians, the research asked if the refugee-guide eased their contact with Norwegians. Two of the refugees state that it didn't have any influence, while the other two said yes. One even expressed that it indeed made it

¹⁹⁸ This hypothesis has not been described in any detail earlier, just mentioned.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 63

easier for him to speak with other Norwegians, emphasizing that he got to know others as a result of the refugee guide. According to Paulsen et al., the positive effects for the refugees experienced in the program is divided between development in language skills and learning more about Norwegian tradition and culture²⁰⁰. A large-scale evaluation about increased positive intergroup relation does not unfortunately exist. In this thesis, it can only be speculated through the data and will be discussed in relation to the theory chapters. For the locals however, the findings shows different patterns, leaning towards optimistic effects.

5.3 Contact

Before being a guide, two of the locals didn't have contact with refugees or immigrants on a regular basis. Their only place to meet and interact with immigrants was at the Red Cross. The other two locals however, had immigrants in their neighborhood and even had contact with refugees through the children's school²⁰¹. Although, their beliefs about refugees were slightly similar, two of the Norwegians said that they viewed refugees as resourceful people that are future contributors to society. The other two differed, were one local highlighted the politeness and kindness of refugees and the other local had a good impression of immigrants in general. Furthermore, three of the Norwegians mentioned the refugee crisis as catalyzer for joining the program, whereas one underlined that she always wanted to volunteer and the crisis hastened her decision. Another also highlighted the richness of helping people, saying that it is meaningful for her to be a volunteer in the Red Cross. One local didn't mention the refugee crisis, pointing otherwise to the framework and ideas of the refugee-guide as suitable to him. These locals has different backgrounds. Half of them didn't have contact with refugees or immigrants on a regular basis, while the other half had more or less contact with them. 3/4 mentioned the refugee crisis as a motivator in joining the program and one mentioned the idea behind the refugee-guide. What they all have in common, is maybe the virtue of helping people no matter their background and situation. In this case, the context is integration and inclusion of refugees. These are proactive individuals that didn't want to stay passive during a time in which the crisis in Syria was felt all the way to Norway.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 64-65

²⁰¹ one of the children's classmates had a family which previously had a status as refugee

5.4 Effects from the refugee-guide: Guides' view on immigrants

Be this as it may, did the refugee-guide in some way, affect their views on immigrants in general? When asked about this, $\frac{3}{4}$ locals said that the program had an impact on their views. One of them even stated that *“It hasn't changed but fortified my view. It has given me a confirmation about it, which I actually knew about. Like how the refugees are presented in media, they are not like that and it always becomes wrong.”* One local, who said she didn't get influenced by the refugee-guide said, however, that she became more aware of their (refugees') politeness and kindness. Even though the program may seem one-sided in the sense that the guides are the ones orienting refugees into society, the outcome of the program always seems to benefit both parties. Paulsen et al. made other findings in their large scale survey, on the positive outcomes for the guides during the program. They divided it into three categories, were 75,6 % state that they got increased knowledge about the refugees background, 78,5 % got increased knowledge about other cultures and 80,9 % got increased knowledge about the refugees situations as newly arrived in the Norwegian society²⁰². These are interesting variables because, the mutual relationship allows the Norwegians to get a glimpse of what type of reality refugees used be engaged with. In addition, the Norwegians meets the refugee's cultures in a close encounter and an interactive way. Presented in various activities like storytelling, food, enlightening about customs, norms and traditions. Understanding and acknowledging are two relevant factors in building a positive intergroup relation, which is relevant for the examination of the next research question about a common social framework.

5.5 Findings from the study: Research Question 2)

Recalling the second research question, the emphasis lied on the possibility of a shared social framework amidst the two parties, as a result of interactions between refugees and locals. The idea is that individuals creates and construes their social reality through intersubjective relations, regarding interactionism, based on mutual recognition. Following Honneth's tripartite model of self-relations, if the parties recognizes each other reciprocally, it will affect the individual's self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem. Additionally, they would acknowledge each other's aspirations, despite holding different belief. If social reality is based on misrecognition, that is, interrelations based on contempt against each other's social

