

Karolina Nikielska-Sekula

# Locating In-betweenness: Belonging, Translocational Positionality, and the Cultural Heritage of Drammenian Turks



HSN

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# **Locating In-betweenness**

**Belonging, Translocational Positionality,  
and the Cultural Heritage of Drammenian  
Turks**

A PhD dissertation in  
**Culture Studies**

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To M. & P.



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Writing this thesis was a mental and physical journey that took me to various places across the globe and opened my mind to new perspectives. It is said that on the travellers' way, different people appear. Here, I would like to express my thanks for all the encounters, which have contributed to the quality of this thesis and enriched me through valuable experiences. I would like to thank my supervisors from Norway and Turkey, Prof Kjell Olsen, Dr Mehmed Kaya, and Prof Ahmet İçduygu, whose professionalism and readiness to read countless drafts of this thesis had crucial meaning for its final shape. Many thanks to my colleagues from HSN, MiReKoç, and Integrim for inspiring discussions and providing a critical perspective on my work. Special thanks go to the respondents in Norway and Turkey, who warmly welcomed me and patiently answered my sometimes difficult questions. I am also grateful to those who supported me on my journey mentally and in the organisation: my family and friends. Finally, I would like to thank those who accompanied me on this journey physically and were always ready to pack their backpacks and follow me—Marek and Pola. You crossed four continents and visited countless cities and villages, watching me collect data and present the findings. If this is not a big enough reason to dedicate this work to you, what is?

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses belonging, translocational positionality, and the cultural heritage of people of Turkish descent inhabiting Drammen. In light of the settlement in this mid-sized Norwegian city, it discusses the ways Norwegian Turks use and create spaces and places in Drammen, influencing its landscape. The thesis explores respondents' expressions of belonging on a median level, focusing on Turkish-run facilities in Drammen including shops, restaurants, cultural associations, and mosques. Furthermore, on the individual level, it focuses on the ways they conceptualise home in their narratives. The findings suggest that the idea of home comprises strong attachments to the social and physical spaces of Drammen, as well as an idealised longing to the ancestral homeland. However, the latter lacks the feeling of home. Furthermore, the thesis explores the complex construction of respondents' *identity*. Employing a translocational positionality framework (Anthias, 2002, 2008, 2013), it discusses the everyday routines of Norwegian Turks, uncovering various identifications of respondents ranging from belonging to Turkishness and Islam to a strong identification with Norwegian society and the 'spaces of foreigners' attached to it. The 'spaces of foreigners' refer to respondents' name for arenas within which people of minority background act. The author suggests that each identification of the respondents influences their experiences of other social roles and positions and their ways of exercising everyday practices. Therefore, only by approaching them as a whole can a complete picture of the complex *identity* of the respondents be obtained. Finally, the thesis investigates the engagement of Norwegian Turks with cultural heritage on the micro, mezzo, and macro levels. It exemplifies the incorporation of elements of Norwegian heritage into Turkish



traditions and how participation in Norwegian heritage involves ethnic habits comprising food and feasting patterns that are assumed Turkish. The main argument attempted by this work is that the complex positionality of Norwegian Turks is localised in Drammen and influenced by the local circumstances of the city and the organisation of Norwegian society in general. Respondents have adapted their habits to the Norwegian reality, while they are rooted in Norway, even though their identification with the idea of being Turkish remains strong.

**Key words:** Norwegian Turks, belonging, identity, translocational positionality, cultural heritage, migration, urban studies.

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## Introduction

*March 2016, a sunny morning in an Anatolian village. Men are sitting outside çayhane, drinking tea, and chatting. Women are around the houses, and some walk in the streets in small groups. Gender division between the locals is visible at first glance. Our arrival breaks the routine. Everybody looks at us. There is no way to blend into the crowd by playing the card of a random visitor, because there are no random visitors to this village. We get out of the car and head towards a group of men sitting in front of the çayhane. We introduce ourselves, but our Norwegian car plates have already positioned us in the eyes of the locals. Immediately, a representative is chosen, chairs are prepared, and tea is served. We sit next to our newly appointed 'guide', who answers our questions. He expresses the interest in showing us around. Already sent is the message to his wife to prepare dinner for us. Whether we accept the offered hospitality is beyond question. After a long stroll across the village accompanied by patient explanations of local practices, we spend a pleasant afternoon at our hosts' house. I quickly realise that this family, along with other inhabitants of the village, has become part of a large transnational human mobility movement that affects their lives, ambitions, and image of 'Europe'. From these and similar villages, almost 50 years ago pioneers left to work in Norway, establishing strong informal connections between the countries. Local people are familiar with Norway, as many have visited the country and some lived there for longer or shorter periods. In this village, where communication in English is not possible, we were able to speak Norwegian and occasionally saw Norwegian flags and the influences of Scandinavian design on the newer houses. Over the years, this village has become an imagined homeland for the Norwegian Turks originating from here. The village, however, has its own life, real and palpable, as do the pioneers and their families who are settled in Norway.*

