

Transnationalism and Public Participation: The Experiences of Kenyan Minority Migrants in Norway.

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MSc Thesis in Human Rights and Multiculturalism

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Buskerud and Vestfold University College

15th, JUNE, 2014.



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Title and subtitle: Transnationalism and Public Participation: The Experiences of Kenyan Minority Migrants in Norway.	
<p>This thesis examines how integration experiences of Kenyan migrants in Norway impact on their public participation in both Kenya and Norway. The main research question is to investigate how the experiences of Kenyan migrants in Norway impact on their potential to engage in the processes of democratization, peace-building and public-participation in both Kenya and Norway. The study findings are based on a small sample of Kenyan transnationals living both in Norway and Kenya. The data was gathered between December 2013-February 2014 through interviews. The thesis draws on Modood's sociological theory of political multiculturalism, Rawls' theory of public reasoning, Habermas' theory of public participation and Appiah's Cosmopolitanism. To find out <i>why</i> and <i>how</i> Kenyans migrants in Norway contribute towards democratization and peace-building process in Kenya, I considered their contributions through the lens of influence, expertise, transitional networks and experiences, as well as through their capacity to exert force indirectly through financial resources. Amongst the main reasons why they participate is that many African diasporas</p>	

across the globe have taken it as a responsibility to do something for the continent they have left physically but not emotionally. Secondly they are stakeholders with diverse interest ranging from investments to political positions thus inclined to actively engage in public life. The emotional attachment prompts members of diasporas including the Kenyans in Norway, to maintain transnational ties with their country of birth; this is further strengthened by the African Ubuntu Philosophy- ‘oneness to humanity; that we realize ourselves by sharing ourselves with others, and caring for those around us. The Ubuntu and cosmopolitan spirit encourage them to feel some obligation and commitment across borders, which allows for feelings of multiple belongings, enabling an individual or an agency to participate and contribute towards a just and peaceful world.

Keywords:

Kenyans migrants, democratization, peace-building, public participation, integration, Norway, Diasporas, obligation, transnational

Number of words: 26,196 Text Only.

Declaration

I certify that this is all my own work. Any material quoted or paraphrased from reference books, journals, www, etc has been identified as such and duly acknowledged in the text or foot/end notes. Such sources are also listed in the bibliography. I have read the College's policy on plagiarism and am aware of the penalties for plagiarism.

I have retained a copy of my work.

Signed:.....Name: Paul Omondi Opata.

Dedication

To my late parents, William Opata Olila and Monica Achieng; you forever remain my living memories. Secondly to all global Migrants, may you find peace and human fulfilments that elude many in a globalizing World, full of diversities, opportunities and challenges.

Acknowledgements

In a study of this nature, it is indubitable, that one has many people to acknowledge. For practical reasons, it would be impossible to individually thank all those, who through their support and advice generously contributed to the accomplishment of this study. In a special manner, I want to register my in-depth appreciation to my academic mentor, Professor Osler Audrey. Professor your intellectual challenges and inputs cannot be quantified. Once again, thank you for your every kind of invaluable support, critiques and encouragement that you offered me throughout the writing process. Secondly, I thank the Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue for offering me Diaspora Scholarship. Last but not least I want to thank all my informants, fellow students, staffs and lecturers at Buskerud and Vestfold University College for their contributions and challenging insights that made this study a reality.

Opata Paul, Oslo.

15th, JUNE, 2014.

List of Abbreviations

AU- African Union

DIHR-Danish Institute of Human Rights

DRC-Democratic Republic of Congo

EU- European Union

FCNM-Framework Convention Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

GFMD-Global Forum on Migration and Development

IMDi - Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity

ILO-International Labour Organization

MFA- Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NORAD-Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

NGO-Non Governmental Organization

UDHR-Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN-United Nation

UNDP-United Nation Development Programme

UNDESA-United Nation Department of Economic and Social Affairs

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Population movements are as old as human history and in many situations result in betterment of human lives (Huntington,1996).The current increasing trends in international migration are as a result of globalization, violent conflicts, massive human rights abuses, authoritarian regimes, poverty, economic and study opportunities abroad (Castles ,1998). Migration, either forced or voluntary, leads to dispersion of people that were initially concentrated in one place. As migrants settle in another country, they continue to maintain a close relation and attachment to their homeland making them transnational citizens (Portes, 2001).

Over the last decades many migration researchers, governments and policy-makers have paid an increasing attention and recognition of the untapped potentials of Diasporas to publicly participate in democratization and peace building in their home country (African Union 2006b, Erdal & Horst, 2010). In 2009, the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) brought together various inter-governmental agencies ,governments from developed and developing countries, civil societies and Diasporas Organizations in Athens, Greece to discuss ways and means on how to engage members of diaspora in active public participation in both the country of settlement and origin.

This strategic involvement of Diasporas group in their homelands has been encouraged and termed as the ‘fourth development aid actors’ by the Bretton Wood institutions like World Bank and the UN (Mohan & Zack-Williams, 2002:216-224). As an effect, there is a growing realization among African Diasporas across the globe about their responsibility to do something for the continent they have left physically, but not emotionally. It is within the above context that this thesis examines on the transnational experiences of Kenyans migrants in Norway and their involvement in democratization and peace-building process in Kenya.

Norway has been an active participant in the international dialogue that seeks to engage migrants in various projects linking Norway and the migrants’ home country. In 2008, Norway launched a baseline project called, *Pilot Project Pakistan*. The project aimed to test ways through which to engage members of diaspora organizations in development efforts in their home country (Erdal & Horst 2010). In the recent White Papers no. 13 (2008-2009), *Climate, conflict and capital: Norwegian development policy*

adapting to change, and no. 15 (2008-2009), *Interests, responsibilities and possibilities: Main contours of Norwegian foreign policy*, the Norwegian Government highlights the importance of including members of diaspora in development cooperation, public participation and foreign policy. The same foreign policy shift was also adapted in 2009 by NORAD in their working support with the NGOs and Norwegian development funds beneficiary governments.

1.1 Purpose of this Thesis

In this thesis, I investigate how the experiences of Kenyans migrants in Norway impact on their public participation in both Kenya and Norway. In particular, my focus is to explore how their integration experiences in Norway impact on their potentiality to engage publicly in peace building and democratization processes in Kenya.

The main purpose of this thesis is to find out **why and how** Kenyans migrants in Norway participate publicly towards democratization and peace-building processes in Kenya. The analysis considers their experiences in Norway. If their experience is negative, where does the problem lie? –in the Norwegian integration policies or on the alleged “incompatibility of immigrant’s identities” and home experiences in relations to political instability? If positive, what are the examples of best practices of integration and consequently, the good democratic and human right values that they can transfer back to Kenya, which is ravaged with negative ethnicity, ineffective public institutions and perennial ethnic clashes?

This study is based on a small sample of Kenyans migrants who came to Norway from the 1990s, either as political refugees during the 24 years of Moi authoritarian regime or for family reunification and studies. The population of registered Kenyans in Norway is **1,401** (Statistic Norway, 2014). As a member of the Kenyan Diaspora in Norway, I am interested in exploring and examining the transnational experiences of Kenyans who are engaged politically and socially in development and public life in two contrasting locations, namely Kenya and Norway.

1.2 A Bird's Eye View of Kenya Political History

This thesis does not focus on the political context of Kenya nor on the specific challenges of public participation and democratization there, but on the skills and values transfer and experiences of transnational Kenyans in Norway back to their land of birth. However, for the readers to understand the context, I present a brief pen portrait of Kenya's political history.

Kenya gained independence from Britain in 1963 and celebrated its fifty years of independence on the 12th December 2013. In December 1992 Kenya held its first ever multi-party elections, since then there have been many reforms though at a slow pace. Elections have been held every fifth year with a maximum of two terms for presidency. Notwithstanding Moi regime 1978-2002 was full of political assassinations, lack of freedom expression, torture, and detention without trial (Freedom House Reports 1993-2006). Kenya is ranked as partly free by Freedom House, 2013 Reports.

Kenya is a diverse country with over forty ethnic groups. The major causes of conflict in Kenya are historical injustices concerning unequal distribution of land, discriminatory sharing of the "national cake", negative ethnicity, unemployment, corruption, lack of democratic space and marginalization (Amnesty International, 2012). Politics is at the heart of violence in Kenya with electioneering periods being a key trigger for inter-tribal clashes as was the case in 2007-2008. Kenya proclaimed a New Constitution in 2010 that replaced the colonial one. This was a major achievement to many of my informants who participated in its drafting. I will turn back to this in chapter 5. Weak government structures and lack of civic education are amongst the major challenges hindering public participation and democratization processes in Kenya, (Mwagiru, 2010).

1.3 Main Research Question

How does the experiences of Kenyan migrants in Norway impact on their potential to engage in the process of democratization and peace building in Kenya?

1.4 The Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue

This thesis appears complex and ambitious in nature and maybe perhaps tries to cover more than a traditional Master thesis. My initial study project was modest but I was challenged by the Nansen Centre for Peace and Dialogue who offered me scholarship and were interested in a study project that could explore the relationship between migrants' integration experiences in Norway and how these impact on their potentiality to engage publicly in their countries of origin. Nansen Centre was interested on the contributions of migrants towards peace building and democratization process in their home countries, and with this demand and interest, I developed my thesis topic and research question and took it as a challenge despite its complexity. In this thesis my aim is to explore on the experiences of Kenyan transnationals in Norway and their public participation in both countries. These Kenyans are in the perspectives of Rawls (2002) and Habermas (1996), stakeholders in all public decision-making processes and therefore need to be involved actively. For Appiah (2006), they are world citizens with obligations across borders.

1.5 Working Definitions of Key Concepts

1.5.1 Transnationalism

Transnationalism is generally defined as multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states. Specifically Basch et al (1994:22) refer to it as "a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities create social fields that cross national boundaries". In practice, transnationalism is concerned with socio-economic, cultural and political links between migrants and their home communities. However, some scholars and practioneers point broader interactions and linkages that span numerous localities and places rather than the one that defines transnationalism as a tie between a single homeland and a diaspora group (Duval, 2004).

Migrants who are involved in cross-border activities have been given different and sometimes contradictory labels within social sciences research. In some studies, they are called 'transmigrant' with 'dual or multiple identities and citizenship' (Portes, 2009:132). Other scholars like Anderson, (2006) and Glick Schiller, (1992b:52) label them as 'long distance nationalists' who engage in politics of cultural essentialism and nationalism.

One concern to the host country government is whether migrants, who are engaged in intense and continuous transnational activities with multiple identities and loyalties, can fully integrate and what implication this may have for identity construction within the nation-states (Erdal & Horst 2010).

In this work, the concept transnationalism is used to refer to Kenyans migrants in Norway who have kept ties with Kenya in terms of financial remittances, influence, mediation, knowledge transfers, advocacy, information sharing and networking that are geared towards democratization and peace-building process, either as individual or through organizations.

1.5.2. Peace-building

Due to intertwined global dynamics and complex root causes of conflict, there is an increasing need to involve diverse actors in conflict management and peace-building processes (Mwagiru, 2010). The former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his 1992 report, “*An Agenda for Peace*”, introduced the concept of peace building. The Secretary-General’s Policy Committee has described peace building as:

“A range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peace-building strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives”.(Paragraph 13).

Galtung (1996) considers peace from two related perspectives, namely, as an absence/reduction of violence of all kinds and secondly, as nonviolent and creative conflict transformation. For Lederach (1995), peace building includes building legal and human rights institutions as well as fair and effective governance and dispute resolution processes. In order to achieve a sustainable peace and to avoid any relapse into conflict, all those affected by the conflict should participate in its resolution and transformation.

The central task about peace building is a holistic approach to human security tackling it from its sources both from above and below. The UN Commission on Human Security

defines human security as “protection of the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms, fulfillment and wellbeing” (2003 Report). In 1994, UNDP brought a new dimension in human security meant to be people-centered, that is, “security against economic privation, an acceptable quality of life, and a guarantee of fundamental human rights”. The UNDP went further in their definition to include seven fundamental categories component of human security namely; **economic, food, health, community, environmental, political, and personal security** (UNDP, 1994).

The concept peace building, as used in this work, takes the above perspectives because Kenya, which is the focus of this study, experiences structural violence, caused by malfunctioning governance system, which is a recipe for discrimination, corruption, nepotism, oppression, poverty, starvation, exploitation and the violation of human rights. Amongst the majors causes of conflict in Kenya are historical injustices concerning unequal distribution of land, discriminatory sharing of “the national cake”, negative ethnicity, poverty, unemployment, corruption and marginalization (Mwagiru, 2010). Politics and power struggle are also at the heart of violence in Kenya with elections being a key trigger for inter-tribal clashes. In the recent past, Kenya has become a target of Al-Shabaab, Somalia’s Al-Qaeda affiliate terrorist attack due to its military involvement in Somalia.

1.5.3 Democratization

Democracy is the “rule according to the majority” (Huntington, 1991:8).As a way of political governance; it is about the process of institutionalization of the people’s power. The citizenry power is institutionalized through civic and political rights that entitle every citizen a right to participate fully in public decision-making processes and to make free political choices on matters of public and individual interest (Foweraker and Landman, 1997).

The concept democracy was coined thousands of years ago in Athens. As a political practice, democratization in Ancient Greek city-states consisted both in the rule according to the wishes of the people and actual participation of the people themselves. The people actively participated in the running of the affairs of the state and government through

recruitment, in which all free male adults took turns in the running of the state and in decision-making of the entire government (Ryan, 1972).

By contrast, Schumpeter,(2003) advocates for a minimalist democratic model, whereby he defines democracy as a political system in which key government offices are filled through contested elections or competition between leaders, much like a free market mechanism where parties (firms) have to offer to the electorate (the customers) the best policy in order to win their votes. The voters are free to decide on their representatives. If elected political parties fail to deliver on their promises, they lose votes in the next elections. This definition has two parts: “key government office,” which implies the executive and the legislature; and “contested,” which implies that more than one party has some probability of winning office through elections (Schumpeter, 2003:269).Although periodic votes by the general public legitimize governments and keep them accountable, the policy program is very much seen as their own and not that of the people. The participatory role for individuals is usually severely limited.

For Rawls, the institutionalization of peoples’ power should not only be an event done through ballots and votes - important as they are - but primarily in terms of "public reasoning," including the opportunity for public discussion as well as interactive participation and reasoned encounter. Rawls, referring to Millian’s phrase, "government by discussion”, argues that democratization as a continuous political process ought to include access to relevant information; the opportunity to listen to varying points of view; and exposure to open public discussions and debates on matters of public interest (Rawls, 2002:32). This line of argument is captured well in Abraham Lincoln’s (1863) conception of ideal institutionalized political governance as *government of the people, for the people and by the people*, which highlights the relation between the government and the electorate.

My focus in this thesis is on the contribution of Kenyans migrants in Norway towards democratization process in Kenya. The discussion and analysis in this work takes Schumpeter’s definition of democracy and Rawls’ views on public reasoning as a mean of ensuring participation by all citizens on matters that impact on the general wellbeing of the people. As will be discussed in chapter 5, the two perspectives are ideal in this study because the Kenyans in Norway have focused their efforts in strengthening the

electoral process and on the leadership and integrity of the candidates for political positions.

1.5.4 Public Participation

Public participation is defined as the involvement of individuals, interest groups and communities in the public- decisions making process on issues or activities that can potentially have impact on them (Putnam, 2000). From a human rights perspective, public participation goes far beyond the individual right to civil and political rights of casting votes in competitive elections to a legal call for respects of equal rights and dignity of all human beings in the society (Verba et al, 1995).

The right to participate in public decision-making process is legally enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 21) namely; (UN, 1948),

- i. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- ii. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
- iii. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections, which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Public participation is a progressive and cyclical process; it is not a single event. According to the Danish Institute for Human Rights, public participation is meant to encourage the public and the community to get involved actively throughout the full lifespan in public policy decision-making processes and development projects that bears consequences in their lives.

Active involvement in public matters by members of a society is both a human right in itself and also a precondition for the exercise and effective enjoyment of all other rights; in particular the freedom of expression (including the right to seek and impart information), freedom of association and freedom of assembly. These rights are very

crucial in enabling real citizen participation and any exclusion means marginalization from the political, social, and economic communities to which every member of the society ought to belong (DIHR, 2014). The associated rights must be upheld without distinction of any kind as outlined in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of discrimination (1969). Every State Party is legally obligated to provide modes of governance where minorities' voices are considered in public discourses.

This work explores the level of Kenyans public participation in two important areas- democratization and peace-building process in Kenya and examines how their experiences in Norway impact on their participation in both Kenya and Norway.

1.5.5 Outline of this Thesis

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one gives a background of the study, specifically defining the main concepts used in this thesis. It also outlines the research question and the purpose of this study. Chapter Two presents a literature review of the major concepts, linking them with the study research question. More importantly, it examines the construction of Norwegian national identity and how minorities have been treated in Norway. Chapter three presents the theoretical framework, combining active public participation with dialogue and negotiation on matters of national importance or interest. Chapter four outlines the methodological steps and processes that were followed in conducting the empirical research. It also addresses the field work processes and examines my positionality and its impact on data gathering and analysis. Data analyses and discussions are presented in chapter five. Chapter six give a critique to the Norwegian integration policies and practices. Chapter seven gives a conclusion with a way forward and policy recommendations.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is a continuation of chapter one where, I examined the key concepts used in this thesis. In this chapter, I make a review of related literatures that link my research question and the theoretical framework that follows in chapter 3. This chapter particularly explore global migration, transnationalism, integration and the construction of Norwegian

national identity and their impact on immigrants. It also presents a contextualized framework on the Norwegian integration policies and the changing trends on the usage of the concept multiculturalism to diversity amongst politicians and academia. My choices of the literature review topics are based on the need to make a link between transnationalism and integration and to contextualize them within global trends in migration. I also seek to examine the national frameworks and specifically how minorities are perceived and/or received in Norway.