²⁰² Ibid, 67

values and legal rights, individuals would struggle to realize their aspirations. The question is then, how do you create and facilitate a social framework in society that support group-solidarity and social integrity for both Norwegians and refugees? First of all, maybe there needs to be a reinterpretation in understanding of the generalized other, that is, the definition of a Norwegian citizen. In what extent are newly arrived refugees Norwegian citizens? Is it fair to subtract the value of the term 'Norwegian', so that citizens alone can represent a neutral stance? Or should 'Norwegian citizen' be the neutral definition of the state's members, and thus represent the generalized other? Second, recognizing new members in society as aspiring and independent citizens, is vital for a mutual relationship based on trust. According to Hegel, affective trust or 'the good will' is vital for attaining mutual recognition in the first stage. Following this, Honneth understands its practical self-relation as self-confidence. This means that, if refugees and Norwegians should engage in the construction of a positive social framework, they need to trust each other as independent and morally accountable individuals²⁰³. Thirdly, recognition also means to appreciate each other's goals in life, as long as it doesn't threatens the aspirations of others. If this can be attained in the third stage of recognition, the social framework in society can be based on solidarity. Can the three forms of recognition be identified or illuminated from the fieldwork of this thesis? That is the goal of this research question. The following discussion will first highlight one category from the fieldwork that is about the comparison of cultures. In turn, the findings will be compared with similar data's from the evaluation by Paulsen et al. At last, the discussion will face the report about by Svein Blom and a survey from Aftenposten.

5.5.1 Similarities and differences

In the fieldwork, interviewees were asked if they could see any similarity or difference between their own and their links' culture. When it comes to similarities, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the refugees in our sample stated that there wasn't much resemblance. One refugee said that there were both differences and similarities. He pointed on parenting as similar, whereas cuisines were totally different. One of the refugees also mentioned that there was some resemblance in the ways of living in their country of origin and that of the grandparents' of the Norwegians. On the opposite side, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Norwegians expressed that similarities existed in certain values such as family relation, safety and security, and employment. $\frac{3}{4}$ also said that there were overt differences such as language. One local emphasized the politeness of her link and another

²⁰³ regarding legal recognition

local even stated that *“I think the differences were on the cosmetic level, only some difference in skin-tone and language. It can be that I'm on the edge now, but I think the difference between us and them (family link) is so marginal that it is not worth to mention”*. The substance of this question isn't only the fact that interviewees should be aware of similarities and difference between cultures. The importance lies in being aware of these factors, while still seeing past cultural characteristics, and treat each other as aspiring individuals. In any case, one could argue that these individuals are conditioned by the refugee-guide framework, thus making them able to see past such circumstances. Yet it is actually such features, important for building a positive intergroup relation, which can be maintained when all individuals have finished their program.

Going back to the first research question, the reports from Paulsen et al. found that the guides' perception on refugees, were influenced by being exposed to their links' cultural background and history. Similar results were found in the fieldwork of this thesis. In the case of refugees, no large-scale surveys were conducted in the report²⁰⁴. However the data found in this thesis indicate that they identified slightly more differences than similarities with their guides. Additionally, two of the refugees mentioned that the refugee-guide didn't ease their approach towards Norwegians, while the other two expressed the opposite. This means that it is difficult to make a firm conclusion about the generated social framework from the refugee-guide. On the one hand, one could argue that the links' attempts to recognize each other as citizens, by seeing past prejudices and differences. In turn, they are more tolerant about each other's self-realizations and aspirations. This suggests that, a social framework shaped in this manner radiates a more inclusive integration process for the refugees. On the other hand, if one can assert that mutual recognition is absent, which can be interpreted from the fact that only the locals seems to have their previously held beliefs influenced by the program. If this is the case, the generated social framework may not affect the intergroup relations between the two groups. If the experience of recognition is only one-sided, a positive intergroup relation seems hard to maintain in the long-run.

5.6 Discussion with the secondary analysis

Hitherto, the focus has only been on the analysis of the research questions and how they reflect the evaluation conducted by Paulsen et al. Attention will now be given to how the

²⁰⁴ Paulsen et al., 2012: 67

research questions are illuminated by the theoretical framework in this thesis. It has been signaled and mentioned in bits and pieces, but a more substantive account needs to be established in order to get a better grasp. However, before this discussion will be presented, a brief background will be given from the report and statistic by Svein Blom and Aftenposten in the secondary analysis.