*February 2014, a freezing afternoon in Drammen. People rush to a former Adventists church in Drammen to participate in a Friday ceremony. The place now hosts a local Turkish mosque. I enter the building to meet my host, take off my shoes, cover my hair with a scarf, and follow her upstairs to sit on the balcony with the other women. The sermon, delivered in Turkish, is long enough to provide me with good opportunities for observation. Children are playing around their mothers, and adult women smile to make me feel welcome. The men sit downstairs. None look up. None are thus conscious of my presence. The carpet on the floor is soft and reminds me of those from Yeni Camı (New Mosque) in Istanbul. This former church feels like a mosque. The sermon goes on forever. Even though I do not show impatience, my host organises an interviewee for me. A nice, covered woman takes me downstairs to the basement. She explains that she does not use the headscarf daily, so I may not recognise her on the street. We set the date for our meeting and she offers me Turkish tea and handmade rolls, which are ready for the social gathering after the ceremony. I eat and bid her farewell. I know I will come back soon.*

This thesis tells the story of peoples' belonging to two spatially remote and culturally different places, namely the ancestral villages of Norwegian Turks and the city of their settlement, Drammen. The story makes sense of the relationship between the two localities and confirms that human lives are spatially rooted, not lived in an abstract space of in-betweenness. The thesis shows that real people are not suspended between their ancestral and new homelands, but *live* in the places they currently occupy, making them their own. Thus, this thesis tells the story of the processual positionality of people acting within these places, which is influenced by multiple and often contradictory roles and characteristics of individuals seeking to locate their seeming in-betweenness. Empirically, the focus is on Norwegians of Turkish descent living in Drammen, where they work, are educated, and participate in Norwegian society. Simultaneously, as their holiday houses and businesses of some of them are in Turkey, they are influenced by Turkish traditions and values and participate in Norwegian-Turkish communities in Drammen.

Throughout the thesis, I focus on the vague *borderline* between Norwegian society and what is assumed Turkish (or immigrant), and suggest that this borderline is a socio-cultural space that has produced its own qualities and characteristics unique to Norway, even if influenced by minority and global *cultures*<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, so-called immigrant culture is not regarded here as foreign to Norway, but as regulated by the local circumstances of Norwegian society, which include rules, attitudes, climate, and so on.

The starting point of the research presented here was to acknowledge that the people of Turkish descent settled in Norway were members of Norwegian society. This assumption was supported both methodologically and theoretically. Regarding the methodology, I avoided imposing foreignness on the respondents by carefully selecting the data collection tools. I broadly analysed respondents' everyday lives, focusing on the people, activities, values, landscapes and items they considered significant, as well as their everyday routines. Through these, I sought to reach and theoretically model their individual and collective identifications. A methodological framework of the research inspired by Clarke's (2005, 2009) situational analysis approach supported this purpose. Situational analysis suggests that not only the actions of individuals should be researched, but also the broad situation they engage in, including its hidden meanings, significant people, and structural influences. This way, a researcher is able to obtain a complex picture of respondents' positioning, which comprises individual orientations and broader discourses of power that influence individuals' situations. Situational analysis is strengthened by practice theory (Barnes, 2001; Bourdieu, 1977; Savigny, Schatzki, & Knorr-Cetina, 2001; Schatzki, 1996, 2001b; Swidler, 2001; Turner, 2001), which shifts the focus from abstract concepts of *identity*<sup>2</sup> to the actions of people. Thus, the research methodology was designed to avoid imposing foreignness on respondents. This goal also applied to data analyses and was supported theoretically. The findings obtained through the situational analysis and practice theory were theoretically modelled using the feminist

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<sup>2</sup> The italics emphasise that I do not take notions of culture or identity for granted. The discussion on the notion of culture and its analytical implications along with the criticism of identity are presented in chapter 2. Problematising the analytical utility of 'identity' continues in chapter 6. From now on, I proceed without italicising the terms culture and identity.



theories of intersectionality and positionality (Alcoff, 1988; de Lauretis, 1986; Yuval-Davis, 2006b), especially Anthias' (2002) theory of translocational positionality. This facilitated employing a multidimensional approach to respondents' identities, and enabled problematising their ties with Norwegian society and their simultaneous attachment to Turkishness in a balanced way. Feminist approaches to space (Massey, 1994) and belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, 2007, 2011) and other relevant theories further supported the analysis. These are introduced at the beginning of each empirical chapter.

A decision to support the analysis with numerous references to various theories was driven by a necessity to address the different levels on which the presented issues were discussed. While chapter 4 is dedicated to the mezzo level of interrelationships within the city, and chapters 5 and 6 discuss individual identifications and belonging at the micro level, chapter 7 focuses on the institutionalised processes of heritage performance on the macro (Norwegian Constitution Day celebrations) and mezzo (ethnic festival) levels. To understand the processes on these levels, it was necessary to employ multiple theoretical perspectives in each chapter. However, as discussed in chapter 2, my perspective is primarily informed by feminist theory, namely intersectionality and positionality, specifically the way Anthias (2002) and Massey (1994) incorporated these into their theoretical approaches.

The main goal of the thesis was to analyse the complex positioning of Norwegian Turks in Drammen<sup>3</sup> without overlooking influences from Norwegian society. I attempted to provide a complete picture of the socio-cultural integration of Norwegian Turks into mainstream society, providing insight into the practical outcomes of Norwegian immigration policy. The research questions addressed in this thesis are as follows:

a. How do Norwegian Turks construct and negotiate their identity with regard to their complex social positioning?