2.1 Global Migration and Norwegian Context

"If demography is destiny, then population movements are the motors of history"
(Huntington 1996:42).

Global migration has been an enduring component of the world economic, social and political landscape which encompasses myriad of intentions and desires motivated by search for wealth, work, land, adventure, freedom, peace and stability. The aftermath of World War I and II saw the beginning of a concerted effort to control migration, which for many centuries was unregulated (Castle, 2008).

Global migration as a phenomenon has been a major research area for many social scientists for the last century. It has been studied from different fields namely; anthropology, economics, human geography, international relations, sociology and political science, making it an interdisciplinary study with no dominant paradigm (Castle, 2008). One major reason attributed to this is that migration studies were developed in the epoch of nationalism when the control of migration and minorities were seen as crucial to nation-identity building. Therefore, until 1980s, migration studies built on distinct national assumptions and organizational models, with a focus on the analysis of migrants' mobility experiences as they enter, exit or settle in one specific region or country (Castle, 2008). The current global dynamism brought about by globalization, emerging migratory routes and forms poses a big challenge to migration researchers and policy-makers on how best to understand global migration (Vertovec, 2004).

At conceptual level, Harris and Levey (1975:137), define migration as "entrance of a person into a new country for the purpose of establishing permanent residence". Human

geography researchers like White and Wood (1980:3) define migration as "a change in the place of residence" that involves a movement from one place to another in a response to perceived opportunities, threats or challenges in a person's life. Economists, sociologists, political scientists and peace researchers have focused on two factors during the process of migration namely; pull (voluntary) and push (forced) factors (Horst, 2008, Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). This thesis encompasses both factors in examining the experiences of Kenyan migrants in Norway.

While releasing the latest trends in global migration, "*Trends and International Migration 2013 Revision*", John Wilmoth, the UN Director of Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, said that in every 10 international migrants, 6 were living in developed regions, this translate to 136 versus 96 million people in the developing world. The report further reveal that in 2013 there were 232 million international migrants that is, 3.2% of the world's population, compared with 175 million in 2000 and 154 million in 1990. Asylum seekers and refugees constituted a small share of global migration in 2013 reaching 15.7 million, translating to 7% of all global migrants. Asia hosts the largest number of refugees at 10.4 million (UNDESA, report, 2013). Western Europe remains the most popular destination with 72 million international migrants in 2013, compared to 71 million in Asia.

As a member of Schengen Agreement, Norway, in compliance with visa regulations, changed its migration policies in 2004 to accommodate member states' free movement. In 2013, 41 900 persons migrated to Norway, a decrease from 48 700 in 2012. Out of these, 62% or 25 800 persons were of European origin while 17 800 persons were of non-Europeans citizens. There are **1,401** Kenyans registered in Norway. The five largest immigrant groups in Norway are from Poland, Lithuania Sweden, Latvia and Eritrea. Labour is the main reason for immigration amongst Europeans citizens to Norway (Statistics Norway, 2014).

The rapid migration increment in Norway is as a result of its stability, petroleum wealth, low employment rate and an inclusive welfare system which attract many migrants. The demands for foreign human labour in Norway has been the driving force towards a positive immigration dimension by the government and towards the end of the 1990s through mid-2000s; the authority began, for the first time in 30 years, to look beyond national boundaries for necessary labour. In 1999, the famous slogan, "*without*

immigrants, Norwegian health care, construction industry and hospitality...Would grind to a halt” became an election campaign theme (Hagelund, 2003:7). As stressed by Norwegian anthropologist, Thomas Eriksen, “migration in Norway should be understood in this context”, rather than a phenomenon encouraged by state policy. Neither majority Conservative nor Labour government has been more or less liberal with immigration in Norway than other Western European governments (Eriksen, 2013:4).

2.2 Transnationalism, Integration and International migration

Transnationalism is broadly defined as a continuous process by which migrants build social-economic and political ties and networks that link together their country of origin and settlement (Basch, et al., 1992). Glick Schiller, 1995:52 and Basch, et al., 1992:160-180,) label them as ‘long distance nationalists’ who engage in politics of cultural essentialism and nationalism. Many migration researchers agree that migrants’ movements - back and forth can-not be placed within the categories of “permanent,” or “return,” or “temporary migrants,” or “sojourners.” but within the framework of transnational social fields that impacts migrants’ lived experiences (Richardson, 1983:176). As Chaney (1979:209) put it; these are people with, “feet in two societies”. In describing the experiences of Garifuna community in the United States, he note that, many Garifuna “today have become United States citizens, yet they think of themselves as members of two or more societies.”

Transnational individuals, time and again live and experience a dual life, they pledge allegiance to multiple nation-states simultaneously. They want to make an everlasting mark or assert status back home by participating in public decision making and development and at the same maintain close links with their country of residence. On an individual level, transnational cross border engagement is sustained by family ties through financial remittances and gifts or through government legalized system of exchanges and sanctioned structures (Faist, 2000).

In relating the impacts of transnationalism to immigrants’ integration, there is a popular assumption that a strong transnational tie means weak integration. An essentialist national identity approach questions whether migrants who are continuously engaged in cross-borders activities with multiple transnational identities can fully become part and share

the majority national identity and value system of the host country (Wodak *et al.*,2001). Existing studies points out that transnational tie do not hinder integration in the receiving country, though the compatibility varies. Economic integration is the most compatible as it is the driving force in transnational activities. Other variable like migrants from war-affected regions results in different integration level (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013).

In order to understand and place transnationalism as an international migration phenomenon, it is important to analyze it within systems of social-economic and political relations and inter-linkages that cut across national borders. Barrow, et al, (1987:9), describe this relation as a “transnational socio-cultural and political system”, which find meanings within the flow and fabric of daily life, as linkages between different societies are maintained, renewed, and reconstituted in the context of families, of institutions, of economic investments, business, and finance and of political organizations and structures including nation-states. They argue that migration provide “important channels for the bi-directional flow of ideas such that political events of national importance at home like independence days and cultural events have an impact on the migrant communities abroad while migrant experiences are also relayed in the opposite direction” (ibid,114).

By maintaining multiple transnational ties, trans-migrant individuals are able to express their resistance and concerns to the global political and economic situations that engulf them and more so in their country of origin which they have left physically but not emotionally, even as they accommodate themselves to living conditions marked by opportunities, vulnerability and insecurity in the country of settlement (Portes, 2001).

In contextualizing the Kenyans migrants in Norway, taking into consideration the Norwegian policy of assimilationists and multicultural approach, a fundamental question remains unanswered, whether sustaining essentialist notion of national identity is feasible in the multicultural society which Norway is rapidly becoming? To a larger extent, Norwegian state integrationism may be read to be in conflict with migrant transnational ties (Erdal, 2013).

2.3 Norwegian National identity and Minorities

Ethnic Norwegian identity emanates from ancient ancestry narratives of Viking Mythology, symbols, culture and kinship. As Smith (2013: 224) points out “--myths of ancestry, shared meanings of ancient historical events and heroes are reinterpreted’ to conform to the current national identity constructs that have evolved since 17th, May, 1814 when the modern Norwegian nation-state was born. Historically, Norway is presented as a homogeneous society with high degree of equality. In the immediate post World War two periods, immigrant populations was extremely small, and, with the exception of returning Norwegian Americans and a few scattered refugees from Eastern and Central Europe, practically no one came to Norway from outside Northern Europe (Carling, 2002).

The Sami people (originally nomadic reindeer herders) who live in Norway are the only indigenous people recognized and protected under the international conventions of indigenous peoples (Statistic Norway, 2014, Norokorpi, 2007).The Kvens (of Finnish origin), the Roma (combined with Gypsy) and the Jews are categorized as national minorities as well as various immigrant groups. The total population of Kvens, Roma and Jews is not available since they are not registered as ethnic groups. Though their number is estimated to be very low, there have been documented animosities against minority groups in Norway (Eriksen, 2010, Witoszek, 2003).

In 1990, Norway ratified, the International Labour Organization Convention 169 (ILO) on the Rights of Indigenous People thus according the Sami people the status. Thereafter in 1996, the Kvens were granted minority status and in 2005, their language was recognized as a minority language(www.regjeringen.no/national-minorities).However, some areas like collection of numerical data on minorities, continuing discrimination against Roma, and non-inclusion in public decisions making process affects minority groups in Norway (Witoszek, 2003).

The original idea before the two World Wars was that, Norway was to be ‘Norwegian through and through’, and that any minority languages and cultures was to be rooted out and corrected so that the minorities are integrated into the majority as full members of a Norwegian nation-state. In effect, the Norwegian Constitution of 1814 banned the Jews and Jesuits from entering Norway. This extreme assimilation process was because of

racialisation and ethnification towards the realization of what Gullestad (2006a:187 and Eriksen, 2013) termed as *fornorskning*- “*Norwegianification*”.

Some writers like Gressgård, (2010:76) and Eriksen, (2011:3) have observed that immigrants in Norway are blamed for poor integration- draining the social welfare, crimes, suppression of women and non-adherence to the ‘Norwegian national values’. These negative criticism of immigrants create an assumption among policy makers and parts of the general Norwegian society that migrants lack knowledge about human rights, democracy and gender equality hence need to be ‘*responsibilized*’ (read assimilation) and guided to realize the Norwegian values-read as universal norms while ethnic Norwegian are constructed as ‘carriers of universal norms’.

It is important while analyzing the construction of Norwegian national identity within minority narratives to understand the assumed homogeneity of Norwegian society and supposed vulnerability related to Swedish occupation in 1905 and German occupation in 1940-1945. These lived experiences lead Norwegians to be suspicious of foreigners (Eriksen, 2013). The post-World War II was the golden period for Norway to reconstruct its national identity inclusive of minorities but the victorious zeal of defeating the enemy, made Norwegian national identity building so strong while overlooking the ‘cultural differences’ (Eriksen, 2010:73). This is a challenge to Norwegian society, which has been presented as homogeneous in nature before the wars and occupations. The “*Norwegianification*” agenda was not deconstructed but allowed to continue to thrive to date despite Norway being attractive to immigrants due to its stable economy and humanitarian hub for refugees. This current reality complicate ‘Norwegianification agenda’ and further challenges the homogeneity of Norwegian society which currently have an immigrant population of 759,000 persons, or 14.9 per cent (statistic Norway, 2014). A number of questions can be asked about the construction of Norwegians national identity and how the society is relating to its minorities. How is the Norwegian national narrative constructed to emphasise past homogeneity with a view of creating a ‘new diverse and pluralistic society’? How do Norwegians perceive cultural and religious diversity as a ‘new reality’ and how is this reinforced in public discourses by the academia and politicians? (Osler and Lybæk, 2014).

2.4 Assimilation, Multiculturalism or Diversity?

Global migration comes with complex challenging experiences for both immigrants and the receiving states. On one hand individual migrants face diverse challenges on arrival in new land, involving complex processes of cultural transition. On the other hand nation-states also face challenges, not least of which are the ways in which increasing diversity obliges them to re-think existing concepts of citizenship and the ways in which democracy is practiced (Banks, 2008, Osler, 2012). The outcomes of the experiences is what Berry (1997:291-302) identifies as four distinct acculturation strategies on how individual immigrant relate to their own background culture as part and parcel of the mainstream dominant culture in the receiving country namely as, *integrated, assimilated, separated and marginalized migrants*.

As many other Western European countries, Norway is faced with a complex scenario on how to balance its own national unity and diversity identities and how to construct an overarching national identity that incorporates the voices, identities, experiences, and hopes of the diverse minority groups that compose the contemporary Norwegian population (Eriksen,2010). A critical question arising from this thesis and which forms its rationale is; to what extent and in what ways can Kenyans in Norway benefit from the Norwegian integration policies, public institutions and the prevailing peace in order to fully participate publicly in both Norway and Kenya? Secondly, how can they build a “home” and get a sense of belonging in Norway?

In order to respond to the new challenges brought about by rapid migration in Norway since the discovery of oil in 1960s, the government has developed a number of White Papers as policy guides towards proper inclusion of migrants in Norwegian society. Amongst the outstanding White papers that I am looking at are those developed in 2004 by the center-right Bondevik government and the 2012 developed by the center-left Stoltenberg government. In 2013, Norwegians elected a new coalition government led by Solberg’s Conservative Party. The current government is yet to present any White Paper related to integration though there have been some changes in immigration policies, which are not directly related to this study.

In the White Paper (St Meld, 49; 2003-2004), the Bondevik government define Norwegian integration policy not as a form of multiculturalism but as in line with

diversity policy, that is the same as those developed in several other European countries. The Stoltenberg government White Paper of 2012 put more emphasis on social and community cohesion, loyalty to shared Norwegian values and acceptance for diversity. It also focused on immigrants' employment and a sense of belonging.

The above two mentioned White Papers which I will refer to in the discussion chapter, had their historical foundation from the immigration White Paper no.39 of 1973-4 which outlined two alternative strategies for incorporating immigrants into Norwegian society namely; *assimilation or integration*. As a consequent, Norwegian integration policies have a combination of assimilation and multicultural ideologies though with a stronger cultural turn based on gender equality (Eriksen, 2011).

The 1996-7 White Paper, 'concerning immigration and multicultural Norway' emphasized active participation of immigrants. It states in parts:

“Immigration gives us access to a considerably more varied basis of experience and knowledge than [that] which exists in a more closed, uniform society. For us to be able to make full use of this basis, all inhabitants, no matter [what] their background, must have the opportunity of taking an active part in the life of society, and there must be contact and interaction between different groups in the population”.(St Meld, 17 (1996-7)).

The major concern of the Norwegians' policy makers has been immigrants' cultural incompatibility and some of their practices like arranged marriages, female genital mutilation, gender inequality and extreme religious beliefs. The 2002 “honor killing” of Fadime Sahindal in Sweden shocked the Norwegian society (<http://2002/sahindal>). This horrific act, partly impacted Norwegian public debate about multiculturalism to take gender equality approach. It was in this context that the center-right government of Bondevik's presented diversity White Paper in 2004. The document made demands concerning acceptance of universal fundamental values like human rights and equality. Through this policy, Norway put in place the first law called *Introductory Act*, within integration policies. The policy paper no. 49 (2003-4,127), reads in part;

‘There are fundamental values about which there is political unanimity in Norway, such as the value of democracy, equality between the sexes and child rights’.

The level of immigrant integration in Norway is well documented and can be analyzed within a number of different policy areas, including housing, labour market, crime, gender equality, higher education enrolment and religion (Eriksen, 2013, Andersen & Biseth, 2013). The overall attitude by Norwegian general public towards immigration when asked whether immigrants make an important contribution to Norwegian working life, stand at 72 percent with 14 percent disagreeing. On the question, whether immigrants enrich the cultural life in Norway, 69 percent agree while 17 percent disagree, 35 percent agree that immigrants are the main source of insecurity and crimes in Norway while 52 percent disagree (Statistic Norway 2013).

The concept 'multiculturalism' is progressively being shunned in Norwegian political public discourses as it is said to imply segregation and misplaced tolerance. Instead, the word diversity is widely used by politicians to emphasize equal participation in shared institutions such as the educational system and the labour market. This explains why Norwegian multicultural policies have taken a stronger cultural turn with a special focus on gender equality. The trend towards equality as a basis of belonging to Norwegian society is sometimes understood to mean assimilation. The interchangeable terminological meaning is because of the word, '*likhet*' which means 'equality', 'sameness' and 'similarity' in Norwegian language (Gullestad, 2002: 46).

In Norway integration policies occupies the middle ground in which the government adopts a combination of assimilation and multicultural ideologies, which can be labeled as 'state integrationism' in that it is based on what *ought to be*-normative but not what is practiced (Hagelund, 2010). Critically, the Norwegian governments have been skilled in legislating equality policies amongst its population, but poor in handling diversity policies. The reason emanate partly from the history of the Norwegian welfare state, where cultural diversity was not an issue. The differences between Norwegian and immigrants' socio-cultural practices and value system did not initially preoccupy the founders of the welfare state because their population was small (Carling, 2002). The government poor handling of cultural diversity and failure to recognize the pluralism that exists within the current composition of Norwegian population forms the basis of my critique to the Norwegian integration policies, which I will discuss in relations to my informants experiences in chapter 6.

2.5 Summary

Migration in Norway is perceived as a new phenomenon. The influx of migrants in Norway and the increasing diversity obliges Norway to re-think its national identity, citizenship and the ways in which democracy is practiced. Chapter three below presents the theoretical framework and examines the tenets of living in a multicultural society and how nation-states are required to engage with minority groups through dialogue and negotiation on matters of national importance or interest.

3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework on which my study is embedded. It draws on Modood's (2005; 2007) sociological theory of political multiculturalism perspective. It also refer to Rawls' theory of public reasoning (1996, 2002), Habermas' theory of public participation (1990,1996) and Appiah's Cosmopolitanism (2005,2006).Modood's perspectives is used as a framework to critique the Norwegian integration policies. I am not using the theory per se to analyse the experiences of Kenyans migrants in Norway because my focus is more on their transnational activities and public participation in Kenya, which is mostly driven by their economic adaptation in Norway rather than their social- political adaptation in Norway.