5.6.1 Attitudes towards immigrants: first category

Chiefly, the annual report on '*Attitudes to immigrants and immigration*' entails several statistics and numbers²⁰⁵. The findings contained in this research are based on 5 categories, where questions and postulations are answered on a Likert scale. 2000 people were asked whereas ca. 1200 responded. Two categories have been chosen as focal points for this discussion, because they seem to reflect the contents of the research questions about intergroup relation and social framework. The first category in his report concerns intergroup relation, specifically measuring the contact frequency that Norwegians have with immigrants. Recapping the fieldwork, only two of the Norwegians had regular contact with immigrants besides the refugee-guide. However, the results found in Blom's report shows that 78 % of respondents said they had contact with immigrants, an increase from 67 % in 2002. Blom asked a supplement question, in which respondents would emphasize the types of arenas where the contacts occurred. Two of the arenas which had significant increase were at 'work' (54 % of respondents, 8 % increase from 2014), and 'friends & acquaintances' (40 % of respondents, 6 % increase from 2014). Other arenas such as 'neighborhood' and 'different way' also showed increases in smaller scales, except from the segment of 'family relations'²⁰⁶. An increase in contact can be interpreted as an increase in interrelation, which can be speculated as a result of the increase of immigration, increase of immigrants in workplace because of the work-training programs or because of the media's exposition of the refugee-crisis, that made people more aware of refugees and immigrants. However, as Blom points out, there is no data or studies that try to find the reasons and values behind this increase²⁰⁷.

In the fieldwork of this thesis, investigating the subject of social arenas, showed positive outcomes and experiences. Here, interviewees were asked how the refugee-guide and Tromsø are perceived as social arenas for integration. To tackle the former, the resource

²⁰⁵ Blom, 2015

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 23, 38

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 39

group is the body in the Red Cross that facilitates the refugee-guide, which is run by volunteers. They create formal activities as an option for links to get together, but are otherwise available for everybody else to attend. Paulsen et al. show that the organization of the refugee-guide is different in different municipalities²⁰⁸. Amongst the Norwegians from the research of this fieldwork, there was a strong inclination towards a positive view on the refugee-guide as a meeting place. In fact, ¾ interviewees expressed this view, while only one was critical about it, saying that: “*Yes, I have an impression that...Since I have been involved with the administrative part above (Red Cross) and gotten several concern (about the refugee-guide), I have an impression that some of the links struggle with that they should do*”. This statement is consistent with the findings in the large-scale study by Paulsen et al., where 57 % of the coordinators offered compulsory training in how to be a refugee-guide in their program, 21 % offered a volunteer training course, 6 % didn't have any offers and the other 15 % offered different types of courses²⁰⁹. Maybe the quality of the courses differs as well. However, there is not enough data on the refugee-guide in Tromsø to assess the quality of the training received. Nevertheless, Paulsen et al. state that the quality of courses leans more to the positive side than negative.

5.6.2 Attitudes towards immigrants: second category

Going back to Blom's report, the second category as is concerned with six postulations. Here, only three statements were relevant, as it express the current social framework in Norway. The statements are as follows: “*most immigrants enriches the cultural life in Norway*”, “*immigrants in Norway should endeavor to be as similar to Norwegians as possible*” and “*most immigrants are a source to insecurity in society*”. To tackle the first statement, 72 % agreed on this postulation, which is a rise by 3 % from the year before²¹⁰. In the second statement, 40 % disagreed and 44 % agreed in 2015. The 4 % gap between the two scales is historically low, however, 44 % of those who agreed is also historically low²¹¹. In the third statement, 57 % disagrees with the postulation, while 26 % agree. The long-term statistics show that those who agree has drastically gone down from 45 % in 2002 to 26 % in 2015. In

²⁰⁸ Paulsen et al., 2012: 23-24

²⁰⁹ Paulsen et al., 2012: 41-42

²¹⁰ Blom, 2015: 15

²¹¹ Ibid, 17

the same period, those who disagreed has gone up from 40 % to 57 %²¹². In other words, there seems to be steady rise in the belief that immigrants does not pose a threat to society.

There seems to be a positive stance on the matter about immigrants enriching the cultural life in Norway. This postulation has had a stable result hovering around 70-80% from 2002 until 2015. This is similar to the findings in the fieldwork of this thesis and the evaluation on the refugee-guide by Paulsen et al. From this, it can be safe to say that most Norwegians are positive towards the cultures of immigrants in general. However, the statistic doesn't elaborate which type of immigrants or if all types of immigrants is the matter of issue. The statement about that immigrants should endeavor to be as similar to Norwegian as possible is controversial. The fact that Norwegians are evidently divided on this matter, only shows the ambiguity and fragility of the integration framework. Additionally, it also depicts the actual social reality in Norway, which shows divisions and disagreements in the subject of immigrants and immigration. The last postulation, on whether immigrants contribute to insecurity in society, is a negative statement. Indications from the results show that most people reduced their perception on immigrants as perilous.