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<sup>3</sup> The sample comprised immigrants from Turkey and their descendants born and/or raised in Norway, whom I refer to as first and second generation Norwegians. I explain the nuances of this terminology in chapter 3.

b. Is the sense of belonging of Norwegian Turks spatially reflected in the spaces they create, occupy, and contest? How? What is the meaning and functions of Norwegian-Turkish vernacular places in Drammen? How is the idea of home conceptualised?

c. Has the ancestral heritage of Norwegian Turks been influenced by participation in Norwegian society? How? Do they participate in Norwegian heritage?

The analysis conducted as part of this study addressed three main research gaps. The first gap is empirical, as it provides data on the Turkish people in Norway, who are underrepresented in the international debate on Turkish migration. The second is theoretical, as it challenges the dichotomist view of the cultures of the Norwegians and people of minority descent and regards Norwegian Turks as equal participants in Norwegian society. The third is methodological, as it discusses collective identifications and individual orientations by analysing individual practices, narratives about these practices, and the context of individuals' situations. In the chapter on methodology, I substantiate these gaps and link them to the current debate in Turkish migration research and migration research in Norway.

In the thesis, I criticise the notion of culture as an essence along with the idea of primordial ethnicity. However, this does not mean that I reject culture or ethnicity as a whole. As culture and ethnicity are taken for granted in the common discourse, ignoring these concepts would provide an inaccurate account of the investigated reality. Culture and ethnicity, as understood in the common discourse, constitute important external factors that influence individual identifications. These ideas are widely applied, for example, in the discourses of power linked to the migration debate in Europe, which shape the relationships of power and privilege in societies. Considering this, I regard culture and ethnicity as social constructions (Haslanger, 1995), acknowledging that even if invented, essentialist ideas of culture and ethnicity may in some circumstances influence peoples' lives.

The primary focus of the thesis is on how identity and belonging are constructed from the bottom-up perspective of human agency. However, the ways external factors such as

culture, ethnicity, power, privilege, and class influence individuals' positionality are discussed when relevant. For example, in chapter 5, dedicated to the conceptualisation of home, I present how the discourse on foreignness imposed by other members of Norwegian society, both native<sup>4</sup> and of minority background, influence respondents' resistance to calling Norway home. In chapter 6, I discuss how the discourse on obedience and respect towards elders, which are traditional in Turkish rural communities, influence the position of young Norwegian Turks. I also discuss the impact of traditional marriage practices and traditional gender roles on the lives of young women of Turkish descent in Drammen. In chapter 7, I problematise participation in Norwegian Constitution Day by people of minority background and relate this to the official discourse on ethnicity and the multicultural society in Norway. External factors influencing the situation of an individual are thus problematised in the thesis, even though the primary focus is on human agency in conceptualising belonging, identity, and attitudes towards cultural heritage.

While acknowledging the relevance of the concept of ethnicity in explaining the organisational principle of a group, I question the adequacy of this notion in research on the individual identifications of members of minorities born in the new homeland. Fixed ethnicity seems incompatible with the narratives of the self of members of immigrant minorities born and raised in new homelands, and fails to address processes around identity in today's diverse Europe. Based on my findings and the work of other authors (Adriaens, 2014; Çağlar, 2001; Soysal, 2001), I contend that we are currently observing a tendency towards post-ethnicity (Hollinger, 1995; Martiniello, 1997, 2001), which addresses the multidimensional, situational, and open-ended ethnic self-identifications of individuals that are characterised by an inability to conceptualise an unambiguous identification with one ethnic group. Post-ethnicity comprises negotiations of ethnicities or even their denial on an individual level. Its

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<sup>4</sup> By native population, I mean those identifying with Norwegian ethnicity and not with groups with an immigrant background. Note that the Sámi ethnic background, referring to the indigenous people of Norway, was not problematised by respondents during the fieldwork; therefore, I do not discuss the interrelationship between Norwegian, Sámi, and immigrant backgrounds. When discussing minority groups, I am referring to groups with immigrant ancestry who arrived in Norway after World War II.

collective dimension refers to entire groups whose identifications extend beyond ethnic categories, even if they were shaped by particular ethnic influences. An example is German-Turkish youths in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, who reject ethnic identifications and prefer to be called 'Berliners' (Çağlar, 2001). Similar attitudes stemmed from the narratives of the first and second generation Norwegians of Turkish descent reported in this thesis. Thus, post-ethnicity processes demand that ethnicity be regarded in a more fluid and less determined way, but still with acknowledgement of the struggles people face when ethnic belonging is imposed on them by the power discourse, both in society and the ethnic communities they are attached to.

I propose regarding ethnicity as only one dimension of identity, which influences and is influenced by other positions such as gender, age, class, or job. Ethnicity emerges in specific circumstances such as participation in ethnic celebrations, while other situations prioritise different social positions. In this thesis, I attempt to highlight the limitations of ethnicity as an analytical concept, replacing it with a multidimensional approach to individuals' identities such as translocational positionality (Anthias, 2002). While acknowledging the influence of ethnicity on an individual, this approach does not overemphasise it, allowing for other identifications as well.