3.1 Tariq Modood:-Multiculturalism as a Political Process of Dialogue and Negotiation

I chose Modood's theory, because his political theory of multiculturalism is empirically based in real-world of political struggles, negotiations and debates. Importantly, it is concerned with immigrants' lived experiences which fit well with my study topic and research question. Though his focus is more towards Muslims immigrants in the United Kingdom, I find his approach appropriate because what matters to him is the political mobilization of migrants and their experiences in the country of settlement. In this research my aim is to explore on the experiences of Kenyans transnationals in Norway and their public participation in both countries. These Kenyans are, in the perspectives of Rawls and Habermas, stakeholders in all public decision making processes and therefore need to be actively be involved. For Appiah, they are world citizens with obligations across borders.

In elaborating his theory, Modood defines the concept multiculturalism as 'a process of negotiation and dialogue, consisting of minority assertiveness, mobilization, protest and political struggle, as well as the state's pragmatic accommodation of some of their concrete political demands in policy and institutional reforms' (Modood, 2005:39).In order to assert themselves, the minorities through ' negotiations and dialogue must challenge' the negative differences ascribed to them by dominant discourses into a

positive difference (ibid, 39). Through this dialogue, the minority group gets a forum and the right to speak, define and redefine itself in positive terms.

Modood argues that each minority's resistance to discriminations and exclusion from majority is the basic means of real mutual integration and inclusion. In challenging the negative views in both public discourse and political institutions; the majority may respond to accommodate the reasonable demands, needs and interests of the minority groups. This kind of process of dialogue is what Modood refer to as, a '*critical multiculturalism*' which starts from below. It is a negotiation that aims for accommodation of minorities' claims and for changing the negative picture into a reconstructed positive picture about the minority. Modood further argues that critical multiculturalism is not interested in culture per se but in politicized ethnic identities, which result in hyphenated identities such as 'Kenyan Norwegian', or 'Norwegian Muslim'. In a multicultural society, these identities are seen as a legitimate basis for political mobilization and lobbying rather than regarded as divisive or disloyal to the host nation (ibid, 49).

Unlike Taylor, who sees identity as an 'ethical norm and value' through which an individual is capable of 'evaluating' good and bad; and be able to take a position (Taylor, 1996:27), other scholars see identity as more fluid and even multiple (Osler & Starkey, 2005, Banks, 2008). In particular Sen. sees identity as an open 'rational decisions and choice' (Sen, 2007:24). Individuals are free to decide which identity they want to have, because people have many identities depending on what relevancy and importance those identities are to them at a particular time and in a specific social context. Building on this theme, Sen. warns against reducing identity to a simple essentialism in which individuals think everybody is the same or should be the same because they have something in common.

Modood and Kymlicka (1994), concur that state neutrality tends to privilege the majority in a way that puts an assimilationist pressure on minorities. But, in particular Modood, argues that multicultural policies should be grounded in the perspectives of conscious minority persons vis avis the majority. Modood (2007:64-68) argues that minorities have distinct experiences which can hold a "critical mirror" up to the larger society. Minorities through their experiences have primary knowledge about what it means to be discriminated and marginalized, and with this experience and perspective they can

contribute and enrich the society to be more diverse and accommodative. For example, Kenyans migrants in Norway, have experience what it means to live in an authoritarian rule with no efficient functioning government institutions, a fragile conflict situation in Kenya and being refer to the 'Other' in Norway.

A major difference with Kymlicka (1993) is that Modood does not use liberalism as a framework that limits multicultural politics. Thus, Modood rejects the idea of liberal principles as the only 'package' and a precondition to either being accepted or rejected into the mainstream culture, but instead he argues for a "respectful and critical mutual dialogue and negotiation" between the minority and the majority groups (Modood (2005:182-185).

Modood's position on liberalism should not be understood to mean that he condones illiberal practices amongst some immigrants groups, but like Rawls (1996), he operates within a political conception of multiculturalism which is 'moderate' liberalism and 'moderate' multiculturalism, and does not entirely depend on any particular comprehensive philosophy. He argues that the dichotomizing and dualistic view in his theory enable dialogue, mutual respect and negotiated accommodation to thrive in pluralistic and diverse societies (Modood, 2007).

3.2 Habermas: Public Participation

In this principle, Habermas argue that in situation of conflict of interest in the public common good, "every valid norm should meet with the approval of all concerned parties , and that all should take part in a practical public discourse" (Habermas, 1990; 121). Habermas further suggest that it is a fundamental requirement and condition that all who are affected by the norms read policy (ies) should be participants in the discourse. The citizens should at least have the possibility to participate and contribute with their views on the policy or the programme that government agencies intend to implement.

This thesis is partly about public participation of Kenyans migrants in Norway and how their integration experiences impact on them to potentially engage publicly in democratization and peace-building process in Kenya. As Kenyans they have a constitutional right to voice their concerns on matters of national importance and

therefore must be participants in whole cycle of decision making process. While in Norway some of these Kenyans have already acquired Norwegian citizenship hence have the same constitutional rights like ethnic Norwegians while those with different status have other legal avenues to advocate for their rights publicly on issues that can potentially affect them directly or indirectly. The process of actively participating in matters of public interest give each individual person an opportunity to be a participant, to express their views, interest, desires, and needs” and on the other hand, if they cannot come up with a better argument, the participants have to follow the already established best argument; this is what Habermas refers to as “an ideal speech situation” (Habermas, 1990;87-95).It is a process of reasonable or moral argumentation that aims to reach a harmonious communicative action that serves to settle conflicts by consensual means” with equal or acceptable consequences for those involved.

According to the public discourse principle, Habermas argue that only those norms deserve to be valid that could meet with the approval of those potentially affected, insofar as the latter participate in rational discourses:

“The citizens themselves become those who deliberate and, acting as a constitutional assembly, decide how they must fashion the rights that give the discourse principle legal shape as a principle of democracy. (Habermas, 1996:127).

Human rights and democracy for Habermas are interlinked in that human rights secure a free consensus for its people in a democracy. Thus their implementation is a condition for democracy and the result of democracy. People have a basic right to take part in the “opinion- and will formation” (ibid 129).

3.3 Rawls: Public Reasoning

According to Rawls, there is a need in every pluralist society for a common mutual consensus on basic questions on how democratic institutions are organized and rule of democratic participation are carried out (Rawls, 1996). His conception of a modern democratic state is “reasonable pluralism”, where different numerous theories and normative traditions are considered as possible solutions (Rawls, 1996:133).Rawls refer to these numerous normative systems as ‘comprehensive views’. His theory is not a

human rights theory per se, but about constitutional questions and basic rights. The theory relates and overlaps more to a general cross cultural and pluralist consensus on human rights norms. He argues that the overlapping consensus arising from different comprehensive views needs more common ground and rules for dialogue, in order to identify the basic principles that are agreeable by all citizens. This sphere of dialogue is what Rawls call as ‘public reasoning’ (ibid, 133).

As already stated in the main research question, this thesis is about Kenyans transnational in Norway and their potentiality to participate publicly in both countries. The Kenyans in Norway are diverse with different cultural backgrounds, and migrated to Norway for different reasons. Their experiences with the Norwegian integration policies are also different. But being transnational citizens, they have their interests, wishes and needs to promote and make contribution towards the wellbeing of their country of origin or residence, and this call for their involvement in public reasoning. Within Rawls’ approach, these Kenyans must reasonably discuss their needs and interests in the way that other citizens might ‘endorse as consistent with their freedom and equality’ (Rawls, 1996; 218).

For Rawls, an ideal of public reasoning is an appropriate complement of a constitutional democracy, the culture of which is bound to be marked by a plurality of reasonable comprehensive doctrines. In envisaging the criteria for public reasoning dialogue, he relate to Kantian theory when he asserts that basic principles for society can be constructed in a kind of objectivity;

“..all reasonable citizens think of themselves ideally as if they were legislators following public reason” (Rawls, 2002; 137).

In its pure form, Rawls argue that public reasoning ideally is achieved when citizens conducts their fundamental discussions within the framework of what each and every reasonable individual in the society regards as a political conception of justice based on values that others can reasonably be expected to endorse in good faith and be prepared to defend that conception publicly. This means that public reasoning must be ‘argumentative and use logical arguments’... that ‘others may find acceptable and in this way convince each other in public dialogue’ in reaching a mutual consensus (Rawls, 1996; 213).

3.4 Cosmopolitanism: Universality Plus a Difference

The word cosmopolitanism is etymologically derived from the Greek word *kosmopolitês* which means ‘citizen of the world’ (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy). Ideally cosmopolitanism is an orientation towards openness, ‘a willingness to engage with others and their diverse cultures’ (Hannerz, 1990: 239). Beck and Grande defines cosmopolitanism as an experiential horizon of “dialogical imagination” that denotes the *internalized* otherness of others—an ability to see oneself from the viewpoint of those who are culturally others, as well as to practice this within one’s own experiential space through the imaginative crossing of boundaries (Beck and Grande 2005: 153).

A cosmopolitan person therefore connotes an individual who is concerned and willing to engage in dialogue with the global community and envisions him/herself in a global context. Appiah defines cosmopolitanism as ‘*universality plus a difference*’ and advises everyone at least to watch one movie with subtitles every month (Appiah, 2008: 83). The spirit and ideals of cosmopolitanism fundamentally emerges among ordinary people when they experience and interact with other diverse cultural practices in their everyday life (Osler & Starkey, 2005).

As a philosophy, Cosmopolitanism presupposes a positive and tolerant attitude towards difference and diversity; it is founded on a strong desire to construct broad allegiances that aim for an equal, just and peaceful global community of citizens (Appiah, 2006). Core to this understanding is that all human beings belong to a single human community and, therefore, every individual person ought to be treated equally regardless of their socio-economic or political attachments. As one human family, cosmopolitanism, from a moral perspective requires people to care for, understand and respect other people, even if they are not related to them by ties of family or a shared citizenship, and uphold values which they do not share.

This thesis follow Appiah’s perspective of cosmopolitanism in his book, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2006) that calls on all human beings not only to be open to other cultures, preach tolerance and respect for difference, but also that generate obligations towards strangers. He argues that for cosmopolitanism to make sense in human life, we must have obligations towards others, which for him is bigger

than a shared citizenship. This moral cosmopolitanism he calls ‘a moral revolution’ which obliges each individual person to mobilize the society and intervene to support those living in inhumane conditions. For Appiah cosmopolitanism is about our common humanity and obligations across borders.

These obligations are often framed in terms of human rights. This work is exploring on the experiences of Kenyans migrants in Norway, how they have lived and experience the ideals of cosmopolitanism in Norway and how in the spirit of cosmopolitanism as argued by Appiah, they have obligation towards other fellow human beings which may inspire them to contribute or participate towards democratization and peace-building process in Kenya.

Cosmopolitanism manifests itself in many forms and context but in this thesis, I will limit myself to two important areas namely cultural and political cosmopolitanism. As a cultural ideal, cosmopolitanism refer to openness to difference and diversity, tolerance, non-discriminatory and a willingness to respect all human beings as equal despite their cultural value system or practices (Hennerz, 1990). From a political view, cosmopolitanism is manifested in international norms and institutions which are critical to the modern institutions transformation with an aim of creating a human right culture globally. Given the present nature of the ever changing world system due to globalization and regional integration, cosmopolitanism manifestation occurs simultaneously allowing for feelings of multiple belonging, thus enabling an individual or an agency to participate and contribute towards a just and peaceful world across the globe

With the current global trend driven by globalization and interconnectedness in socio-economic and political transformations, some scholars argue that the old national framework of sociological analysis is no longer capable of dealing with the increasing movement across national frontiers, thus in ‘the 21st century, cosmopolitanism is the ideal for the modern societies’ (Fine, 2007:5). Nussbaum in her book, *For love of country: Debating the limits of patriotism* has challenged negative patriotism in favor of cosmopolitanism. She argues that “negative patriotism has a tendency to produce national chauvinism and racism, or at least indifference to other nations, cultures and peoples”. (Nussbaum, 1997:109-110).

The aspiration for a cosmopolitan community was in the mind of the drafters of both the UN Charter in 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 which gives human beings primacy through the notion of the right to self-determination, collective responsibility, tolerance and unity in brotherhood (UN charter, preamble, article 1,2 & UDHR, article 2). These two major international legal documents undoubtedly are a 'clear manifestation of the cosmopolitan idea and consciousness', that modern societies and member states of United Nation aspire to live by (Cheah, 2006:53).

Amongst the latest litanies of cosmopolitanism notion internationally is the establishment of The Hague based International Criminal Court in 2002 under the principle of universal jurisdiction and complementarity. It is a form of "*cosmopolitanization of law*" (Hirst, 2005; Beigbeder, 2005). Its rationale is based on the notion that 'certain crimes are so grave and harmful to the conscience of the whole global community thus all states are entitled and even obliged to bring proceedings against the perpetrator, regardless of the location of the crime and the nationality of the perpetrator or the victim' and secondly, no safe havens should be available anywhere in the world for those who commit them (Beigbeder 2005:45, The Princeton Project on Principles of universal jurisdiction,1-3).

It will haunt me not to emphasis "*cosmopolitanization of law*" in this work as currently both the President and deputy president of Kenya are undergoing trials at the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity committed during the post elections violence in Kenya 2007-2008. These trials if concluded fairly can act as deterrent example for other politicians in Kenya who belief they can manipulate the national legal system. As I discussed in chapter one, Politics and negative ethnicity propagated by politicians during electioneering periods are main key trigger for inter-tribal clashes and conflict as in 2007-2008. The spirit of "*cosmopolitanization of law*" can bring a sustainable peace to countries like Kenya by shifting the meaning of the old notion of understanding sovereignty as States absolute power to a new level of cosmopolitan ideals understood as both '*right and responsibility*' (Evans, 2006:709). The concept of the *Responsibility cum Obligation to protect* adopted in 2005 by World Summit opens up the possibility for external intervention in situations where human life is in danger or massive human rights abuses (ICISS 2001). This understanding reinforced together with the African Ubuntu philosophy- '*oneness to humanity; that we achieve ourselves by sharing ourselves with others, and caring for those around us*' (Obama, 2013) translates to an obligation that

prompts members of diaspora including the Kenyans in Norway to do something for Kenya in terms of strengthening its public institutions (Mohan & Zack-Williams, 2002).

3.5 Theorizing Multicultural Debate in Public Discourses

For any society to function effectively and democratically there is need for an inclusive public debate and dialogue on matters of national importance (Habermas, 1990, Rawls, 1996, Modood, 2005). This call for an open forum for free continuous discussion between the people and the regime of the day. In pluralistic societies, this discussion is more needed through dialogue and negotiations between the minorities and the majority (Modood, 2005). Habermas (1990), argue that all the actors in the society must be prepared to harmonize their plans of actions through negotiation and consensus agreement.

In modern contemporary societies, public discussion on matters of national importance always take place in the social media (Preston & Metykova, 2008), which acts as gatekeeper and decides who gets access and more importantly determine and shape the public opinion. In most cases, it is the academia and the political elites who have their own interest that get regular access to television news and debate programs. In as much as the public debates include the concerns and interest of minorities, in multicultural societies there is a need for diverse voices from minorities group. As argue by Husband (2000:207-208), accessing media by minorities to express their voices is not an end in itself but must be accompanied by a “right to be understood”.

Habermas is much aware that there is unequal representation and participation in the public sphere. While democratic principles demand that public debates should be open to all citizens, most theorists argue that in order to guarantee a legitimate rational and productive democratic debate there is need for restrictions on who is included. In agreement with Rawls’ idea of public reasoning, Habermas emphasize that public participation and contributions ought to be made in a ‘language’ that is generally accessible to all citizens (Habermas, 2005:14; Rawls 1999:152).

Importantly, both theorists distinguish between formal (the executive, legislature and the judiciary) and the informal public sphere which is open to any kind of contribution,

whereas only arguments that meet certain criteria should be allowed to cross the institutional threshold and influence policy and law-making. However, Rawls (1999:135) argues that citizens should ideally engage in public reasoning as if they were ‘legislators’. By referring to participants as ‘citizens’, Rawls view them as free and equal individuals with the same political position disregarding their social boundaries in terms of class status and ‘comprehensive doctrines’ (ibid,171). In the same understanding, Habermas’ principle of public discourse tend to promote an ideal of rational argumentation; where every citizen is equally entitled to participate, but the strength of the better argument alone should prevail, regardless of individual participants’ social position or background.

Feminist, post-colonial and multiculturalists critics have argued that this approach is unrealistic; because individual’s knowledge is inevitably influenced by their social position in the society, their personal experiences, identities and beliefs (Harding, 2000) which are difficult to shade away when engaging in public debate. On the same token, the rationalist models of the public arena discourses have also been criticized for failing to take care of power relations that exist between the society elites, the political class, the common citizen and particularly in a multicultural society where marginalized minorities have a structural disadvantage, having limited political power and representation couple with lack of proper language thus unable to easily access the media debate save for some ‘negative blame game’. With all these challenges minorities can’t access the media and participate publicly on equal footings with the majority (Modood, & Ahmad 2010, Parekh, 2000).

Having no other options and space in the public debate to express their interest, needs and concerns minority groups turned to protest which sometimes become violence. Parekh argues that such protest by minorities should be seen as a legitimate part of political deliberation requiring both sides to critically examine and modify their assumptions and to enter into political dialogue and negotiation that aims to accommodate each other (Parekh, 2000).