5.7 Does immigration threatens the Norwegian society?

In the latest report from the Brochmann-committee (2017), the main point postulates that high influx of immigration will lead to challenges for the Norwegian state, society and welfare system. In the case of the state, immigrants becoming passive welfare recipients over a long period of time, is not sustainable for the welfare system or the recipients themselves. In addition, these individuals may struggle in the socioeconomic ladder, contributing to socioeconomic inequality. State funded activation program attempts to bridge this, but does not fully address the long-term future of the individual's socioeconomic prospects. This will affect the integration process of newly arrived immigrants and refugees, in a negative way. Therefore, the committee suggests a joint framework approach towards integration, which includes strengthening the social - and cultural capitals of refugees as well²¹³. This second part is concerned with society and community relation, which is one of the main topics of this thesis. In the report from the committee however, they concluded that immigrants were underrepresented in various social arenas in general²¹⁴. However, immigrants do almost as

²¹² Ibid, 16

²¹³ Bourdieu, 1986: 17

²¹⁴ Brochmann et al., 2017: 134-135

much volunteer work as Norwegians, through other arenas such as religious - and ethnic organizations²¹⁵. If these findings are true, that immigrants are nearly as active as Norwegians despite being minority, then maybe the sector of volunteerism is underestimated as an instrumental strategy for integration.

Within the majority, not everyone is satisfied with immigrants in their community²¹⁶. As a matter of fact, a statistic found in the newspaper *Aftenposten*, showed that 1/3 of the Norwegians believe that immigration threatens the Norwegian culture²¹⁷. Among the Norwegians who believe this, there is a tendency that those who believe this, live in rural areas, male, of the older generation and adheres to the right in the political spectrum. Those who reject this tend to live in cities, from the younger generation and adheres more to the left in the political spectrum. However, one could interpret the statistic in another way. There are more men, elderly, people from rural areas and those who adhere to the political right²¹⁸, who believes that immigration doesn't threaten the Norwegian culture. What this statistic only depicts, is the current and ambiguous attitude Norwegians have on the topic of immigrants and immigration, which is consistent with Blom's findings. The Brochmann-committee asserts that Blom's data seems to be stable over time, but that high influx of immigration and the political discourse will fluctuate the data²¹⁹.

According to David Miller, immigration might erode the national-culture, which will lead to the redefinition of the 'common good'²²⁰. He grounds his arguments on the historical process of nation-building based on a shared understanding of culture and the 'common good'. This was a significant part of the nation-building in Norway²²¹. All of this leads the idea that immigrants and immigrations challenges the existing structure and process of nation-building. As a result, some argue that foreigners should adhere to the national identity, that is, support the mainstream-cultures' evolution as a nation-state²²². Consequentially and maybe not intentionally, the perception that some minorities doesn't contribute to the national-culture, or that foreign cultures are a threat to the Norwegian-culture, have had negative impacts on the relations between the majority and minority. This has in turn

²¹⁵ Ibid

²¹⁶ Berg, R & Eisenträger, S. 2017, '*Det Hvite Raseriet: Møt Europas høyreekstreme*, Verdens Gang, p. 21

²¹⁷ *Aftenposten*, 2017

²¹⁸ except the Progress party (Fremskrittsparti).

²¹⁹ Brochmann et al., 2017: 169

²²⁰ Armstrong, 2012: 233-34

²²¹ Kymlicka, 2002: 263

²²² Armstrong, 2012: 235

impacted the integrational framework, were refugees experience more challenges because of the negative sentiments.

5.8 Situating the findings in the theoretical framework

So far, this chapter has been occupied with presenting and analyzing the findings from the fieldwork and its substantial account. Other sources have also been used to compare and discuss the data's. Throughout this chapter, bits and pieces has been given about how the research questions relate to the theoretical framework. In the following discussion, the focus will be on how symbolic interactionism and recognition theory, are relevant for the integration framework and process on the local level. The former theoretical framework will be elaborated first, followed by the second theory. Lastly, the theories symbolic interactionism and recognition will be complemented and reflected with the problem statement. The goal is to find out if integration from the bottom-up, can contribute to a positive intergroup relation in the broader social context.