The research presented in this thesis was conducted in the specific historical and political conditions of today's world. Currently, migration issues regarded as urgent problems have emerged in public debates across Europe. Europe is facing a major humanitarian crisis, which is connected to the conflicts and low quality of life in the Middle East and Africa. Consequently, there has been a significant influx of non-European immigrants and refugees to European countries. Furthermore, growing Islamophobia in Europe compounded by populist governments and the political discourse in countries such as Poland, Hungary, and recently the Netherlands, the UK and pre-election France, is also evident. The UK's decision to exit the European Union is often linked by commentators (see Mandelson, 2016; Versi, 2016) to the will of Britons to reduce the migration influx into their country or even with their racist attitudes towards immigrants. These challenges, which comprise hostile attitudes

towards refugees and immigrants—especially those of Muslim descent—and their increasing number in European countries, created the necessity of answering old questions concerning immigration management with new, satisfactory answers. In light of this socio-political mood, researching Turkish people in Europe gains new meaning. Being one of a long-settled minority, adaptation of the Turkish people to new homelands tests the existing immigration policies of receiving countries and provides insight into an already diverse Europe.

Another important context of this research is the current situation in Turkey. The data presented here was collected before the July 2016 military coup. Therefore, the thesis does not provide an overview of the impact of Turkish politics after the coup on the community in Drammen. Nevertheless, Turkish politics and divisions in Turkish society influence Drammenian Turks, although this is on the mezzo level of local organisations, not the micro level of an individual. Two Turkish mosques in Drammen are run by the Turkish Ministry of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), and another belongs to the Sūlaymanites sect, which is popular both in Turkey and among Turkish communities abroad. The influence of the Gülen movement is also visible in Turkish communities in Drammen, with a popular Language and Culture Festival organised locally. Furthermore, there are links between Drammen's Montessori School and the Gülen movement, which is widely discussed in the local press (Beck, 2016; Heimdal, 2013). In addition, tension between the Alevis and Sunnis in Turkey, as discussed later in the thesis, is partly reflected in Drammen, where the Alevi community does not officially cooperate with Sunni organisations. This tension is the only one reflected on the individual level as well, usually only by Alevis and never by the Sunnis. The Kurdish issue is not discussed in the thesis, because I did not encounter anyone identifying as a Turkish Kurd. In addition, the design of the research avoided directly discussing ethnic identifications as long as the respondents did not raise the issue. Consequently, respondents did not directly note the Kurdish issue, as it was probably not that important to them on an individual level. To summarise, Turkish politics, divisions in Turkish society, and organisations of Turks abroad are partly reflected in the structure of the Turkish communities in Drammen on the mezzo level, but excepting the case of young Alevis, these factors are not significant

on the individual level. Individuals did, however, reflect ancestral origin. For some respondents, geographic aspects of Turkish origin, namely being from particular villages or cities in Turkey, was important.

Finally, my research, as is any social science research comprising fieldwork that involves contact with real people, was influenced by my positioning as a researcher. At the time of the research, I was a young woman of Polish origin, who came to Norway to complete her PhD. In the past, I was a temporary resident of Turkey several times, where I conducted research for my Bachelor's thesis. Therefore, I was familiar with Turkish customs and living conditions in various parts of the country, which influenced my expectations for the field. However, before my arrival, I was not familiar with Norway, and I mostly learned about Norwegian culture through the analysis of Norwegian Turkishness and as an employee at a higher education institution. Furthermore, I gained Norwegian language skills for the purposes of the research, and respondents immediately recognised my foreign accent, situating me outside Norwegian society. In addition, my Polish origin positioned me within what is currently the largest immigrant minority in Norway, which impacted my contact in the field, as the respondents had previous experience with Poles settled in Norway. My complex position as a young, female, immigrant researcher had multiple influences on the fieldwork. I was usually treated as a student doing her homework. My familiarity with Turkey positioned me as a semi-insider to Turkishness in some contexts, while foreignness to Norway often opened respondents to more directly express their opinions of Norwegian society.

The thesis comprises seven chapters. The first chapter presents a broad context of the situation of Norwegian Turks. The historical and political background of Turkey such as nation building processes and the dynamic migratory movement to the West from 1960 to 1970 are discussed. Furthermore, a brief overview of Norway and the construction of its national identity, immigration history, the Norwegian integration policy, and Norwegian public debate on migration are also described. Finally, the chapter presents Drammen's role as a traditional

destination for labour migrants and the composition of a heterogeneous group of people of Turkish descent in Drammen.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to establishing the theoretical foundations of the thesis. Existing research on Turkish migration in Europe and immigrants in Norway is described, and the gaps in existing knowledge this thesis seeks to address identified. In addition, the research presented in this thesis is positioned within current debates. In the second part of the chapter, I present the main theoretical discussions engaged with in the thesis. I summarise the criticism of essentialist approaches in cultural migration research and propose an alternative approach to the investigation, employing practice theory, positionality, and intersectionality. Finally, I conceptualise belonging and ethnicity.

In chapter 3, the methodological framework of the research is formulated, and the influences of a situational analysis (Clarke, 2005) on the framework are highlighted. Furthermore, the data collection methods and analysis are described. In this chapter, I present my complex position as a young, female, immigrant researcher and the ways this may have influenced the fieldwork. Finally, I focus on the ethical considerations while conducting the research and writing the thesis.