In contrast to Rawls, Parekh argues that ‘public reason’ is not a presupposition for political debate, but a product of it, which is by large ‘constantly reconstituted and pluralized by it’, and communicative mutual consensus should be seen as a dynamic process through dialogue rather than given. He further argue that negotiation argumentations should not only relies on presenting a weightier reasonable logical

arguments, but should also include experiences, emotions, moral values and identity of the actor concerned(Parekh 2000:305-309).

Arguing from multicultural dialogue, Gressgård (2010:5-6) elaborates on her criticism of the liberal pluralist approach to ‘diversity management’ as expressed in Norwegian White papers (Policy no. 49; 2003- 2004, 34).She identifies a key problem in using ‘tolerance’ as a tool to manage and incorporate the migrants in Norway. Minorities in Norway are only invited to dialogue and negotiation table insofar as their influence and participation legitimizes the policy based on pre-defined notions of integration. In this way, there is a gap assuming that the majority values are universal hence neglecting the value system of the immigrants (ibid, 11). As such, the Norwegian approach can be characterized as a ‘pseudo-open’ monologue discussion, which continues dominating minority groups through assimilation and culturalization, rather than as a genuine diversity dialogue, open to truth claims of others and the importance of self-identity and other value systems which have socialized and influenced immigrants’ world view.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have highlighted Modood’s concept of multiculturalism as ‘a process of negotiation and dialogue between the majority and the minority groups in diverse societies. It also explored the perspectives of both Rawls and Habermas on active public life including Appiah’s cosmopolitanism. In the next chapter, I discuss the methodology and the process of collecting data materials that will help to operationalise the theoretical framework in responding to my main research question.

4.0 METHODOLOGY

My main research question in this thesis was to investigate how the experiences of Kenyan migrants in Norway impact on their potential to participate publicly in the democratization and peace-building process in Kenya. The study topic was complex and ambitious for a master thesis, but I took it as a challenge having received Diaspora Scholarship from Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue who were interested in a study that could explore how migrants' integration experiences in Norway impact on their potentiality to publicly participate in democratization and peace-building processes in their countries of origin. The study findings are based on a small sample of Kenyans migrants in Norway, therefore it does not claim to generalize the experiences of the whole population under study. In other words, the study only gives insights to the individual narratives on how their experiences have helped them to contribute publicly in Kenya and Norway. The study findings show some similarities and differences though I did not reach data saturation. For example there was a unanimous agreement amongst my informants when it comes to the causes of conflict in Kenya while the responses to how they have been involved in democratization processes and public life were different. See graph 2 in chapter 5, for various ways of public participation.

4.1 Research Method Design and Approach

The study adopted qualitative approach as it suit to attain insights into people's world views and experiences (Bryman, 2004, Cohen et al., 2011). My adoption of a qualitative methodology approach and interviews, follow the definition of Kvale (1996:6) who defines it as "an attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations". This definition is in line with my study general objective, which was to inquire on the views, experiences, attitudes and perceptions of Kenya migrants in Norway and "not to measure them" (Verhoeven, 2011: 135).

The findings in this thesis draws from semi-structured in-depth face to face interviews totaling to 14 informants (8 males and 6 females) that were done in both Kenya and Norway between December 2013-January, 2014 (see Table 1 below and Appendix 2) for

participants characterization and interviews questionnaires respectively. This was made possible with the Diaspora Scholarship from the Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue, thanks to their financial assistance. In Kenya 8 interviews were conducted including 5 males and 3 females while in Norway, 6 interviews were carried out, 3 males and 3 females. Interviews were conducted in Swahili, Luo and English without a translator. Each of the interview lasted between one and two hours.

In Kenya, the interviews were conducted in hotels and restaurants. The meeting places were agreed on individual preferences, in some cases the informants travelled to meet me or I travelled to meet them. Originally as planned, I should have spent ordinarily between 3-12 hours to meet the informants, but as will be explained in the fieldwork process, there were some unpredictable occurrences. In Norway I did two interviews in my apartment, three in the coffee shops and one in the apartment of the interviewee. All the respondents voluntarily signed the consent form after a brief explanation from me about the confidentiality and research ethics (see appendix 1). Three informants requested that I send them the interview questions beforehand, which I did.

The names used are pseudonyms and only first names are used in order to avoid confusion with gender identification and secondly is to avoid categorizing my informants within ethnic group, as Kenyans surnames generally indicates the ethnic origin of the person. I have not mentioned information related to work profession of my informants, in-order to protect their identity as the population of Kenyans in Norway is small and people know each other and what kind of work they do in Norway. Broadly most of my informants work in different public offices and Non-governmental organization while others are in private businesses. Thus all of them have stable income. All interviews were tape recorded.

Apart from the interviews conducted, I have also read widely on related literature and legal documents in order to gain an in-depth knowledge about the research topic and to establish a theoretical framework to link the theory to the empirical data collected. In addition my research diary provided spontaneous insights and reflections throughout the study which I have used in the discussion chapter.

In addition, I made two observation visits in Kenya to the community projects that were started by two informants, namely a radio station and a Youth Resource Centre. The

projects are meant to inform the public and especially young people about their democratic rights and how to live peacefully. The radio station is run by youths themselves and broadcast youth friendly educative programs. The intention of the founder of the radio station, who has lived in Norway for over 15 years, was the need to provide civic education to young people about the Kenyan constitution and human rights and to provide a national forum where young people can express their views freely and get entertainment.

The Youth Resource Centre, founded in Norway and headquartered in Oslo provides educational financial support to needy youths in Kenya. The rationale is to empower them to realize their potentiality and dreams in life. It also act as a sport facility center where many young people meet each other, play together hence using sport as a mean to preach peace and community cohesion.

In order to hear the beneficiaries, ‘talking and thinking’ (Seidman, 2006:75) on the above community projects, though not the main subject of my inquiry but what I considered an opportunity sample (Basit, 2010). I talked with 5 people (3 females and 2 males) informally during my observation visit. Two of the females I spoke with have benefitted from funds to pay college fees and currently one is a member of the County National Assembly as Youth Representative and the other is human rights activist. The two are using their position to conscientious the community about peace, equality and active citizenry participation. The other female and 2 males got training from the Radio Station and work at the station in engaging young people on the constitution implementation and devolution processes.

4.2.1 Justification of the Research Design

As described above, this kind of study necessitates a qualitative approach due to the character of in-depth analysis that is required. Locke et.al, (1993:99) support such an approach as ‘a systematic, empirical strategy’ for answering questions about people in a bounded social context. It is a means for describing and attempting to understand the observed regularities and irregularities in what people do, say, and report as ‘their

experiences'. Qualitative research viewed in this manner becomes a theoretical proposition on social meanings and perceptions through observation.

First, as argued by Silverman (2000:8); preference to qualitative approach was the need for qualitative data "understood simply as the analysis of words and images rather than numbers". This study therefore follows the same design in analyzing words/texts and images from Norwegian integration policies documents and the experiences of Kenyans. The second preference was the need for observations and semi-structured in-depth interviews as techniques of collecting "naturally occurring data" or "phenomenon of interests unfolding naturally" in a real world setting where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2001:39). In this way, there is avoidance of a rigid, preconceived perceptions and attitudes towards key informants.

Third, the choice of design related to focusing on meanings of experiences and identities, because to be human is to be social and social life is dynamic. The dynamism as portrayed by the transnational life of Kenyans in Norway comes as a consequence of the actual physical and social-political and economical environments that they find themselves and how their experiences impact on them to want to engage publicly in both Norway and Kenya. Mental images, experiences and life stories have different effects on meaning and attitudes of individuals hence the justification for this kind of research approach and design (Silverman, 2000).

4.2.2 A Critique of Interviews as a Qualitative Research Design

As a method for qualitative research, interviews allows the participants to describe what is meaningful or important to them using their own words and experiences rather than being restricted to predetermined categories hence provides high credibility and face validity on the positive. On the other hand, interviews maybe more reactive to personalities, moods, and interpersonal dynamics between the interviewer and the interviewee. Additionally it is time consuming in both interviewing, data analysis and interpretation (Patton, 2001).

4.2.3 Sample

The study used three non-probability methods in identifying the respondents namely, snowball, purposive and theoretical sampling (Basit, 2010). Snowball sampling was chosen owing to the fact the populations of Kenyans migrants in Norway is small. As of July, 2014, there were 1,401 Kenyans registered legally in Norway (Statistic Norway, 2014). Secondly, they are living in far distant different regions of Norway which because of time limit and resources proved difficult to locate, therefore once the first respondents were identified, I managed to get other possible respondents from the first respondent networks (Cohen et al., 2011). Purposive and theoretical samplings on the other hand were chosen because personally I already knew some Kenyans whom I considered as key informants because of their rich life experiences in Norway and contribution to the Kenya society.

I considered the following factors in choosing an informant. First their reasons for migrating to Norway (forced or voluntary). Second, length of stay in Norway (1-5 years and 5 and above years), third their citizen and /or residency status in Norway and experiences in Kenya before moving to Norway. Other factors were ethnic origin, gender and level of transnational public engagement. My sample had 14 respondents (8 males and 6 females). 8 of them have been living in Norway for over 10 years and have since 'returned' to Kenya and are engaged in different activities from community grassroots mobilization to political offices and NGOs. The remaining 6 have lived in Norway for more than 4 years and make frequent visit to Kenya. Nine of my respondents migrated to Norway voluntarily while five (5) were political refugees. Table 1 below illustrates the participants' categorization.

My initial idea was to have a sample that represents the face of Kenyans in Norway. Secondly I aimed to have a gender balanced participants in addition to other factors but this was not possible due to the messiness and unexpected responses from potential respondents. It was impossible to get a diverse representation of the face of Kenya in Norway because some ethnic groups are more represented than others. Secondly, my research question needed specific responses, which could only be provided by specific key informants who are involved in transnational activities and have rich experiences in Norway. This forced me to have more than one representative from each ethnic group.

There were many willing informants but their life experiences and level of public engagement in both Norway and Kenya were inadequate for the purpose of my study.

Gender balance became a big challenge than I had expected. Specifically the women that I considered as key informants due to their experiences were not available or willing to participate. A number of reasons could be cited, first my fieldwork took place in December through January, a busy period of the year and many of the women told me they were busy with Christmas preparations. Some were also travelling with so much to do and family get-together thus were not well settled enough for the interview within that time. Some of them considered the topic difficult to comprehend. Others questioned the intentions and purpose of the research hence failed to see its importance in their life due to what they have been through. Perhaps my gender as a man could have also played a role. Maybe the response from a female researcher would have yielded a different response.

Table 1: Characters of Participants.

No	Name of Participant	Sex	Reason for Migrating to Norway	Years lived in Norway	Current country of Residence	Citizenship Status	Date of interview
1	Silvia	F	Family	11	Kenya	Norwegian	05-01-2014
2	Pascal	M	Political Refugee	16	Kenya	Norwegian	02-01-2014
3	Vitalis	M	Family	5	Norway	Kenyan	28-01-2014
4	Cecil	F	Family	6	Norway	Kenyan	23-12-2013
5	Hermann	M	Study and work	11	Norway	Norwegian	15-12-2013
6	Angela	F	Family	7	Norway	Kenyan	02.02.2014
7	Charles	M	Political refugee	10	Kenya	Kenyan	30-12-2013

8	Richard	M	Study and work	13	Norway	Norwegian	05-02-2014
9	Fredrick	M	Political Refugee	15	Kenya	Norwegian	12-01-2014
10	Judith	F	Family	8	Kenya	Kenyan	08-01-2014
11	Victoria	F	Family	11	Kenya	Norwegian	15-01-2014
12	Julius	M	Political Refugee	14	Kenya	Norwegian	06-01-2014
13	Andrew	M	Political Refugee	14	Kenya	Norwegian	10-01-2014
14	Christina	F	Study and work	9	Norway	Kenyan	13-02-2014

The thematic interviews were in two parts, namely in Kenya and Norway. The main aim of travelling to the local regions in Kenya was to correlate my respondents' transnational life, their current public participation experiences and integration in Norway and to find out any role/contribution they have played/made or intend to in promoting sustainable peace, ethnic/community cohesion and effective democratic institution based on their experiences in Norway.

4.2.4 Fieldwork Process

Fieldwork as a process involves encountering with life reality as it is, be it observation, participation or experience. As argued by Kvale (1996:6) it is an "attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations". When I enrolled for this study programme in 2012, finished the prescribed course work, my mind was already focusing on what I was going to research on and how I was going to get primary data. For

me, my fieldwork had already begun. Thus, when I finally chose my research topic and got the financial support from the Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue to cover costs for fieldwork in Kenya, the process began earnestly.

As I set out to the field, my assumption was that all my informants have different life experiences in Norway and as a result these impacts them differently to potentially engage actively in building a peaceful democratic country call Kenya. The fieldwork in Kenya took approximately 20 days; my projection from the beginning was that it will take me approximately 10-12 days to finish conducting interviews but as in any fieldwork, many unexpected things occurred that made me to draw a new fieldwork plan (Cohen et al., 2011). I will come back to this in fieldwork challenges section. I made prior arrangements with my informants in Kenya before travelling, so immediately I arrived, I confirmed interviews date with all of them. As mentioned above the meeting venues were agreed upon based on convenience of the informants, some preferred to come to my home town as a way of touring Lake Victoria-Western Kenya. Others preferred their places of residence.

I develop a rapport with my informants easily, many were excited to meet me and this helped to create a strong trust between us (Seidmann, 2005). The trust created made my informants to speak freely and with confidence about their experiences and also in a way some took it as a forum to show how much work they have done in Kenya in terms of their contribution towards democratization and peace-building processes in Kenya.

In comparing the fieldworks conducted in Kenya and Norway, there was a big difference on the way my informants responded to the questions. In Kenya, they were free to express their minds authoritatively unlike in Norway where some of them were not fully open enough to criticize or share their experiences in-depth. I also realize that the male informants were more excited about their participation and openly shared the activities they are engaged in Kenya and Norway unlike their female counterparts, who were reserved.

The explanations about the level of openness amongst my informants was influenced by their personality status in Norway and how long they have lived in Norway and since the male informants are more engaged politically in Kenya than the women ,they were able

to boldly share their contributions in Kenyan public arena. Additionally some of them are already engaged in politics or are aspiring for political positions in Kenya.

4.2.5 Fieldwork Challenges

My trip to Kenya was made during the month of December and January, a time full of celebrations and family gatherings. This affected my schedule as I had to cancel three appointments because the informants concerned were busy meeting their families and friends who had travelled from far. I did not foresee this in my original plan. This meant that I was to take more days to finish the fieldwork and reschedule the interview dates. Another major and devastating challenge was that the Kenyan government banned night travelling by public service vehicles in the months of December and January due to high road accidents experienced at night (www.nts.go.ke). This almost brought my fieldwork to a halt as some of key informants and myself had only one option to travel through the night in order to reach in the day time. We spent 3-4 days on the road travelling instead of ordinarily one day as public service vehicle were only allowed to run from 6 am to 6 pm. The travelling exhaustion that we both experienced, called for more time to allow for recovery and mind set stabilization. In addition we had to pay more for unplanned extra accommodation cost. This affected the quality of responses from some of my informants as some of them were completely tired. Personally I could not concentrate properly as this affected me physically and mentally having gotten use to the comfort of public travel in Norway.

Unlike in Norway, where most of the interviews were done in either my apartment or interviewees', in Kenya I had to do interviews in hotels and restaurants, which were open places, and using the tape recorder, other guests looked at me with a lot of 'suspicion' making me to lose concentration. In order to appear as any other guests in the restaurant I had to hide the tape recorder or cover it with something, this affected the quality of my recordings. Additionally I had to endure frequent noises either from other guests or vehicles movement. This was stressful and distracted the conversation process.

4.3 Positionality: An Insider Perspective

Positionality in qualitative research refers to the fact that a researcher's characteristics affect both substantive and practical aspects of the research process—from the nature of questions that are asked, through data collection, analysis and writing, to how findings are received (Silverman,2000).

Throughout this study, I carried myself as an insider. As was the case with all my informants, I am a Kenyan; though some of them are now Norwegian citizens but still we share the same geographical and socio-political environment as Kenyan diasporas and transnational in Norway (Bryman,2004). These aspects made it possible for my informants to develop positive trust in me as they accepted and understood me as one of them sharing the same experiences in both Norway and Kenya. The trust made it possible for them to openly share their life experiences both negative, positive and future plans with a lot of confidence and ease. This enriched my data with so much to compare from.

As an insider, I had an advantage of linguistic and cultural skills that facilitated access and interaction with all my informants. I was able to read the communication codes, body languages and understand the underlying meanings behind various communiqué. For example when it comes to nick names given to key politicians in Kenya and ethnic groups, I was able to link them to whom they were referring or talking about. Many of my respondents felt free to narrate their experiences. For some, the interview session was a forum to show how much they have actively engaged in Kenya public life from community grassroots mobilization to developing strong public institutions, while others use the opportunity to express their frustration with the Norwegian society. The field of study too made me an insider and researching in migration related topic vis-a-vis integration having a background in philosophy and international relations, I was able to contextualize a number of concepts within transnationalism, democracy, peace-building and public participation.