5.8.1 The relevance of symbolic interactionism

Through Herbert Blumer, Mead's descriptive account on the creation of construed social realities took shape as a sound theory. Blumer contributed by emphasizing the interpretive aspect of human communication, during their construction of the world. The fact that people always construes each other's significant symbols and meanings, suggests that social reality emerges from dynamical processes. This theory can be used to explain the state of the relation between refugees and Norwegians, and the created social framework as a result of their interrelation. In the Norwegian history of integration and immigration, one can argue that the turn from using assimilation to integration, is a result of a change in social perception. This has had an impact on the relations between Norwegians and refugees, as well as reshaping the social reality. The positive impacts can be found in the amount of measures and strategies taken in assisting refugees on their socioeconomic – and cultural capital²²³. As a result, Norwegians and refugees have more contact than ever, through arenas such as work, volunteer organizations, schools and from friends and acquaintances. Data in this thesis shows that Norwegians are, overall, more positive than negative towards immigrants. This has given the social framework two realities. In the first, most Norwegians

²²³ Bourdieu, 1986: 17

have come to terms with the circumstance that Norway is a growing multicultural state²²⁴. However, even though Norwegians acknowledge this, not everyone is happy about current situation and the inflow of immigrants. This is due to the belief that the traditional Norwegian culture is being submerged by the wave of multiculturalism, which is the basis for the second reality. For those who adhere to this view, many feel the unease of the influence by foreign cultures in many realms of society. In the political sphere and media, this has led to a debate on the wearing of cultural and religious garments in public, cultural views about gender in schools, the worrying of Islamic fundamentalism and the fear of the disappearance of Norwegian culture.

These two conflicting social realities, is the source for the ambiguous integrational framework in Norway, regarding the previous sub-chapter. On the one hand, everyone agrees that newly arrived refugees should be enrolled in the introductory course, and thus become a resourceful citizen as soon as possible. On the other hand, not everyone agrees on whether refugees should hold their idiosyncratic cultural or religious values, norms and practice, if they conflict with the mainstream-community or Norwegian culture. The problem of having a two-sided social reality, is that it can be entangled with the social perception of refugees and immigrants. If this is the case, the formation of identities for these two groups will be harder than those who dictate their integration process. Choosing to solely interpret and adhere to positive symbols is one thing, but it is difficult if not impossible to hide from negative symbols. This ambivalent relation is what leads volunteer organizations like the Red Cross to create social arenas like the refugee-guide.

Their goal is to affect the intergroup relation between Norwegians and refugees from the local level. Maybe in the long-term, they will succeed in creating a shared social framework. It can be based on the transformation of the Norwegian recreational creed, which seeks to aid and orient newly arrived refugees and immigrants into society. However, those who participates in this type of recreational activity often shares the same values of the organizations. To elaborate on this, the interactionist view on consensus & in society might shed some light. The postulation is that people who joins these organizations identifies with humanity as a whole, as much as they do with members in their distinctive groups. The Red Cross, having a humanist doctrine, suggests that its members are most likely tolerant towards immigrants and foreign cultures. From this, one can suggest that only a select group of people

²²⁴ Brochmann et al., 2017: 165

from the majority is represented as Norwegians. Either way, they will share their experience from the program to their friends, family, acquaintance, if not their respective communities. Maybe these type of organizations contribute to the increases in contact between immigrants and Norwegians, as Blom showed. Maybe, the refugee-guide illustrates the need for more social arenas, which can be beneficial for both Norwegians and immigrants in general. The question is then concerned with how these organizations can persuade other groups from the mainstream-community, to see the value of forming a positive intergroup relation with immigrants and refugees.

5.8.2 The relevance of the theory of recognition

The descriptive account of symbolic interactionism, leads to a set of normative loaded questions. Recalling the theory chapter, symbolic interactionism was narrowed down to a discourse on the relation between micro and macro structures. Here, the postulation was that agents, which belong to the micro level, have the power to affect structures such as institutions on the macro level. The agentic instrument proposed in this thesis, is the critical social theory by Axel Honneth that is concerned with recognition. Honneth strongly believes that recognition is the foundation of intersubjective relations, as a social phenomenon that justifies the significance of forming positive relationships. With mutual recognition, individuals gain the motivation to extend their affiliations. However, in order to do this, they must understand the normative perspectives of each other. By extending their relationships, individuals produce communities that in a larger scale creates the structure of society. Thus, macrostructures such as a society is based on the reproduction of communities, as a result of the moral imperatives of individuals²²⁵. From this point of departure, recognition theory can be deployed to see how feasible it is for refugees to realize their aspiration in Norway.