Chapter 4 covers the process of positioning belonging within the spaces of Turkish vernacular facilities in Drammen. Employing Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space and Massey's (1994) approach to places as moments in space with unfixed identities, I analyse the meaning and functions of Turkish-run facilities and discuss the display of belonging to various localities and groups there. I investigate perceived and conceived realms of space (Lefebvre, 1991), in other words, how people use them and what lies behind the construction of space.

In chapter 5, I continue the analysis of Lefebvre's realms of space by focusing on the lived dimension of space. This refers to how the general space of Drammen and beyond is experienced by Norwegian Turks. I investigate respondents' conceptualisations of home and

attempt to answer the question of where home is. I approach home as a continuum, drawing on the work of Ahmed (1999) and Fortier (2003).

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the translocational positionality of Norwegians of Turkish descent. By analysing respondents' everyday practices and the broad context of their situation, this chapter aims to present the identifications of Norwegian Turks with their multiple collectivities and complex social positioning. By analysing respondents' everyday routines and the people, activities, values, and items they deem significant, I discuss their identity by focusing on its multi-layered, processual, and situational character. I employ Anthias' (2002, 2008, 2013) theoretical framework of translocational positionality to exemplify how identifications with different collectivities emerge in different social settings and spaces, and how they are influenced by respondents' other roles and positions. I provide a thick description of the practices, shared values, and broadly understood situation of Norwegian Turks raised in Drammen, discussing how these were shaped by respondents' social roles and positions in particular social hierarchies. In other words, I attempt to answer the question of how social positions such as gender, ethnicity, age, job, and class influence respondents' experiences and interpretations of their shared values, practices, and constructed self-definition.

Chapter 7 is dedicated to the analysis of Drammenian Turks' engagement with heritage from an institutional to individual level. Following the criticism of the concept of diaspora by Soysal (2000), I regard this engagement with heritage as respondents' diasporic moments. I argue that the meaning of historicised identities to which heritage refers on an institutional level is adjusted and constantly transformed on the individual level. Thus, I argue that heritage is processual and strengthens respondents' belonging to the places and ideas it refers to. Experiencing it is influenced by respondent's translocational positionality.





# 1. Turkish Communities in Drammen: Social, Cultural, Historical, and Political Influences and Current Characteristics

This chapter discusses multiple influences that have determined the current character of the Turkish minority in Drammen. It seeks to provide the reader with a contextual understanding of identity processes in Turkey as well as the character of migration from Turkey to Norway. I discuss processes of nation building in Turkey and describe the history of Turkish migration to Europe. I also briefly overview Norway and the construction of its national identity, and deliberate on the history of immigration to Norway as well as the Norwegian integration policy and Norwegian public debate on migration. Furthermore, I discuss Drammen's role as a traditional destination for labour migrants. Finally, I focus on the composition of a heterogeneous Turkish minority in Drammen. This contextual knowledge is essential to understand the translocational positionality framework (Anthias 2002, 2008, 2013) I propose to analyse respondents' multiple identifications. Translocational positionality was briefly presented in the introduction, and is further developed in chapter 6.

## 1.1. Nation Building Processes: a Unified Nation of Turks?

Currently, Turkish national identity is based on two core pillars: heritage of the Ottoman Empire and the idea of a Turkish Republic. While the latter elicits a more modern and secular vision of the nation state, reference to the Ottoman Empire involves a religious connotation to Sunni Islam as an important part of identity.

As İçduygu and Soner (İçduygu & Soner, 2006) argue, the construction of modern Turkish identity refers to the *millet* system in the Ottoman Empire, wherein people were categorised according to their beliefs. Thus, religion was a source of identity, while ethnic differences

were diminished. The *millet* system is often recognised as pre-modern religious pluralism and some Drammenian Turks provided it as an example of the first form of what is today interpreted as multiculturalism—the equality of different groups within one nationhood. Undoubtedly, this system was noteworthy in a given historical context, because it intended to provide a compatible coexistence of minorities. However, from today’s perspectives, the functioning of the millet system is far from equal:

The Ottoman Empire was not a ‘multicultural heaven’, as Turkish nationalist nostalgia often portrays it. According to the Sharia law, non-Muslims were second-class subjects, and this did not change until the Tanzimat years. The very existence of the *millet* system as an organizational principle and founding block of the Ottoman Empire has sparked considerable controversy among historians (Grigoriadis, 2012, p. 282).

İçduygu and Soner (2006, p. 448) continue: ‘The Ottoman *millet* system (...) provided a framework of differential, but not equal treatment of minorities’. Different laws, for example, lifting punishment for drinking alcohol or not being veiled in the case of women, were applied to non-Muslim minorities. On the other hand, the system prioritised Muslims over non-Muslims, giving them higher socio-political and legal status and privileges. This was reflected in the greater weight of their testimony in a court and lower taxes, for example. ‘Thus, though the millet system was usually examined on the basis of the concept of religious tolerance, it concealed within itself an institutionalized form of inequality’ (ibid., p. 450). Another feature of the *millet* system was the assumption of the homogeneity of Muslims across the Empire, without acknowledging the ethnic and religious differences between them. The Muslim population belonged to the Islam-millet (*millet-i-Islamiyye* or *millet-i-Muslime*) and was considered homogeneous. The Sunnis drove the rule in the *millet*. Consequently, Alevism and other variations of Islam were viewed as heretic and not granted their own *millet* (ibid., p. 449). Soner and İçduygu (2006, p. 452) claim that the idea unifying Muslims under the umbrella identity of (Sunni) Turks and rejecting the existence of religious and ethnic minorities within this group ‘was echoed in nation-building processes’ in the 1920s. The