The major weakness of being an insider in research is that, one risk becoming shortsighted with a lot of assumptions on a number of issues. Many of my respondent on several occasions while responding to my questions, would say-`as you know, or seen or heard' (Osler, 1997). They considered me as an insider, a member of Kenyan diaspora in Norway like themselves who should know how the Norwegian and Kenyan society operate. This

made them to assume a lot of important information hanging incomplete. This affected the richness of the data, as I was left imagining and guessing what they really or actually meant. This assumption will not have arisen if I were an outsider in that, I will be immersed into unknown environment with no internal knowledge about the group under study hence giving me a flexible open-mindedness to understand my informants from a bird's eyes view (Basit,2010). In order to avoid this from happening in the other subsequent interviews, I was keen with such incomplete statements and asked my informants to expound further on what exactly they meant or referring to.

On the positive side, being an immigrant in Norway and interviewing other immigrants I got a sense of what it means to be one; and how they have contributed by giving back to the society where they came from as Hermann describe below,

“From the word go I came to Norway all the way in 2003 as an exchange student I knew the vulnerability of young people in my village. Now eleven years being in Norway, in the spirit of giving back to the society through volunteering and initiating projects that provide education funds to poor students we have managed to educate hundred plus vulnerable youths at university level. They are empowered and able to publicly voice their concerns in the society. Some of them have now become sponsors and support others like Mary and Tom who will otherwise resort to criminal activities, be misused and ‘bought’ for 500 Kenya shillings (50,NOK kroner) by politician to cause violence.”(Hermann, 15.12.2013).

To me this is a big motivation and challenge, I am a Kenyan, I grew up in the same situation and during my fieldwork I witnessed the same hopelessness of young people. I know and feel for the young people in my small remote rural village who just need a little weapon in the form of empowerment and capacity building. The weapon they need is the same as the one advocated by Mariama Bâ (So Long a Letter, 1980:88) *“Books are weapon, a peaceful weapon perhaps, but they are a weapon”*.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

The focus of this study is integration experiences and public participation of Kenyans transnational in Norway. I use information based on their experience as minority migrants in Norway. A research of this nature with a group categorise as a minority obliges

researchers to be ethically balance in ‘pursuit of truth, and their subject’s rights and values’(Cohen et al., 2011: 75) and not to portray immigrants as aliens and threat to the general public. On the other hand, this kind of research also recognizes the diversity existing in nation-states and how to give immigrants a forum to raise their voices publicly on issues that affect their life as a minority group and how the notion of identity relates to the politics of recognition. On such issues I remained neutral adhering to the ethics of recognition (Honneth, 1996).

To ensure the freedom to voluntarily participate and withdraw at will, all informants signed the informed consent form (see appendix 1). Prior to signing, I explained to them the details and contents of the interview structure (Cohen *et al.*, 2011). To ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of my informants, I have used coded pseudonyms names and put them randomly. However as much I did try to keep them anonymous, it is not possible to guarantee complete anonymity because my research design was through face to face interviews. Secondly my research was about how Kenyans in Norway have used their experiences in Norway to engage in public arena in Kenya. Some of my informants are aspiring politicians and are known to many other Kenyans in Norway and some of them have founded NGOs in Norway with an intention to empower the public in Kenya.

With this in mind and also bearing the small population of Kenyans in Norway, it was a challenge for me in ensuring total anonymity. For example one of my informants in Norway is a founder of an NGO that has helped to fund raise for poor students in Kenya. The organization is well known to many and is always associated with him. I personally asked him whether I should put the name of the NGO in order to put more emphasis on his contribution in Kenya peace-building and democratization processes. He told me to use the plural form of the organization and reminded me that even myself I have been volunteering in the organization, which is true. Therefore I have put the name of the organization but not the name of the informant concerned. This in essence illustrate that absolute anonymity is not possible in face to face interviews. As argued by Basit, (2010:56) there is need to carefully conduct the study with ‘utmost sensitivity preserving the dignity’ of the participants and not to harm or hurt in any way during the whole research process down to the analysis of the data. Following the above emphasis by Basit, I believe that, I took all sufficient measures to protect the confidentiality and privacy of my informants hence causing no harm to any of them.

The second ethical challenge came from my research sample. I used snowball and purposive sampling techniques to get access to my informants. At the beginning, I thought that my informants were anonymous to each other but this was not the case due to the small number of Kenyans in Norway and the networking that exist amongst themselves. While some were excited about being part of the interview and unknowingly told others that were also part of the study group. Personally I couldn't control this gesture but once I became aware of it as some informants would informed me, I asked them if they felt that their privacy and confidentiality will be compromised if other informants knew about their individual participation. None of them felt uneasy, if anything many of them felt it was an honour to be part of the group. To me this reaffirmed their free consent to voluntarily participate (Silverman, 2010).

4.5 Research Dairy and Reflexivity

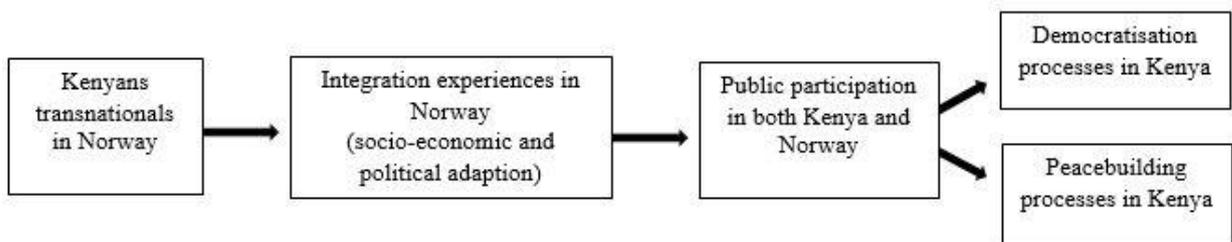
For keeping all the detailed history of records in my research process, I kept the research dairy. In this way, I was able to have a reflective cycle of events, experiences, reactions, feelings and my own thoughts as I progress with the research process. More importantly the dairy was helpful in putting down my spontaneous reflections based on factual accounts of things and situations throughout the research process which helped me during the analysis to reconcile my own opinions, findings and the theoretical perspectives that the study was based on (Narayan, 2010). The reviews that I made every day after each interviews were useful in all aspects in evaluating the research process and what to improve on or do next from the previous encounters that proved challenging.

4.6 Data Analysis

This thesis adopted Modood's sociological theory of political multiculturalism to operationalise the research questions and the empirical data gained from the interviews (Modood 2005, 2007). It also refers to Rawls' theory of public reasoning (1996, 2002), Habermas' theory of public participation (1990, 1996) and Appiah's Cosmopolitanism (2005, 2006). The perspectives of Rawls and Habermas are applied in the analysis because their insights are important in understanding the roles of every member of the society in engaging in public decision-making processes.

The findings are based on integration and public participation experiences of Kenyans who are engaged politically and socially in development and public life in two contrasting locations, namely Kenya and Norway. These Kenyans migrants can be looked upon as transnational citizens; hence their life narratives are analysed in terms of the meaning they represent by actively relating to their lived experiences and how these impact on their public participation (Kvale, 1996). The figure below shows the analysis flow.

Figure 1, schema of study and analysis flow.



Reliability is an important constituent part of any research. This can only be achieved if and only if the whole process of data collection and its analysis are carried out carefully with due regard to the regulations guiding the research process (Basit, 2010). Taken this way, reliability ensure that the new generated knowledge from the primary data are accurate, authentic and consistent so that other researchers doing the same research under the same situation using the same variables may likely get the same findings (Cohen et al., 2011). However in social sciences involving qualitative research, it can be difficult to ensure replicability as it involve mostly lived experiences whereby the data take the form of the participants' own subjective words contributing to an understanding both of what informants choose to talk about and how they understand what they are talking about (Horst ,2008).

In this study I was very conscious about reliability. I took it as my primary responsibility to explain in details to my informants the purpose of this study so that they consent voluntarily and share their experiences freely, consistently and accurately without any misleading information. Secondly, I made sure that that my language was simple enough and that the venues of the interviews were conducive enough with the voice gadget properly working so that I get clear and quality recordings. After listening severally to my recordings, I was able to identify the major themes and exempts to use for analysis, and with this my interpretation responded to the main research question.

The discussion in chapter five responds to my main research question. In order to fully interpret and engage my informants in discussing their experiences within my research question and theoretical framework, the choices of key themes to use as an emphasis or example from the interview excerpts were determined after several repeated listening to the recordings before transcription, taking into consideration the richness of data, gender balance, current residence place and status in both Kenya and Norway. This makes my analysis to remain holistic, objective and representative in nature.

In capturing the whole picture I have also analyze some particular Norwegian integration official legislative documents. An analytical point of departure is the criticism emerging from discursive interaction, which I interpret in the light of relevant theory, as well as contextualize within wider discourses and compare with other cases and settings. With this, my analysis stay closer to the empirical reality, and avoids imposing interpretations which do not take seriously what people actually say and experience.

As I went through the research process, I adopted a reflexive approach, being both an insider from my academic background and as a Kenyan immigrant in Norway. The approach made me to be part of the study inquiry; with my research diary, I was able to contextualize and analyse the interactive meanings that both my respondents and myself were involved; in construction of new knowledge and deconstruction of notions and ideologies. In this manner, interviews becomes interventions and awareness forum in that; they lays open thoughts, feelings, knowledge and experiences not only to the interviewer but also to the interviewee creating a reflexive bond.

The process of being taken through a directed reflective process affects the persons being interviewed and leaves them knowing things about themselves that they didn't know-or at least not aware of before the interview (Patton,2001). The study used the official documents as textual analysis hence cannot claim to may have analyzed them in details but used them basically to get the intentions or goals of the Norwegian government which the study utilized as prescriptive and normative in understanding the reality about the life experiences of Kenyans migrants in Norway (Silverman, 2000).

4.7 Reliability and Validity of the Study Findings

A good qualitative study can help us “understand a situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing” (Eisner, 1991:58). This relates to the concept of a good quality research when reliability and validity are concepts to evaluate quality for generating understanding. This implies that the researcher ought to be open-minded, transparent and consistent in gathering and processing the data. More important is the authenticity and the sources of the data (Cohen et al., 2011).

In ensuring reliability in my findings, as was mentioned in the research approach, I visited some projects that my informants had given as examples of their forum of participation and contributions in the Kenyan society. I also talked with a number of beneficiaries of those projects. And as Yin (2011:78) argues “a valid study is one that has properly collected and interpreted its data, so that the conclusions accurately reflect and represent the real world that was studied”. By observing the projects and talking with the primary recipients, I was able to relate the interviews responses, the real life situation and link them with my theoretical frameworks in responding to my main research question. With this my analysis and discussion remained objective and authentic.

The findings in this study were gathered from diverse multiple sources; both primary and secondary. I conducted an in-depth face to face interviews with different Kenyans transnational (males and females) in both Norway and Kenya based on their reasons of migrating to Norway (forced or Voluntary), citizen status, age and on the numbers of years that they have lived in Norway. Importantly, I have also read many literatures related to this study, statistical data and government official policy documents amongst others beside my research dairy. Through this, I have attempted to generate a holistic knowledge that ensures validity and reliability in this thesis. In emphasizing the importance of this approach, Mathison (1988:13), argue that, ‘triangulation strategy’ is an important methodological issue in naturalistic and qualitative approaches that evaluate and control bias thus establishing valid propositions.

The interviews were done in Swahili, English and Luo. In some instances there were shift of languages that my informants felt at ease to express themselves including Luo dialect, which is my mother-tongue. All the translations were done solely by myself. By allowing

my informants to choose the language they felt comfortable in, made them to be open and free in sharing their experiences thus giving rich meaning to the findings. This makes the study findings to be more reliable. And as Basit (2010:64) posit that in qualitative research “validity can be addressed through honesty, depth richness, the scope of the data achieved, the participants’ approaches and the use of triangulation”.

Throughout my fieldwork I tried to be objective in all interactions with my informants. I have analyzed and interpreted the data collected to the best transparent, accurate, consistence and compressive manner within the study theoretical framework in relations to my research questions. For example as I mentioned in ethical consideration section, when I became aware that some of my informants knew about other informants and may have disclosed to them the responses they gave me, I changed my briefings and debriefings style. This was meant to let them know that the interview was not a classroom test in which they were competing with any other informants and that their experiences were personal, different and were correct by themselves. With this, my informants gave diverse responses which allowed me to have a wider data to base my analysis on, thus ensuring objectivity and validity (Basit, 2010).

4.8 Scope and Limitations of the study

The study examines how the experiences of Kenyan migrants in Norway impact on their public participation in both Kenya and Norway. The purpose was to find out *why* and *how* they are engaged in peace-building and democratization processes in Kenya. Norwegian integration system was given an in-depth focus, because not unless migrants are well integrated they cannot publicly participate positively on issues that can potentially have impact on them either in the host or in the country of origin. Throughout the study and fieldwork process, I tried to adhere to the ethical rules and regulations related to writing a Master thesis. The findings, analysis and the interpretations in this thesis are my own reflections hence this study should be read within that context.

4.9 Summary

This chapter examined the methodological steps and processes that I followed in conducting the empirical research both in Norway and in Kenya. Chapter five below operationalizes and links the collected data in responding to my research question within the study theoretical framework.

5.0 THE EXPERIENCES OF KENYANS IN NORWAY

This chapter analyses on the experiences of Kenyans in Norway linking it with their contribution towards democratization and peace-building processes in Kenya. I am using their integration experiences in Norway from the perspective of structural integration (economic status) as this is the driving force behind their transnational activities and public participation in Kenya (*Snel et al., 2006*).

5.1 Transnationalism and integration

The intersection between transnationalism and integration has raised a lot of critique from diverse spectrum of migration researchers (Vertovec & Cohen, 2004, Brubaker, 2005). A major question of concern raised about the interplay between transnationalism and integration has been whether or not it is compatible with theories of migrants integration, and especially that of classic assimilation of Chicago school (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). Does immigrants' transnational ties impact on their integration process in the country of settlement or not? Depending on national ethnicity and on how different national integration policies are formulated and implemented, transnational ties represent a major challenge to migrants' successful integration in the country of settlement (*Snel et al., 2006*).

My approach in this work is to understand how the integration experiences of Kenyans migrants in Norway impact on their potentiality to participate in public decision-making processes in both Kenya and Norway. Integration as a process of migrant adaptation in the country of residence is understood differently and variedly across the globe. In North America assimilation is commonly used while integration is used in Europe (Madood, 2005). Other alternative concepts and terminologies like inclusion, incorporation and social cohesion are used to refer to immigrant incorporation in the country of settlement.

As a process of migrant adaptation, integration has been understood to mean migrants' full participation in the labor market and their formal citizenship. In the recent past, many scholars have conceptualized integration as process of negotiation and dialectical relationship between minority and majority groups (Madood, 2005, Nagel and Hopkins,

2010). The negotiation agenda has been placed on particular differences and whether those differences are seen as acceptable or deviant or against human rights and dignity.

A recent empirical research done in Netherlands, Norway and USA on whether there is correlation between continuous transnational ties of migrants and level of their integration shows that there is no clear causal relations between measures of migrant integration (e.g. employment, housing) and those of migrant transnationalism (e.g. remittance-sending, visits) (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, Snel et al., 2006). One of my respondents, Pascal illustrates his transnational life;

“I feel Norwegian and Kenyan in my everyday life. I pay my bills in Norway and at same time support my parents and siblings in Kenya. I attend school parents meetings for my children in Norway and at the same while in Kenya, I attend sponsors meeting in schools where I pay fees for some students. I cast my vote in both Kenya and Norway. Despite everything, I lead a good life. I feel that I am part of Norway and at the same time, I feel more Kenyan. I am a man of many worlds and I feel at home in all the places”. (Pascal, 02.01.2014).

Pascal's statement shows his transnational life and cosmopolitan spirit. He sees himself as a world citizen with an obligation transnationally (Appiah, 2006). His perception of full integration in Norway means good life which translate to economic capability and this makes him travel frequently to Kenya, to take care of his parents and siblings and still able to pay school fees for less fortunate student in his community. Pascal illustration shows that structural (economic) integration is the driving force behind transnational activities, which enables members of diaspora to publicly participate in their home country (Koser, 2007). However, other variable like immigrants from war-affected regions results in different integration level (Horst, 2008).

The transnational and cosmopolitan life of Pascal shows a counter-argument against the previous assumptions about migrants' transnationalism believed to hinder successful integration. The existing studies on the interactions between transnational migrant and integration points out that transnational tie do not hinder integration in the receiving country, though the compatibility varies (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013).

The Norwegian integration model, which has a combination of both traditional assimilation and multiculturalism ideologies, seems plausible in practical though it fails

to respond to some fundamental questions about the holistic goals of societal development and immigrants' inclusion. The big challenge is whether an essentialist notion of national identity is applicable and beneficial in a pluralistic society like Norway? Integration process understood as state integrationism as is partly the case in Norway may therefore be seen as partly in conflict with migrant transnational ties (Hagelund 2010, Erdal, 2010).

5.2 Integration and Public Participation Experiences

Much of the literature on migrant integration is based on analysis of patterns of migrant adaptation in societies of settlement. The relevant studies have resulted in various typologies of migrant integration that often take into account a number of key spheres for integration; including employment, language skills, housing, education and health, as well as issues related to inclusion/exclusion and participation/discrimination in the society of settlement (Brubaker,2005).

Engbersen (2003; Snel *et al.*, 2006) divides the field of migrant adaptation into two main categories: *structural integration* and *socio-cultural integration*. Structural integration concerns the functional and moral aspects of migrant adaptation—for example, formal participation in education or in the labor market. In other words it relates to the social-economic 'positioning' of migrants in relation to their level of education, needed labor market skills and citizenship. Socio-cultural integration, on the other hand, concerns the expressive aspects of migrant adaptation and contacts with the natives—for example, informal participation in neighborhood relations. Cultural integration entails the acceptance and internalization of the mainstream moral norms and value system (Snel *et al* 2006).