There are numbers of things one must take into account. First, refugees have migrated, which means that their skills, education, background and previous profession will face assessments by the state on a municipal level (through the introductory program)²²⁶. There is a possibility that they can continue with their profession, given that they have proper documentation and qualified for the highest standard in language²²⁷. Either way, they will be

²²⁵ Honneth, 2007: 101

²²⁶ IMDI, 2016, URL: <https://www.imdi.no/opplaring-og-utdanning/norskopplaring/organisering-og-innholdet-i-opplaringen/>, 15.05.17

²²⁷ Ibid, 'Tilpasset opplæring under organisering i spor' and 'Arbeidsrettet norskopplæring'

enrolled and resettled through the system like everybody else. Second, refugees should or must learn the language of their host-society, which will give them a better position for their self-sustainability. Third, refugees are supported by extensive rights, which exists on a national - and transnational level. These institutional factors enhances the possibilities for refugees to become aspiring citizens in Norway. Viewing this from recognition theory, points to the idea of the practical self-relation of individuals. Not only should measures on integration assist refugees through language and legislation, it also should support the individual's self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem. Entering this territory, integration becomes more complex due to the abstract nature of the self-relations. What does it mean when one talks about the three forms of self-relation when referring to refugees?

Recalling Honneth's contemplation on the stages of recognition through Hegel, the first stage concerned with self-confidence involve mutual recognition by love/devotion. Freedom of independence is grounded in this stage, because without it, individuals will struggle to attain self-confidence. Mutual recognition on this level is based on a reciprocal trust of good will and thus recognizing each other as independent and autonomous beings. Understanding this through the integration framework is a complex matter, because of the Norwegians ambivalent perception on immigrants. If certain groups in the mainstream-community express contempt towards refugees, the feeling of misrecognition will likely come forward. Consequentially, individual refugees might experience a lack of self-confidence, by feeling that they are excluded in society. This will affect the social integrity and identity formation of refugees. In the first case, the experience of distrust and lack of self-confidence affects the refugee's approach to bond with Norwegians. In the second case, the refugee might abstain from identifying with Norwegians, contributing to segregation rather than in integration. Conversely, if groups within the mainstream-community recognizes the refugees' aspirations, such as the refugee-guide, the experience of inclusion will likely increase positive relations between the parties. Thus, the refugees' self-confidence will be enhanced and they will more likely affiliate with being a Norwegian citizen.

In the case of the second stage of recognition, the practical relation of legal recognition is understood as self-respect. When people interacts with each other beyond community level, recognition must take the form as a legislation. This is to protect everyone's right to be recognized as morally accountable persons in society. Understood in this way, Honneth asserts that legal recognition can be transformed to self-respect. Since people created constitutions that protect their rights, it is the same as saying that individuals deserves

the right to be respected, as they respect other's right by adhering to the constitution. Regarding this thesis, if refugees' experiences of the denial of rights and exclusion from the mainstream-community, they still have the right to be recognized as individuals. In turn, despite disagreements and differences between beliefs, people shouldn't be excluded from their right to pursue their self-realization.

In the third stage of recognition, social appreciation is understood as self-esteem in practical relations. Since society is formed by the intersubjective relations and actions, that is, the reproduction of communities, individuals are surrounded with the experiences of self-confidence and self-respect. If these factors defines society, individuals have the prospects of accomplishing and achieving their aspirations, which contribute to their self-esteem. In Norway, society is characterized by democracy, which makes it possible for its citizens to pursue their customized goals. In addition, the values of democracy presupposes a horizontal cultural understanding, which sidelines all culture and beliefs that are in line with democratic values. However, as underlined in the discussion above, some individuals doesn't adhere to this notion, perceiving refugees and immigrants as a threat rather than asset to the mainstream community. These type of relations, despite individuals being recognized through affinity and rights, can contribute the depreciation of the refugee's self-esteem.

5.8.3 Discussing the problem statement with the theoretical framework

Utilizing recognition theory as a framework to understand the intergroup relation between refugees and Norwegians, suggests that integration should not solely be concerned with the socioeconomic capital of refugees, but also a cultural and symbolic dimension through recognition²²⁸. Although the Brochmann-committee emphasize that the latter strategy challenges the mainstream-community's tolerance, it is important to address and explore these issues. The refugee-guide is only one of many strategies in its type that attempts to better the relations between Norwegians and immigrants. How far their goals and aims can affect the larger social context can only be speculated, but they certainly have interesting features for the multicultural future of Norway.