current so-called 'Kurdish problem' in Turkey and discrimination against Alevism may be rooted in the logic of the *millet* system in the Empire.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded the Turkish Republic in 1923. He aimed to replace the 'religious community' in the Empire with a strong, modern, 'secular nation' (Heper, 2012, p. 145) following the example from the West. Thus, the construction of Turkish national identity was accompanied by major changes in lifestyle, clothing, and the role of religion in national legislature. Subsequently, in 1923 and 1924, the sultanate and caliphate were abolished. Various reforms were introduced that aimed to westernise lifestyles and improve the situation of women by increasing their participation in education and the labour market. In 1925, the Hat Law, which prohibited fezzes and turbans, was enacted, and in 1934, wearing clothing related to religion such as turbans and headscarves was banned. Moreover, Latin replaced Arabic script, the Gregorian calendar was introduced, Turkish replaced Arabic and Persian, Swiss Civil Law replaced Sharia law, and Turks were obliged to take surnames (Dodd, 2012). In 1930, the right for women to participate in municipal elections and national elections in 1934 was introduced (Heper, 2012).

As İçduygu, Colak, and Soyarik (1999) argue, within the construction of the new Turkish identity, cultural change and a break with the past were inscribed:

In forging a new identity, the Turkish state used its powers and agencies to accomplish its social and cultural engineering. It strove to eliminate all previously designed symbols, attitudes and manners, replacing them with its own new myths and symbols. (...) The Republican concept of citizenship was perceived not only as equipping its citizens with the rights and responsibilities of the public sphere, but as forming a totally new man by preaching even the rearrangement of private life, or the very life-style of people (ibid., pp. 194–195).

Turkish citizenship, as designed at the beginning of the Republic, was thus not only a political concept, but also a cultural one. The modernisation of the country underwent this 'change'

of citizenship, attempting to make people do and wear particular things and behave in particular ways.

Despite the sudden break with Ottoman and Islamic tradition, Muslim identity remained as an unspoken common ground of what was assumed as Turkish. Until the 1980s, Islam was absent as a discourse in the citizenship debate in the name of secular, 'enlightened', and 'civilised' values (ibid., p. 196). Furthermore, while trying to separate itself from the Ottoman heritage, the Turkish Republic actually continued employing the Ottoman millet system. It recognised people previously classified into the Muslim millet as Turks, while other religious groups were hardly accepted as citizens, and if considered as Turks, this was only in terms of citizenship, not nationality (ibid., pp. 195–196). Heper (2012, p. 143) explained this paradox, stating that since Islam backed the Empire for centuries, Atatürk used it to maintain national unity under the transition of power from the sultanate to the republic. Religion was also useful in sustaining morale in the army.

It is argued that Atatürk used the term 'Turkish' not as an adjective, but as a name (ibid.). Since the Empire consisted of a mixture of ethnicities and religious groups, it is commonly believed that Atatürk's intention was to include everyone under the term Turkish. The statement he delivered ten years after the Republic was founded, which became the country's motto, is viewed as a symbol of this inclusiveness: *Ne mutlu Türküm diyene!* (How happy is the one who says I am a Turk!). The statement was understood as the concept of Turkishness, namely as an umbrella identity beyond ethnic boundaries between people who lived in the territory of the Turkish Republic. Nevertheless, in practice, the concept of a Turk was not that inclusive (İçduygu, 2009, p. 30). It did not extend beyond religious divisions, limiting inclusiveness to Muslims. In addition, it denied the differences between Muslims in terms of ethnicity and religion, positioning Muslim minorities, especially Alevis and Kurds, in an unprivileged position that continues today. Regarding non-Muslim citizens, the history of the Turkish Republic confirms that the government had long struggled to purify the country by eliminating the 'foreign' element. Already in 1923, the Turkish-Greek replacement of the population was adopted, forcing nearly 2 million people to leave their homeland. Before

1926, it was decided that minority or foreign-owned companies had to replace their foreign and non-Muslim staff with Turkish citizens. In 1934, the Law of Settlement limited immigration to Turkey to people of 'Turkish descent and culture' (ibid.), and excluded non-Muslim Turks from settling in specific areas in the country (İçduygu & Soner, 2006). This law was enforced until 2006 (Zeldin, 2016). In 1942, the government introduced a Capital Tax. Non-Muslim citizens had to pay taxes ten times higher than Muslims under threat of being sent to the work camps in Anatolia. The Capital Tax and work camp activities ended before the end of World War II (İçduygu & Soner, 2006, p. 460). Turkish identity, which influences the shape of the Turkish communities abroad today, is rooted in the Ottoman Empire and positions belonging to the Muslim group as the unspoken core of its construction.

Having discussed the formation of Turkish national identity in a historical context, I now focus on the processes of migration from contemporary Turkey to Western Europe. This constitutes another important influence on the translocational positionality of Drammenian Turks.