As already explained above, economic integration is the driving force in transnational activities. It is only those migrants that are structurally well integrated that are able to participate publicly on community mobilization and issues of national importance as illustrated above in the interview excerpts. From my findings, it is clear that all my informants are structurally integrated in Norway no-wonder they can travel frequently to Kenya but there are variations on their level of social-cultural integration when it comes to community participation as illustrated by respondents Pascal, Christina and Vitalis.

5.3 Kenyans Migrants and Public Participation in Norway

In this sub-section, I am discussing the public participation of Kenyans migrants in Norway in a narrow perspective, as I will discuss it further in chapter six as a critique. From the findings, many of my key informants indicated that their public participation in Norway is minimal due to lack of openness and equal opportunity to participate. When I asked them how they have been participating publicly in decision-making process in Norway on issues or policies that may have impact on their life as immigrants. There are varied reasons as Christina explain,

“My public participation in Norway is minimal as an immigrant. Outwardly, in the eyes of many, Norway is one of the best countries, the policies look super but in reality, things are different. I am a member and founder of many non-governmental immigrants organization both in Norway and Kenya but in many occasion that I am invited in public discussion and activities in Norway, my presence is a mere formality to show case that there were also minorities represented. I have never been in what I can call real heart of decision-making process in Norway or something influential, sometimes I feel my physical presence is used as an endorsement without engaging both my heart and mind”(Christina, 13.02.2014).

The experiences of Christina show how immigrants’ identity becomes a hindrance towards their public participation in Norway. One outstanding point from Christina is that diversity inclusion in Norway has become ‘a mere political rhetoric’ and many migrants are invited in public forum or activities just to be spectators and legitimize a policy or agenda that was already agreed upon by the majority. As she sees it, the Norwegian society has failed to recognize and embrace the challenges of living together in a diverse society, which call for equal opportunity and dignity.

No mutual dialogue can take place in such situations where there is absence of respect for equal dignity and non-adherence to freedom of expression and a guaranteed non-domination of one party (Modood, 2005). The self-reported experiences of Christina are clear indications of how hollow is the much stressed equal opportunity in Norway. There is, arguably no equal participation and presentation of immigrants in matters of national importance even those that directly impact on their well-being in Norway. Gressgård

(2010:6) refers to this approach as a ‘pseudo-open’ monologue, which continues dominating minority groups in Norway through assimilation and culturalization, rather than as a genuine diversity dialogue.

Vogel and Triandafyllidou (2005:11) define active civic participation as ‘people giving a voice to societal concerns’. It is a way of engaging in political parties, local committees, parent associations or migrant lobby organizations and secondly taking leadership functions in community mobilization groups. A more elaborate definition of active public participation is given by Chanan (1997:1) to mean ‘people’s capacity to take an active role in public affairs, whether through formal democratic structures, through the press or through public debate.

When I look at my findings critically within the context of the two above definitions of active civic participation of Kenyans in Norway, their public engagement in matters of national importance maybe categorized as poor. The majority of immigrants in Norway including the Kenyans, generally participate in what Norwegian call ‘*dugnad*’-community volunteer work as Vitalis outlines below:

“In Norway, our public participation have been limited to the old Norwegian traditional practice called ‘dugnad’-a community volunteer work where we meet people in the neighborhoods and work together, to do clean up in the surroundings, do repairs and clean kindergartens, schools, community social facilities amongst others”.(Vitalis,28.01.2014).

The illustrations by Christina and Vitalis (which were common across other participants) indicate that they do not engage publicly in Norway in matters of national. Their participation is limited in the community volunteer work in neighborhoods. In reality, there is a great variation in the levels of participation within the group. For others like Pascal it is about participating in school activities and practicing ones’ civic right during elections. For many migrants especially those with young children, community engagement is about participating in voluntary activities called *dugnad* meant to encourage children to participate voluntarily and being responsible in the neighborhood. The above evidence shows clearly that currently many Kenyans migrants are not fully taking part in public decision processes in Norway. My research dairy offer some possible reasons;

“There is lack of access to information and knowledge as well as language capability and skills amongst many Kenyans migrants in Norway which are necessary prerequisites for public engagement. Secondly, there is lack of equal opportunity for them to participate due to existing structural gap in Norwegian public institutions that continues to dominate minority groups. Other factors may include socio-economic background, age, gender, length of stay in Norway and level of education” (research dairy, 15.01.2014).

5.4 Kenyan Migrants contribution towards Democratization process in Kenya

Democracy literally means ‘government by the people’ (Huntington, 1991:8). It is about the institutionalization of the populace power. The process through which the institutionalization takes place is called democratization. The populace power is institutionalized through civic and political rights that entitle people to govern their lives, participate fully in public decision-making processes and to make free political choices on matters of public interest (Foweraker and Landman, 1997).

Kenya gained self-independence from Britain in 1963 and celebrated its 50 years of independence in December 2013. Kenya held its first ever multi-party elections in 1992 and since then there have been a lot of reforms even though in slow pace. Elections have been held every fifth year with a maximum of two terms for presidency. Notwithstanding Moi regime, 1978-2002 was full of political assassinations, torture, lack of freedom of expressions and detention without trial (the infamous Nyayo house)¹ Kenya is ranked as partly free by Freedom House 2013 Reports. Amnesty International accused Kenya of failing to comply with its human rights protection obligation with respect to impunity, torture, unlawful killing by police, discrimination and violence against women, corruption, lack of protection of asylum seekers and forced evictions. The right to life and freedom of homosexuals’ community hangs between a hard rock and a deep sea (Amnesty International 2013, Annual Report).

In this thesis, because of its scope I limit myself to only electoral system and civic mobilization as part of democratization process because majority of my informants have

¹ Torture and detention house during Moi Era.

focused their influence and resources in creating an independent electoral body in Kenya, leadership integrity and civic education. The general governance problems in Kenya is describe below by Fredrick,

“Our problem in Kenya is how we choose our leaders, in many occasions we chose leaders because they are from our own ethnic tribes. The worst is that our electoral body is not independent with many hand-picked commissioners by the executive without the participation of the parliaments and political parties. The Kenyan electoral body is rotten and corruption begins from tendering of electoral materials to party nominations to declaring of polls winners”. (Fredrick, 12.01.2014).

Fredrick’s description shows that holding periodic election does not mean anything without a wider public participation. All the citizens must be involved in between elections and throughout the whole process. In the same line of thinking, Rawls advice that modern democratic states should be administered by “reasonable pluralism”; where different numerous theories and normative traditions are considered as possible solutions (Rawls, 1996:133).

From time immemorial, many nation-states have not allowed institutionalization of peoples’ power easily. As is often the case, political elites have a natural tendency to keep as much power as they can and give as little power away as possible. To acquire civic freedoms, the public must overcome the ruling class resistance and struggle for their causes (Foweraker and Landman, 1997). This is no easy achievement, it requires wider participation from the public who are both *capable* and *willing* to mount pressures on political class. As argued by Habermas, (1990; 121) it is a fundamental requirement and condition that all who are affected by the norms should be ‘participants in the public discourses’.

This resistance and fighting for open participation in Kenyans’ democratization processes was expressed by Andrew who came to Norway as a political refugee after escaping narrowly from an arrest because of his political activism in early 1990s,

“As a young university student in Kenya in early 1990s, we did not have any democratic space. I decided not to follow that trend because I could see and experience the brutality and lack of basic human rights in the society. I remember one day we were arrested by police officers because of our activisms and being told by a police commissioner that universities are like

automatic machines with two holes on both ends, that you are put in and after four years one is supposed to come out. He warned us that our activism were tantamount to blocking the machine hole in the middle. I refused to be reproduced and instead resisted even more, but things became worse and I had to run and seek a political asylum in Norway. Upto- date I have always taken active roles in civic education in Kenya. I am proud to say that our main achievement is the new constitution” (Andrew, 10.01.2014).

Andrews’ experiences are in line with Rawls (1996:135) argument that citizens should ideally engage in public reasoning as if they were ‘legislators’. By referring to participants as ‘citizens’, Rawls view them as free and equal citizens with the same political position disregarding their social boundaries in terms of class status and ‘comprehensive doctrines’ (ibid, 171). In the same understanding, Habermas’ principle of public discourse tend to promote an ideal of rational argumentation; where every citizen is equally entitled to participate, and where the strength of the better argument alone should prevail, regardless of individual participants’ social position or background.

Kenya promulgated a new Constitution in 2010 that replaced the colonial one. The majority vote in the referendum was a sign of a strong argument that the Kenyans people put forward in line with Habermas’ principle of public discourse in which a better rational argument prevails. Andrew points the new constitution as a major achievement by members of Diasporas towards democratization process in Kenya. The constitution has reconfigured Kenyan’s democratic institutions across the board; it turned Kenya treaty practice from dualist to monist and expressly recognizes the general rules of International Law as forming part of the law of Kenya and provides that any treaty or convention ratified by Kenya shall form part of the laws of Kenya (Kenya Constitution 2010, Art, 5& 6). When I asked my informants about what Kenya can learn from Norwegian public institutions, the response was;

“Kenya can learn a lot of things on how public institution should be run; from my experience as a civil servant in Norway I see a huge incomparable gap between Kenya and Norway in terms of public offices. This year Norway celebrated its 200 years anniversary of the signing of the Constitution while Kenya just celebrated 50 years of independence from Britain and 2 years of a Kenyans own written constitution. I personally participated in its initial drafting. I was part of the diaspora group who travelled to Kenya to present our case in the parliament. Thanks to my being in Norway, I mean my status here give me an access to politicians from both divide. With this new

constitution the people of Kenya have a say on how the country is to be govern and any major changes, requires a referendum.” (Richard, 05.02.2014).

Quite logically, from Richard’s illustrations it follows that the conditions under which democratization takes place is likely to impact the power balance between political elites and the populace. Under the new Kenyans Constitution, the political elites cannot make any majors changes in the constitution without putting it through public suffrage (referendum) and that the central authority cannot easily access public resources without the public consent.

From my findings, it was clear that Kenyan Diasporas due to their vast experiences in Norway have contributed to democratization process in Kenya in the same way that they currently contribute to economic development through financial remittances. They have done this by offering their transnational knowledge in community capacity building and empowerment as Judith asserts,

“As a woman who had a rare opportunity to come to Norway, I have concerns over gender inequality and discrimination that many Kenyan women go through. Because of my status in Norway, I have been able to mobilize resources in terms of finances and human resources to help create awareness in rural places in Kenya where women still lack necessary education and knowledge about their civil and political rights. Many women in my village are discriminated because of traditions. For example, many women have no land ownership right and right to education; these are considered male domain. Since I started this mobilization and working with local organizations, we have educated more than 600 young women who can now stand up for their rights in the society. If it was not for our interventions these women would be married off as under-age girls and would not access education”. (Judith, 18-01.2014).

The same comments were echoed by Hermann,

“I came to Norway, 10 years ago as an exchange student. I benefited from a scholarship and since then have embraced in my life the philosophy of “giving back to the society”. Myself I have taken education as a path to participate in democratization process in Kenya. I started an organization called Utdanningshjelpen- ‘education help fund’ here in Norway to assist poor students in Kenya and other parts of Africa. I am excited by the outcome...now 6 years down the line we have educated around 400 poor students up to university level. Some of them are now teachers, nurses, civil servants and human right

activist. In particular, I am impressed by one young man from a minority ethnic group in Kenya whom we educated and is now a member of parliament; he has been fighting against female genital mutilation and violence against women in his community, which still practice these traditions that are against women rights and gender equality. By empowering these young people they have become the agent of change they want in Kenya.” (Hermann, 15-12.2013).

As both Judith and Hermann describe their contribution to Kenya’s democratization process, one thing is clear—the access to quality education as one of the most important means of empowering people in the society. This puts education as a pre-requisite condition and a significant benefit both to the individual and the society national development in all its forms and that education can be used as weapon against poverty and other forms of inhumane practices including discriminatory actions (Harber, 2010). The experiences of Judith in particular indicate how promoting women education is crucial to their economic empowerment, health, political and civic participation, and in preventing gender-based violence and insecurity. The most powerful tool to address these inequalities is education and as the two expressed in the findings, through education, they have empowered many Kenyans to be actively engaged in community mobilization and the indication is that those already empowered are also empowering others.

During my fieldwork in Kenya as was discussed in chapter 4, I made observation visits to some projects that both Judith and Hermann are involved in and did managed to talk with some beneficiaries, though they were not my main informants but what I considered opportunity sample (Basit, 2010). My reflections after informally talking with them can be summarized below,

“An educated mother has a greater influence in household negotiations and this allows her to secure more resources for her children and her space in the society”. (Research dairy, 13.01.2014).

Education is a basic human right as Article. 26 in the UDHR affirm: *“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit”*. The free access to elementary education is further emphasized and

chosen as one of the target towards attainment of Millennium Development Goals (MDG3) by 2015, which aim to promote gender equality and empower women.

Human rights are fought for, won, lost, and won again. As the focal points of historical struggle, “they offer significant opportunities for engagement for greater social justice and equality across the globe” (Osler and Zhu, 2011:39). Looking at the leadership problems in Kenya through a bird eyes and the areas where the Kenyan Diasporas in Norway have put their efforts as explained by both Judith and Herman, it is clear that there is need for civic education that can empower the citizens to actively engage in public decision-making processes. From an educational perspective, adult education theorist Paulo Freire advocate for a ‘critical understanding of the situations which should lead to critical action’ (Freire, 1970:68). Personally as a Kenyan, I have experience and witness the situation in Kenya. In my reflections in trying to come up with possible answers to my main research question, looking at my findings, the observation visits and the contributions of Kenyans migrants in Norway towards democratization process in Kenya, I am convince that,

“Every Kenyan citizen despite their social class and political affiliations have the power within themselves to take the first step of action to imagine that Kenya could be different” (Research dairy, 18.01.2014).

5.5 Kenyans Migrants’ contribution towards Peace-building Process in Kenya

This section responds to the second part of my research question. However, before going to the discussion, it is important to give a brief history about the causes of conflict in Kenya. With respect to internal context, there are many issues, which ignite conflicts and ethnic rivalry in Kenya. Amongst the majors causes of conflict in Kenya are historical injustices concerning unequal distribution of land, discriminatory sharing of the “national cake”, negative ethnicity, unemployment, corruption, lack of democratic space and marginalization (Mwagiru, 2010). Politics is also at the heart of violence in Kenya with electioneering periods being a key trigger for inter-tribal clashes. The majority of my informants pointed out that the weak ineffective government structures were to blame for chronic tribal clashes. As a response, many of them have focused their efforts in the constitutional reforms aimed at institutionalization of populace power. This approach affirms Landman (2005), argument; that when public structures are institutionalized and

enshrined in a national constitution then it does not matter *who* is ruling but the *how* of ruling *is* the most important because there is legal checks and balances.

The old Kenyan constitution was a recipe for conflict because it lacked legal checks and balances amongst the three arms of the government. In between from 1963 until 2010, the Kenyan constitution underwent several amendments, which systematically eroded these balances and instead strengthened the executive powers. This resulted in making the presidency an equivalent to a dictator. Many conflict experts in analysing the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya attribute it to the many anomalies and inconsistencies in the constitution and the way the election commissioners were appointed (Mwagiru, 2010, Mutua, 2008). There was no consultation across the board, ‘the president appointed commissioners who did not reflect the ethnic composition of Kenya and who did not have the confidence of many Kenyans’ (Mutua, 2008:14).

In announcing the 2007-2008 elections result, the then chairman of Electoral Commission of Kenya, Mr Samuel Kivuitu declared Kibaki the winner, but later when chaos erupted the response was;

“I don’t know whether Kibaki won the election”

(Samuel Kivuitu, Kenya Election Committee Chair, Jan 2, 2008).

The above response is a clear indication of what can happen, when a country have a strong and corrupt executive. The paradox is that in 2007 the election chairperson certified and declared that Kibaki won the election seemingly not knowing whether he had actually won. Why would he do this? One possible explanation could be that he feared being fired by the appointing authority because he had no constitutional security of tenure as the chair of Kenya electoral body (Mwagiru, 2010).

Externally Kenya’s proximity to Somalia, Sudan, Yemen and Eritrea, which have been known to be Al Qaeda and Al Shabaab sympathizers, has left the country vulnerable to violence related to piracy and terrorism. The perennial conflicts in the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes also impact Kenya through spill over effects with refugees and small firearms.

In my response to the main research question in this thesis, on *how* Kenyans in Norway have use their experiences to contribute towards peace-building processes in Kenya. I

look at it from two fundamental levels namely: their soft power to influence and financial resources on one hand and secondly, their emotional attachment, transnational network and expertise on the other hand (Erdal & Horst, 2010).

The motivation behind diaspora groups to participate in peace-building processes in their homeland can be analysed, through a combination of sentiment, guilt or even ignorance of the conflict situation. These factors make the reasonable point that members of diasporas often feel a genuine sympathy for the struggles of those in their country of origin (Bercovitch, 1993). These feelings were portrayed by Cecil in her response when I asked her how and why she been involved in peace-building process in Kenya?

“I have emotions and attachment to my country Kenya, I was born there, raised there, my ancestors and other family members are buried there. When I see in the international social media how innocent children are killed, women raped and people kill each other in the name of politics and ethnic rivalry in Kenya I look at my life in Norway, I wish, I could bring all of them here. I feel that I have to do something.” (Cecil, 23.12.2013).