The refugee-guide is a measure and project that explores the multicultural reality, which values the Norwegian and foreign culture equally. They seek to create a positive intergroup relation on the local level, between locals and refugees, in order to shape a

²²⁸ Brochmann et al., 2017: 167

positive social framework in which these two groups can reside in. If such programs can have a significance effect on their respective communities, then it is one step closer to project that reality in the broader social context. The substantiality of this statement lies in the findings of this study, where the refugee-guide seems to have an effect for the perception of maintaining a tolerant society. Although, more can be improved in the program and more studies can be conducted on the immigrants' perception on Norwegians (in general). If the goal of the current integration strategy is to assist newly arrived refugees to settle in society, then the importance of recognition theory can ease the process. In turn, social and cultural barriers that work against refugees needs to be torn down. There is a possibility that social arenas like the refugee-guide, can be an important argument for the extension of recognition and the creation of a society that appreciates the diversity of aspirations.

5.9 Limitations

Understanding the scope of this thesis have its limitations in many ways. The concept of integration is, as presented throughout the thesis, a complex term that is involved with multiple issues. The process of narrowing down what integration is was the hardest part, because it may contribute to de-emphasize other issues relating to integration, such as the economic, language and religious dimensions. First, not enough attention has been given to the justification for why transforming refugees to welfare contributors, is vital for sustaining the welfare state. Maybe recognition theory is too abstract as a goal when applied in practice, whereas redistribution will fit the short-term aims much more. Second, the significance of language was mentioned throughout this thesis and in the findings. The reason why this part was left out, was because of the emphasis on intergroup relation and social framework. More could be said about language, indeed, but that could steer the thesis in another direction. Thirdly, more could also be said about religion when connected to recognition, integration and intergroup relation. This is because religious fundamentalism is often brought forward as one of the challenges in bridging the gap between the mainstream-community and minorities. Conversely, religious organizations can also be an arena for exploring the significance of integration. However, the thesis has limited itself to identify the connection between recognition and intergroup relation in the refugee-guide. There was also a lack of certain kinds of data in the secondary analysis that regards the representativeness of refugees. Not least concerning integration on the micro level. All of the authors recognized these limitations, which in light of the data in this thesis, can only give indication as to what the

refugees represented in the results. However, through argumentation and discussion, the hope is to give an objective and adequate account about the voices from refugees.

6. Concluding remarks

This thesis sought out to investigate if interactions in the Red Cross' refugee-guide between Norwegians and refugees, can affect their relations in society. What was found was that the relations in the program tend to have more positive effects, than nothing at all. It has also influenced the local's perception on foreign cultures in a positive sense. For the refugees however, only half of the sample expressed that the program affected their perception on Norwegians. In general, one can suggest that this social arena may have a significance for the contribution of a positive intergroup relation in the larger society. Additionally, it was identified that the participants in the program saw past differences and recognized each other as aspiring individuals. In fact, because the refugees struggled with language and understanding the system in Norway, the guides helped them in such instances. However, to draw a definitive conclusion of the full effect of the refugee-guide is not the purpose of this thesis. Instead, the goal is to discuss its potential positive impact on the relationship for Norwegians and refugees, if not other minorities. It is to understand and see if mutual recognition found in the refugee-guide, can be reflected beyond the local community, to the social reality on a communal – and societal level. On these levels, the relation between Norwegians and refugees are ambivalent, albeit there is a trend that leans more to the inclusion of refugees. As much as there are instances where the two parties have tense relationship, there seems to be more evidence that the opposite is true, and that they are trying to better the relations. In the topic of integration, the challenges of its future is then based on which social reality the majority wishes to pursue with the minorities.

6.1 Suggestions for further research

There have been some challenges in developing this paper because of the scope of the topic. To develop a coherent account on the relations between Norwegians and refugees, one must take in mind the following issues: Integration, multiculturalism, nationalism, immigration, intergroup relation, social cohesion, civic – community and society, citizenship, empowerment, distributive justice and recognition. However, there were several literature on the issue, so it was by any means feasible. If one is interested in the subjects of this thesis, suggestions for further enquiry are presented in the mentioned topics above.

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