## 1.2. Migration from Turkey to the West

A wave of post-World War II emigration from Turkey, which dates back to the 1960s, contributed to the creation of significant Turkish communities abroad in Europe over the past few decades, which attracted the researcher's attention. Before that time, modern migration from Turkey was relatively insignificant<sup>5</sup>, comprising mainly emigration flows of the non-Muslim population consequent to nation-building processes. In 1961, Turkey introduced a new constitution and the First Five-year Development Plan (1962–67). Among other things, the plan aimed to lower the unemployment rate and support the country's economy by gaining foreign currency. This was to be achieved by sending the workforce abroad. Turkish 'guest workers' were supposed to maintain their households in Turkey, send

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<sup>5</sup> With the important exception of the 1923 exodus mentioned earlier.

the money back home, and possibly return and invest their savings into opening small businesses:

To promote this policy, Turkey first signed a bilateral labor recruitment agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1961. Similar bilateral agreements, specifying the general conditions of recruitment, employment, and wages, were signed with other governments (in 1964 with Austria, the Netherlands, and Belgium, in 1965 with France, and in 1967 with Sweden and Australia). Less comprehensive agreements were signed with the United Kingdom in 1961, with Switzerland in 1971, with Denmark in 1973, and with Norway in 1981<sup>6</sup> (İçduygu, 2009, p. 4).

Thus, the migration process from Turkey was initiated and coordinated by the state, and primarily economic. Inowlocki and Lutz (2000, p. 304) state:

Migration thus became an integral part of the dominant economic system; the personal decision to migrate became embedded in national policies, becoming in character a supra-national phenomenon.

İçduygu (2009, p. 16) argues that the recruitment process prioritised the inhabitants of underdeveloped areas of the country and those whose regions had experienced a natural disaster. This priority, however, was not the case at the beginning of the bilateral agreements. Inowlocki and Lutz (2000) claim that recruitment was mostly conducted in major urban centres such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, and those recruited had perfect health conditions and a good predisposition to work:

Only at the end of the 1960s did the Turkish government realize that this recruitment process was detrimental to Turkey's cultural capital, that it was a brain-drain; and the process was changed by dividing Turkey into three main regions and by demanding the extension of the recruitment area to eastern and middle Anatolia (ibid., p. 305).

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<sup>6</sup> This date is unclear, as the immigration stop was introduced in 1975 in Norway. As the work of some researchers (Haagensen, Kvisler, & Birkeland, 1990, pp. 21–22, 49–53) suggests, Norway did not have a bilateral agreement *per se* concerning the recruitment of workers.

Since the first Turks arrived in Drammen at the end of the 1960s to early 1970s, and most originated from Anatolia, they were likely recruited after the logistic shift in the implementation of the labour exchange agreement.

In the early 1970s, following the economic stagnation caused by the oil crisis, so-called 'immigration stops' were introduced by various countries. Norway introduced it in 1975<sup>7</sup>. This period, according to İçduygu (2009), marked the end of the mass Turkish labour migration with around 800,000 workers being recruited between 1961 and 1974. 'When the agreements terminated in the 1970s, emigration slowed down and took other forms such as family reunions, the refugee movement, and irregular labour migration' (ibid., pp. 4–5). After the stop, the Turkish government had to find other destinations for labour migration. These became Australia, the MENA<sup>8</sup> countries, and after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, the CIS<sup>9</sup> countries. Nevertheless, thanks to the extensive process of family reunification that followed the immigration stop and comprised the marriages of labour migrants with Turks from Turkey (ibid., p. 6), among other aspects, Western Europe remained a main destination for migrants from Turkey, even though some flows of return migration after the oil price shock in 1973 were observed. It is estimated that around 190,000 people returned to Turkey between 1974 and 1977, and around 200,000 between 1978 and 1983 (ibid., p. 17). The process was catalysed by the bonuses offered by the governments of receiving countries to immigrants upon their return to Turkey. For example, Germany offered 10,000 German Marks in 1980 to returnees and their families (ibid.). İçduygu (ibid.) argues that while early returns had a more permanent character, the recent returnee movement in the 1990s and 2000s has been more temporary. People of Turkish descent who retired abroad tend to spend part of the year in Turkey and part in the country of settlement. This mirrors the patterns of a growing group of middle-class citizens in Western European

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<sup>7</sup> I discuss these events in detail later in this chapter in the section 'Migration to Norway'.

<sup>8</sup> The Middle East and North Africa

<sup>9</sup> Commonwealth of Independent Countries, which comprises the former Soviet Republic Countries.



countries, who have houses in Southern Europe where they spend part of the year upon retirement. This practice is common among Norwegian Turks in Drammen too.

Today, 'Turkey is among the world's leading migrant-sending countries, with about six per cent of its population abroad' (ibid., p. 3). In 2005, the total number of 'people from Turkey' in Europe was 2.5 million (ibid., p. 6)<sup>10</sup>. According to İçduygu (ibid.), three main reasons fuelled the rapid growth of the Turkish population in Europe. First, Turkish workers, who were meant to return home, decided to stay and bring their families. Second, since the 1980s, 'there was an increasing flow of asylum seekers from Turkey' (ibid., p. 7), because of the poor record of human rights in the country. Third, the reunion of spouses contributed to the growing birth rate of the Turkish population abroad. Despite that Turkey's status as a sending country remains current based on the presence of a huge Turkish population in Europe, since 1980, the country has changed its character to become a 'country of immigration and transit' (ibid.). This was influenced by Turkey's relatively rapid economic growth and political, economic, and security problems of countries in the region. Massive waves of refugees from the MENA countries, including the recent Syrian exodus, attempted to reach Europe via Turkey, with a high number settling in the country. In addition, labour migration from former Soviet republics and the movement of professionals and retirees from the West has continued.