Cecil’s response shows some sense of emotional guilt, which is also shared by the rest of my informants. Most of them feel that their life in Norway is safe and that they have resource mobility while their relatives and fellow citizens including children in Kenya are in life threatening situations (Bercovitch, 1993). Their emotional attachments and feelings motivate them to want to engage in peace-building process in Kenya.

The Second way through which members of diaspora make their contribution in peace building is through the power to influence. Boulding (1989:25-29), a peace researcher ‘identifies three different forms of power namely; threat power, exchange power and integrative (love) power’. In Boulding’s model, threat power means having a capacity to force or compel an action in a coercive manner. Exchange power stems from contractarian relationship based on tactical but non-emotional alliances for mutual benefit. Integrative power is based on the notion that some actors have the power to convince, to attract and even to co-opt others through intellectual, spiritual or sentimental persuasions.

The understanding of integrative power as argued by Boulding provides the second reason that makes Kenyans diaspora in Norway to contribute to peace building in Kenya. The central point here is that, some of my informants have been involved for long time in Kenyan freedom struggle, hence have some power to influence the politics in Kenya.

Three of them were part of respondents. This group has a soft power read influence, which may hasten conflict to ripe for negotiations. (Boulding, 1989, Nye, 2008). The respond below by Pascal is a testimony:

“When Kenya was burning during the post-election violence in 2007-2008. It was painful for those of us who have been fighting for a peaceful Kenya; personally, I came to Norway as a political refugee. It was unbearable to sit down and watch the progress we have made democratically sink and burn into ashes. Two of my comrades and myself decided to make a phone call to the opposition leader with whom we have fought with for democratic space in Kenya and even sought political asylum in Norway. We reminded him that Kenya was bigger than any individual and that he needed to cool down his supporters and enter into political dialogue with his opponent. We were happy when he agreed and entered into political dialogue. The result was a Grand Coalition government and he became a co-principal in a coalition government. I attribute this to my status in Norway, honestly; I wouldn't even have his personal phone number if it was not that I am living in Norway and been supporting his political causes” (Pascal, 02.01.2014).

Conceptually as Pascal illustrates above, this thesis view powers of Kenyans migrants in Norway through the lens of ‘influence as well as through the capacity to exert force indirectly through financial resources’, (Nye, 2008:94-98) and argues that in certain circumstances, the power to influence others can exceed the power to compel others, as described by Pascal. It is no doubt that the ‘process of political change and peace-building processes in Kenya’ cannot be understood without taking into account the independent influence of transnational human rights networks, external actors and members of Kenyans diaspora abroad (Schmitz, 1999:39).

Third, some Kenyans diaspora in Norway have both professional and resource capacity to support peace building in Kenya, a country that is deeply divided along ethnic group. Some of them have offered their expertise through building the capacities of local organizations and civil societies. Others have also engaged through education and political mobilization oriented towards bringing reconciliation process amongst different ethnic groups in Kenya as Charles illustrates,

“I always use my networks and expertise in training the local organizations in different parts of Kenya about the need of co-existence. For the last five years, I have arranged open public conferences and meetings that bring together politicians and young people

from higher learning institutions with one goal, to preach peace and reconciliation. By having Kenyan political elites sharing a podium and talking with each other is encouraging and is a sign of unity. To me this is a positive sign to our young people in Kenya who in many instances are easily influenced and incited by the same politicians” (Charles, 30.12.2013).

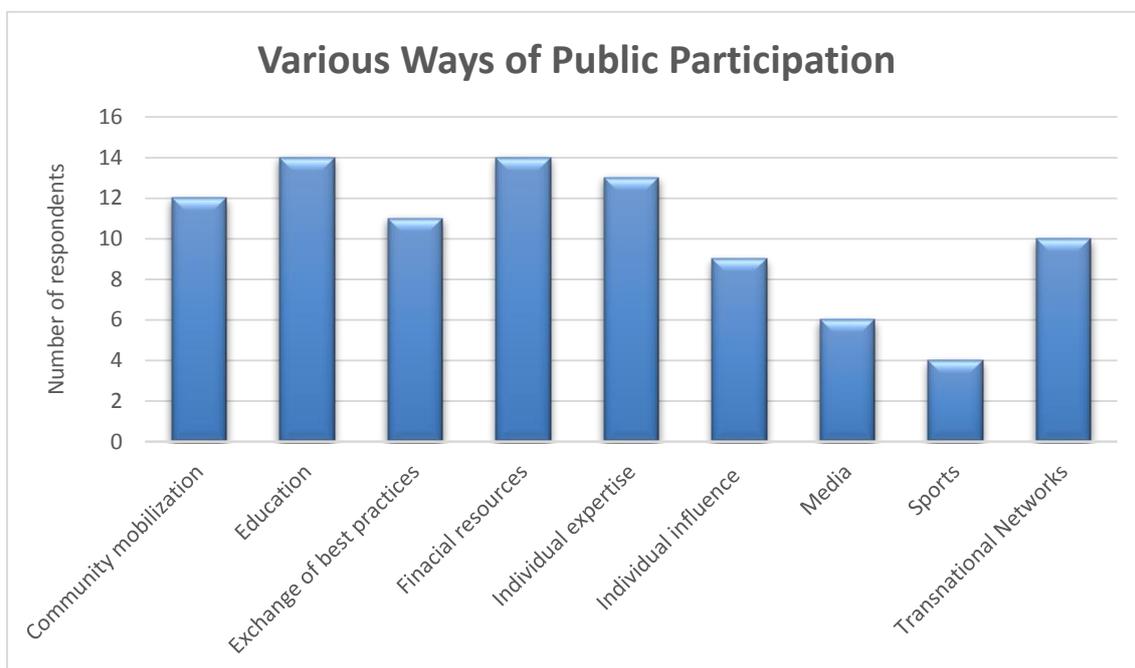
As I discussed above on the causes of conflict in Kenya being historical injustices based on unfair distribution of land resources and structural conflict manifested in corruption, nepotism and negative ethnicity. I asked my informants what their thoughts were about preventative measures on causes of conflict in Kenya. The response from Victoria clarifies,

“Conflict in Kenya is majorly resource based brought about by unfair distribution of resources. It is important that the government institutions are reformed. There is need for formation of truth and justice commission to reconcile and heal all the historical injustices. From structural perspective, there should be reforms that will guarantee fair distribution of government positions amongst all the ethnic groups in Kenya. More importantly is that the general public are train to change their mindset to think as Kenyans not like a Luo or Kikuyu. I mean a need for a national integration and cohesion towards building one country call Kenya where we all belong and not just thinking from tribal cocoons”. (Victoria, 15.01.2014).

Some Kenyan Diasporas in Norway who are aspiring politicians have used their networks with their affiliated political parties to exchange ideas and experience with Kenyans politicians, on how political parties are run and their roles in democratization and peace-building process. Additionally some of my respondents indicated that they have been involved in the areas of capacity building by making their professional skills and expertise available to the government and to political parties in Kenya as Angela illustrates,

“On many occasions, the Kenya government through the embassy in Sweden has sought my pieces advice on a number of diverse issues. This has been as a result of my professionalism and experience in Norway. I remember in 2009, I travelled to Kenya for three days to argue the Diasporas position and to influence the constitution on dual citizenship and the Norwegian experience with devolved government. I feel satisfied that I participated in writing the Kenyan Constitution. Dual citizenship is important for us as it allow us some flexibility in our transnational ties. (Angela, 02.02.2014).

The graph below give a summary of various ways through which my informants are engaged in public life in Kenya.



Graph 1: Key Words and Explanation.

Community Mobilization: Capacity building, activism, creating awareness and organizing open forums.

Education: Youth & Women empowerment, Civic Education, Paying School fees for poor students.

Exchange of Best Practices: Combination of Norwegian and global experiences.

Finance Resources: Remittances, Supporting political parties & NGOs, paying school fees for poor children,

Media: Informing the public and offering an open forum for expression.

Individual Expertise: Professional experiences, e.g.as consultants to Kenyan government. Important in this study-some participated in drafting the constitution on diasporas/dual citizenship.

Personal Influence: Personal contacts and Networks.

Sports: As unifying factor and activity.

Transnational Networks: A combination of global Diasporas network, agencies and other international actors

From graph 1, the findings show that all my informants take education as the best means to publicly engage in Kenya's democratization and peace-building processes. Generally they are either paying school fees for poor students or supporting community projects in Kenya aimed at creating awareness and empowerment. This confirms the significant benefit of education both to the individual and the society, be it from human capital theory, where education increases the employment skills and productivity or from modernization theory in which education enhances wider public participation and social-cultural attitude change in developing values that are needed to sustain a democratic political system which can also guarantee peace and security (Harber and Davies, 1997).

My discussion on the potentiality of Kenyan migrants' contribution towards peace building in Kenya is based on the understanding of integrative power, which is more emotional and organic in nature, where human relationships extend beyond fear or mutual respect, into friendship or even love. Integrative powers involve the 'capacity to build organizations, to create families, to inspire loyalty, to bind people together, and to develop legitimacy' (Boulding, 1989:25). Integrative power from this point of view is much similar to Nye's conception of 'soft power' that is based on consensual trust-building and persuasions unlike 'hard power' which is by coercive techniques (Nye, 2008).

From my research dairy, and being a Kenyan and in this case a member of diaspora in Norway, looking at the history of Kenya with conflicts and trying to examine the roles that members of Kenyans diaspora in Norway can play, I am in agreement with Nye's concept of soft power and Boulding's concept of integrative power.

"My reflections, after the fieldwork and observation visits that I made, I can say that the Kenyans migrants in Norway have use their influence and status in Norway positively in creating awareness, promoting equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony and peaceful coexistence between persons of different ethnic backgrounds in Kenya".(Research dairy, 17.01.2014).

After answering the first part of my thesis question, **how** the Kenyans migrants have been involved in democratization and peace-building process in Kenya, the following part respond to the second part of the question, **why** they participate in Kenyans public life when some of them actually do not live there?

5.6 Why are Kenyans migrants in Norway engaged publicly in Kenya?

In the last few decades many African governments have change their attitude to recognize the Diasporas' potentiality to contribute to the overall development and public life in the continent (African Union, 2006). This strategic involvement of Diasporas group in their homelands has been encouraged and termed as the 'fourth development aid actors' by the Bretton Woods institutions like World Bank and the UN (Mohan & Zack-Williams, 2002:216-225). As an effect there is a growing realization amongst the African Diasporas across the globe that they have a responsibility to do something for the continent they have left physically but not emotionally. First, the emotional attachment as illustrated by Cecil above prompts members of diaspora including the Kenyans in Norway that I interviewed to be engaged publicly in their country of birth.

Second reason that came out strongly in my findings is the so called, African Ubuntu² Philosophy- *'oneness to humanity; that we achieve ourselves by sharing ourselves with others, and caring for those around us'*³. This becomes an obligation and commitment that makes them want to take concrete actions towards other people in their homeland (Mohan & Zack-Williams, 2002). In the same line of thinking, Appiah (2005) argues that cosmopolitanism is about humanity as common, and obligations across border allowing for feelings of multiple belonging, thus enabling an individual or an agency to participate and contribute towards a just and peaceful world across the globe.

Third reason is the need for democratic governance, adherence to the rule of law; human rights protection; health and security, which are very critical in creating an enabling environment for development and investment (De Haas, 2006). The above reasons respond to my research question and clearly shows that the participation of Diaspora groups in democratization and peace-building process are indispensable with their transnational life. From whichever angle we look at it, be it from personal political ambitions or private investment in their country of origin, members of Diasporas need a peaceful environment and efficient public institutions that is reliable and predicable. From family level, members of Diaspora have other members of their families still living in

²Desmond Tutu definition of Ubuntu-A person, who is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, based from a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed.

³ President Obama definition during Mandela funeral 2013.

their country of origin, thus they have an emotional and family attachment (Mohan & Zack-Williams, 2002).

Apart from the three above stated reasons why members of diaspora communities are engaged in the democratization and peace-building processes in their home country, there are also other advantages that favor them unlike other external actors like international organizations and donor agencies. Unlike external actors who need more time in order to understand the socio-cultural and historical complexities in any local context, members of Diasporas understand the local contexts codes of communication in their homelands (Erdal & Horst, 2010). Secondly, they have an additional exposure to democratic political institutions and practices from their current country of settlement. These acquired experiences plus local knowledge make them to be able to introduce new ways of dealing with political challenges in their homelands, which can ‘bridge the gap’ and contribute a new worldview to the local political elites (NORAD, 2009:19). The third advantage is their financial resources, extensive transnational networks, powerful international forces, and political connections that span the globe (Lyons, 2007). All these combined advantages and status make the members of diasporas, a forced to be recognized by their homeland government and make them the ‘fourth development aid actors’ as described by World Bank.

Apart from interviews that I conducted, I also made two observational visits as was discussed in research approach section. Below is my reflection from the visit,

“The Kenyan Diasporas in Norway have provided several forms of support to democratization and peace-building in Kenya. First, they have played a role in forming pressure groups devoted to influencing democratization and constitutionalism in Kenya and capacity building through education. They have demanded democratic and well-functioning public institutions in Kenya that are accountable to the citizenry. They have empowered people through grassroots mobilization and creating awareness in many areas including human rights, gender equality and the need to live in peace”. (Research dairy, 13.01.2014).

One major difference that I noticed from my informants based on their reasons of migrating to Norway is that those who came to Norway as political refugees are more engaged politically than those who migrated for study or family reunification reasons.

The reason could be that many of them were already political activists in Kenya and that some of them are aspiring politicians.

5.7 Summary

This chapter examined the socio-economic experiences of Kenyans in Norway and how this impact on their contribution towards democratization and peace-building process in Kenya. Chapter six below gives a dissecting critique to the policies and exposes the existing gap between the practice and the rhetoric of presenting Norway as an egalitarian society.

6.0 A CRITIQUE OF NORWEGIAN INTEGRATION POLICIES

In this chapter, I am not examining the Norwegian integration policies in their own right, nor am I doing textual analysis, but specifically examining the policies in relation to the experiences of Kenyans migrants in Norway. I am an outsider without full history and background reality of these policies, therefore my analysis is limited to the experiences of Kenyans and other writers' perspectives.

As discussed in chapter 2, the Norwegian integration policies debate have taken equality approach in which the immigrants are portrayed as lacking knowledge about basic human rights and Norwegian values (Eriksen, 2011:3). Though much stressed, the gender equality in Norway has failed to recognize other factors that are equally important to immigrants' full integration. As illustrated in chapter 5, many respondents agreed that there is no equal participation and presentation of immigrants in matters of national importance even those that directly impact on their well-being in Norway. Gressgård (2010:6) refers to this approach as a 'pseudo-open' monologue, which continues dominating minority groups with visible traits in Norway through assimilation and culturalization rather than as a genuine diversity dialogue, which is open to the value system of minority groups. It is in this context that I use, Modood perspectives of multiculturalism as a political process of dialogue and negotiation to give a critique and present it as a possible option framework toward migrants' integration in Norway.

The White Paper, 'Diversity through Inclusion and Participation' no. 49 (St. Meld, 2003-2004) had the individual person as the focus point thus creating a tension between individuals' freedom of choice and cultural affiliations. It was founded on the principle that promotes individual's opportunity to make independent choices but at the same, individualism must not be allowed to weaken, *"the rules of the game that everyone in the society ought to observe and respect, because certain principles are unchallengeable and something must be shared by all"* (St. Meld, 49 (2003-4,127).

The center-left Stoltenberg government in an effort to improve on the inclusion and participation of minorities in the Norwegian society announced a new White Paper on the same topic in 2012. The document was expected to follow the same line of thinking like the 2004 White Paper but with additional emphasis on social cohesion, loyalty to shared Norwegian values and acceptance of diversity. It also focuses on employment and a sense

of belonging by immigrants in the Norwegian society. The main goal of the policy paper was to orientate and educate immigrants towards embracing and being loyal to the fundamental values of Norwegian society, like democratic procedures, human rights and gender equality. Though these values are not only particular to Norway but universal in nature, they were (are) presented as ‘typical Norwegians’ as a way of portraying Norway as a ‘perfectionist’ society where universal human rights values are equated with Norwegian societal norms and values (Stokke, 2012). In my findings, a number of informants demonstrated their frustrations with Norwegian public in which the Norwegians find it difficult to accept their values system while insisting that minorities accept theirs as Andrew describes, (Andrew is a Muslim and has a Muslim name, but because of its negative perception in Norwegian society, he rarely use it publicly)

“I am a devout Muslim; I try to observe the five formal prayers each day. These prayers are important in my life as each prayer time reminds me of God’s given opportunities to seek His guidance, protection and forgiveness. I have created my own prayer place at work, though not encouraged at work and in many instances my colleagues at work see my prayers times, which takes less than five minutes as sabotage from my duties when some of them take coffee and cigarette breaks for more than ten minutes. In Norway, Adhan- the bell that summons Muslims for prayers is illegal while Mainstream religions have got church bells ringing loudly calling faithful for prayers. The Muslim bell is termed public nuisance in Norway” (Andrews, 01.01.2014).

Andrew’s perception about the illegality of Adhan is not strictly accurate but his sentiments of exclusion are real. The legislation about call to prayers have undergone numerous courts hearings legalizing it but there is lack of national legal frameworks as it is left to be regulated by each municipality based on noise regulations connected with building sites. In 2000, the World Islamic Mission in Oslo applied to be allowed to perform Adhan, and were granted permission but on conditions that the sound was not louder than 60 decibel, did not last longer than three minutes and only on Fridays. To date there is no any mosques in Oslo that have public calls to prayer (Lykseth 2000, Lybæk 2014).

In emphasizing Andrew’s experiences, another key informant had the same experience,

“It does not matter how much education you get or how long you have live in Norway, you are repeatedly asked all the time about your identity, your original home place, your

religion. You feel that you are being directly attack. You feel that you always need to defend your identity” (Richard, 05.02.2014).

The experiences of both Andrew and Richard show that there is very low sense of belonging and morale from some immigrants save from Norwegian stable economic and good welfare system. The main issue in Norway is not on how to include immigrants in Norwegian society, but how to re- construct a more positive inclusive perception of Norwegian new identity so that immigrants can feel a sense of belonging and acceptance because the challenge of living together in a diverse and pluralistic society can only be met if people can live together as equals in dignity (Osler and Lybæk, 2014).

The experiences and perceptions of Andrew are of a society that has unequal power balance. Norwegian society reinterprets its own societal values and attempt to impose its version as universal. When there are special rules for mainstream church bells, which does not apply to mosques, then it is discrimination based on religion, which is against Article 18 of UDHR;

*‘Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to **manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance**’*

Andrew’s manifestation and practice of his religion is seen as undesirable, sabotage of duty and public nuisance. The European Court of Human Rights Article 11 recognizes that pluralism can only thrive in diverse societies when it is built on “*the genuine recognition of, and respect for diversity and the dynamics of cultural traditions, ethnic and cultural identities, religious beliefs, artistic, literary and socio-economic ideas and concepts.*” In the same line of thinking Moodod argue that, *commonalities must be difference-friendly*, and if that is not the case , then there is need for dialogue between the majority and minority groups to make them so. The practice of diversity demands from every nation-state that embraces it, to create structural frameworks that reflect the dynamism and complexities of its national narratives which give expression to diverse national identities (Modood, 2005, Osler & Starkey, 2005).

The Norwegian multicultural practices should not only to be seen to be attractive in papers but ought to be attractive in reality also. There is need to have a counter-balancing set of identities, experiences and other value system within the national identity; it can-not be based entirely on language and shared national values of Norwegian society (Osler, 2013). It is easier for public to engage in a stereotypical perception of the 'other' and create a climate of suspicion, tension and anxiety when dialogue door is closed or when it is not based on mutual dignity and respect for diverse opinions.

In many instances in Norway as both Andrew and Richard have illustrated, minorities' identity and value system are used negatively as scapegoats to foster intolerance and discrimination in places of work (Eriksen, 2011). Modood (2005) suggests that multiculturalism use as a political framework to balance different world views in a pluralistic society, can only lead to mutual learning if values like freedom, equality and justice which are universal in nature are openly discussed and given contextualized interpretation rather than having one way of interpretation based on Eurocentrism notion as is believed to be the case in Norway (Gressgård, 2010).

Non-European migration in Norway is a new phenomenon hence a more inclusive Norwegian national identity is still in the process of construction. Education plays a very important role in reconstruction of national identity and community social cohesions. Teachers and educators are the custodians of societal traditional values, which they transfer to the pupils throughout their learning and schooling processes (Biseth, 2012). With globalization many learning institutions are becoming more and more intercultural and cosmopolitan in nature; thus education and in particular the schooling process become a central process of inculcating multiculturalism values to younger generation because if minority children experience segregation and exclusion from the mainstream communities during their schooling, it can provide a hostile climate that impede full integration (Osler, 2013).

Osler (2013), suggest that in multicultural learning institutions, teachers' task is not to make the minority children to be more like the majority but to build upon and extend the range of identities of all the pupils. She warns that,

“When we hear in Norway things like immigrants' children must adopt our standard' or 'they (minorities) perform poor because their parents lack skills like Norwegians to bring

them up properly...these are generally expressions of intolerance” (Osler, 2013, Key Note Address, International Conference, Buskerud University College).

Osler expresses this as a sign of assimilationist model that does not reflect and recognize diversity at all scales that is shaping Norwegian contemporary society. In referring to the former Norwegian Prime Minister-Stoltenberg speech during the Utøya massacre⁴...*our society need more democracy, more openness and more humanity*’, Osler adds that the statement not only call for changing the old approaches to the management of diversity in Norway but call for a paradigm shift because the old one have developed anomalies and thus unable to solve the current puzzles in Norway which is becoming more and more diverse hence a challenge to the homogeneity of Norwegian society. In Kuhn’s view, when a paradigm develops significant anomalies, it become inadequate to solve the society important problems, then it should be overthrown in a scientific revolution. Once it is overthrown, a new paradigm that can solve the current puzzles of the society is developed and adopted (Kuhn, 1966).

Gressgård (2005:74) in her critique to 2004 Diversity White Paper argues that cultural recognition should not primarily be seen as a goal in itself, but as a means to achieve integration. The message portrayed in the document is that minorities are offered rights and cultural tolerance in exchange for accepting the principles of Norwegian value system. Visible minorities are understood as culture-bearing groups that need to be integrated via work, education and a public sphere that offers participation and that is to transform them from foreigners into Norwegian citizens in which they are required to totally abandoned their cultural heritage as Victoria illustrates,

“In Norway I am always perceived and judged from my identity and value system which to some Norwegians are ‘uncivilized and backward’ which need a kind of metamorphosis or moulting that ought to shed off my old scales like snakes do in order to acquire new ones.”(Victoria, 15.01.2014).

As Victoria describes, many visible minorities in Norway are ‘required’ to undergo some radical cultural transformation that will make them fit into a Norwegian national slate;

⁴Mass killing of 69 young people in a Youth Summer Camp in Utøya island by Brevik Anders- a Norwegian right-wing extremist. He also killed 8 other civil servants at Norwegian government offices in Oslo. Brevik admitted the offense but denied criminal guilt claiming that it was a necessity to prevent islamisation and immigration.

they are required to slough their old skin and acquire a new one that is shared by the majority before they are considered well integrated in Norwegian society. Alongside all the fine phrases about diversity, tolerance and dialogue, this White Paper reflects a more self-assured majority and as Victoria illustrates, it suggests that migrants lack knowledge about human rights, democracy and gender equality, while Norwegian citizens are constructed as carriers of ‘universal norms’ (Stokke, 2012, Gressgård, 2005).

In such situations as portrayed by Victoria, Modood suggest that minority groups need to seek political ways through ‘negotiations and dialogue in order to challenge’ the negative picture, perceptions and attitudes that members of the majority population attribute to them. He asserts,

“The minority groups only get a forum and a right to speak, to define and redefine itself in positive terms through political dialogue that is open for difference ‘other’. (Modood, 2005:39).

When minorities are able to reconstruct and change their negative picture into a positive one, and assert themselves into the political forum, then what Modood call a ‘*critical multiculturalism*’ which starts from below will have been achieved(*ibid*:39). Gressgård further, criticizes the Norwegian State Paternalism which tries to influence migrants options of choices and trying to educate minorities in Norway about ‘their own good’ (Gressgård,2005:76).She analyzes this as a one-way process of dialogue thus making the White Paper a kind of political rhetorical tool. Habermas in elaborating the conditions for “an ideal speech situation” in any public participation, argue that all the citizens should at least have the possibility to participate and contribute their views publicly (Habermas, 1990; 87-95).

In emphasizing the importance of an open inclusive dialogue in diverse societies like Norway, Modood (2007:64-68) argue that minorities have distinct experiences that if consulted and included in public decision making processes then their point of views can hold a “critical mirror” up to the larger society. For example migrant’s minorities from developing countries like the Kenyans in Norway may have primary experiences about what it means to be discriminated and marginalized, to live in an authoritarian and corrupt government with no effective functioning public institutions, to live in a conflict insecure environments and being refer to the ‘Other’ in Norway. With these diverse experiences

and perspectives, if incorporated in major decision-making processes on how to integrate refugees in Norwegian society, they can bring in new dimensions that are tailored towards meeting the needs of such refugees within integration narratives.

As a conclusion, Modood suggest that migrants' sense of full belonging in their country of residence is a pre-requisite factor for successful multicultural policies implementation. Democratic citizenship in multicultural societies implies that every member of the society is entitled to actively engage in matters of national importance or interest through political dialogue that aims for reinterpretation and renegotiation of values that embraces commonalities that is friendly to difference 'other'.

6.1 Summary

This chapter examined some of the Norwegian integration policy documents using Modood perspectives of multiculturalism as a political process of dialogue and Negotiation. It also explored the missing link between the rhetoric and the practice of multiculturalism policies in Norway using the experiences of Kenyans migrants. Chapter 7 marks the conclusion of this thesis, giving overviews of my findings, the way forward, policy recommendations and further research areas.

7.0 OBLIGATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS ONENESS TO HUMANITY

Transnational individuals over time and again live and experience dual life, they pledge allegiance to multiple nation-states simultaneously. They want to make an everlasting mark by participating in public discourses or doing something for their country of birth, which they have left physically but not emotionally. These feelings driven by the African Ubuntu Philosophy-*oneness to humanity; that we achieve ourselves by sharing ourselves with others, and caring for those around us*, becomes an obligation and commitment that makes them want to take concrete actions that uplift living standards and guarantee security, respect and protection of human rights and democratic practices in their home countries (Mohan & Zack-Williams 2002).

This thesis sought to investigate how the experiences of Kenyan migrants in Norway impact on their potential to participate in public decision making processes in both Kenya and Norway, specifically their engagement in the process of democratization and peace-building in Kenya. I considered their engagement through the lens of power to ‘influence as well as through the capacity to exert force indirectly through financial resources’ and transnational networks (Nye, 2004:29-35). The power to influence involve the ‘capacity to build organizations, to create families, to inspire loyalty, to bind people together, and to develop legitimacy’ (Boulding, 1989:25). The findings show a number of reasons **why** and **how** Kenyan transnationals participate publicly; amongst them is the emotional attachment, the spirit of African Ubuntu Philosophy-oneness to humanity, the need to create democratic governance, peace and security, adherence to the rule of law and protection of human rights which are very critical in creating an enabling environment for development and investment. Many of them engaged publicly through educational path, individual expertise, financial support and transnational networks amongst others means.

7.1 The Way Forward and Further Research.

Throughout this thesis, I raised a number of questions within the various topics that call for further research and deliberations. In this section I offer two suggestions for research that deem important and relate directly to my findings. First, there is underrepresentation

of migrants from the regions or countries in which projects taken by their countries' of residence are carried out and implemented. Such studies would be informative in designing policies that may unearth the 'paradox of proximity', a phenomenon in which closeness to a region is associated with greater knowledge on one hand, and on the other hand, associated with lack of objectivity. Migrants have dual experiences unlike external actors who need more time in order to understand the socio-cultural and historical complexities in any local context, coupled with their expertise, the recruitment of such members of diaspora maybe an added advantage that may easily allow cultural bridges with the locals and trust-building processes.

Secondly, there is need for a study on the impact of 'character modeling' to second, third or 1.5 generation migrants. Migrants in Norway in many cases are portrayed negatively in the general public and this impact negatively on their children, and children children's who in away grow in a vacuum of hopelessness with no character model in the top political leadership position that they can emulate despite the current composition of 'national identities' in Norway. Instead they only hear about criminals activities, poor integrations of migrants, migrants who are lazy and burdening the social welfare system. The findings from such studies may help the government with holistic inclusion strategies in the society and on how to motivate successive migrant generations to aspire to higher political leadership position and enhance a sense of belonging and unity.

7.2 Policy Recommendations

In light of my findings, I propose a number of recommendations which might enable fuller participation of Kenyans transnational in both Norway and Kenya.

To Norwegian Authorities

- 1) Introduce awareness raising initiatives which enable the mainstream population to recognize the potential contribution which minorities can make to create an inclusive participative cohesive society.
- 2) Involve minorities in the development of socio-economic and political integration policies
- 3) Develop mentoring programmes for minority youths that encourage them to aim higher in Norway

- 4) Continue language education to minorities, but accept that native speaker importance is not necessarily needed to make significant community participation.

To the Kenyan Authority

- 1) Create an inclusive formal space which allows Kenyans transnational to play a mainstream role in public decision making processes, recognizing that they have diverse interests and much to offer in creating a peaceful democratic and prosperous Kenya.

7.3 Final Remarks

The study findings in this thesis, are based on a small sample of Kenyans migrants in Norway, therefore it does not claim to generalize the experiences of the whole population under study. Historically the realization of universal human right culture and democratic institutions is a long struggle; they are fought for, won, lost, and won again and as the focal points, “they offer significant opportunities for engagement for greater social justice and equality across the globe” (Osler and Zhu, 2011:39).

To acquire civic freedoms, the general public must overcome the ruling class resistance and struggle for their causes (Foweraker & Landman, 1997). This is no easy achievement, it requires wider participation from the public who are both *capable* and *willing* to mount pressures on political elites. As argued by (Habermas, 1996, Rawls 2002, Modood, 2005) it is a fundamental requirement and condition that all who are affected by the policy and poor public services should be ‘participants in the public discourses’. Kenyans transnational in Norway should use their wide global experiences, professional and resource capacity to support peace building and democratization in Kenya, a country that is deeply divided along ethnic group.

As a final word, without an engaged citizenry in Kenya, the new constitution of 2010 will not solve Kenyans political problems but what is important is civic education amongst the general public and a need for a paradigm shift in the three arms of the government towards the rule of law and the spirit of constitutionalism.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent form for research interview

Name of the College: Buskerud and Vestfold University College, School of Business and Faculty of Social Sciences and Faculty of Humanities and Education.

Name of the Program: MSc Human Rights and Multiculturalism

Candidate Name: Paul Opata

Supervisor: Prof. Audrey Osler

Purpose of the Research

My purpose in this study is to investigate how the experiences of Kenyan migrants in Norway impact on their potential to engage in the process of democratization, peace-building and public-participation in both Kenya and Norway.

Procedures: You are invited to participate in a research study on how the experiences of Kenyans migrants in Norway impact on their potentiality to participate in Kenyan public life. Specifically their contributions towards democratization and peace-building processes in Kenya. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your life experiences in Norway and your transnational activities in Kenya. Kindly read this form and feel free to ask any questions you may have before agreeing to participate in the study.

This study is being conducted by me, Paul Opata, as a partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Masters of Science in Human Rights and Multiculturalism.

Duration: The face to face interview will take about one hour.

Confidentiality: The data from this study will be kept confidentially in a locked coded file and only the participant and researcher will have access to it. The findings from the study will be placed in Buskerud and Vestfold University College library as a Master thesis with a title: *Transnationalism and Public Participation: The Experiences of Kenyan Minority Migrants in Norway*. I will also make a short summary report for any informant who wishes to have a copy.

If granted permission, I may use direct quotes from the interviews, but a pseudonym, rather than your real actual name will be used. Also all the necessary ethical considerations will be taken to protect your identity and privacy.

Withdrawal: Your decision to participate is voluntary, you are absolutely free and at will to skip questions in the interview or withdraw at any time during the process.

Recording: I will audio record the interviews in order to have proper information about your views and experiences. You are absolutely free to disagree to be tape recorded. The data from the recordings will be kept protected, safely and confidentially.

Contact: If you have any further questions about this research, you can contact me on email address, paulopatah2004@yahoo.com or directly to my supervisor, Prof. Audrey Osler on email A.H.osler@leeds.ac.uk.

I have read the above information and understood its content. I have also received answers to questions asked. I therefore consent to participate in the study.

Participant Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix 2

Interview Questions

- i. Please tell me a little about yourself and your life in Kenya
- ii. What did you know about Norway when you migrated?
- iii. What made you to move?
- iv. What were you first impressions about Norway? What surprised you/shocked?
- v. What has been the most positive experience of yours here, Any negative experiences
- vi. Does your identity play any role in being offered/or refused a job?
- vii. Do qualified immigrants have same level playing ground as natives in job application?
- viii. How do you participate in Norwegian seasonal social /National /Religious activities/celebrations?
- ix. What do you think about the multiculturalism policies, democratic citizenship and politicking in Norway?
- x. What are your experiences with the general Norwegian public on your identity as an immigrant?
- xi. Tell me if you have come across some fundamental differences between formal multiculturalism/diversity policies and practice in real life?
- xii. Have you ever been asked by any government official or NGOs in Norway to participate in matter of national or communal importance?
- xiii. What kind of activities do you participate in with local people?
- xiv. Can you describe your own experiences with integration in Norway?
- xv. What do you think about democracy in Kenya and Norway?

- xvi. How do you practice your civil and political rights in Kenya and Norway?
- xvii. How do you express your views on issues that affect or can potentially affect your life in Kenya and Norway?
- xviii. From your Norwegian experience with running public offices/institutions, what have you learn that can potentially enhance transparency and effectiveness in Kenyan public offices?
- xix. What motivates you as an individual or through organization to get involved in grassroots/Community mobilization in Kenya on issues like democracy, human rights?
- xx. What are your thoughts about stability/instability in Kenya in terms of peacefulness?
- xxi. In your opinion, what are the major root causes of conflict in Kenya?
- xxii. What are the remedies to the causes?
- xxiii. How have you individually or Kenyans Diasporas in Norway or Norway contributed to a peaceful Kenya or peace-building processes in Kenya?
- xxiv. What are your hopes about Kenya?
- xxv. How do you define yourself now by your identity?
- xxvi. In your opinion, currently in Norway what is the most important issue in the general public/political discourse at the moment in relation to immigrants?

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