It is commonly thought that migrant workers from Turkey were almost exclusively men. This notion can also be derived from my research, as I did not encounter any family in which women were the pioneers of migration. However, even though research on female migration pioneers from Turkey is lacking, they constituted an important part of the workforce and as Inowlocki and Lutz (2000, p. 305) eloquently explain when referring to the German context, they comprised a highly heterogeneous group that reflected various migration strategies and goals.

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<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, İçduygu does not specify to whom the description 'people from Turkey' refers, but from the context of his argument, this number likely comprises people of Turkish descent who are first generation migrants and their children and grandchildren.

In Norway, little has been said about female pioneers in the labour migration from Turkey during the 1960s to 1970s. The Norwegian literature on labour migration from the 1970s is aligned to the view that mainly men participated in the movement. Women, even if present, were not afforded significant attention. Bermann (1973, p. 29) reports statistics from 1971, according to which two-thirds of labour workers were men, mainly without accompanying families or spouses. He also mentions that 5,260 female foreign labour workers were in the country at the time. Of these, more than 50% came from Nordic countries, and 36% from countries in Western Europe, the USA, and Canada. Thus, no more than 14% of foreign women in the Norwegian labour market originated from non-Western countries. Most employed women held technical, scientific, and administrative jobs, while men occupied positions mostly in construction. This suggests that to some extent, women may have participated in the guest workers movement from Turkey to Norway. The Statistical Yearbook from 1975 (*Statistisk Årbok 1975*) confirms they did, although in small numbers. In 1973, 559 citizens of Turkey worked in the Norwegian labour market, of which 546 were men. This means that 13 women of Turkish origin were employed in Norway in 1973 and part of the guest workers mobility movement. Unfortunately, I neither met nor was told about any of these female pioneers during my fieldwork.

Having presented the history of emigration from Turkey, I now focus on the composition of Turkish communities settled in Europe as an effect of this migration flow.

### **1.2.1. Turkish Communities in Europe: Main Characteristics and Influences**

As discussed in the previous section, migration from Turkey to Europe was centrally regulated by the sending and receiving governments. After the 1960s, recruitment on the Turkish side prioritised people from poverty-stricken rural areas with low economic resources and basic education (Inowlocki & Lutz, 2000, p. 305). This government tactic influenced the social structure of early Turkish communities in Europe, which comprised—not exclusively—rural and poorly educated people. Members of the urban elite with higher

socio-cultural and economic capital were present among the guest workers from Turkey, although less commonly. Consequently, the 'cultural shock' faced by Turkish labour migrants upon arrival included the differences between the practices and values common in Turkey and Western Europe and the tensions between rural and urban lifestyles. Thus, the migration to Europe by the Turks can be regarded not only as transnational migration, but also as migration from rural to urban areas. Tension similar to that between inhabitants of European cities and Turkish labour migrants was also observed in Istanbul between well-educated, wealthy Istanbulians and rural migrants settling in the city. The social structure of the Turkish minority in Europe today has changed over the years, and given the time of settlement in European cities and Turkish youths' participation in education, European Turks can no longer be characterised as rural or uneducated. However, as demonstrated by the research in Drammen, some value systems and traditions originating from rural villages in Turkey are still practiced by community members, influencing their daily lives. Furthermore, the local villages of origin remained an important reference point and holiday destination for many.

Another feature common among the Turkish population in Europe is the concentration in the same destination of people originating from one place. This phenomenon is linked to the general pattern of current migration processes often referred to in academia as 'chain migration' (Massey, 1990; Massey et al., 2005; Snel, Engbersen, & Faber, 2016) where personal social networks play a crucial role in facilitating mobility. Again with reference to Germany, Inowlocki and Lutz (2000, p. 305) claim that employers wanting to cut costs tended to employ networks of migration pioneers to recruit new workers, rather than hire a German employment agency that collected fees for each worker recruited. In addition, job applications were often collective, and frequently a group of men from one village travelled to Europe to work together. Finally, family reunification and arranged marriages geographically limited to the place of origin in Turkey extended one-village communities abroad, creating a range of transnational networks of dependencies. Essentially, this entailed providing spouses on the side of a sending village versus providing employment

opportunities (often informal) and financial and material support on the side of the Turkish communities abroad.

Today, new technologies and relatively cheap travel reflected in a huge tourist movement between countries of settlement and Turkey, financial remittances that influence the Turkish economy, and transnational trade, along with a significant exchange of products, music, and graffiti strengthens the transnational relationships between Turkish communities abroad and the ancestral homeland. The transnational ties also comprise civil and social activism by Turks abroad and the creation of academic work on the subject (İçduygu, 2009, p. 7). While the social status of Turkish labour migrants in Europe is considered low, in Turkey, their 'social standing improves markedly both in rural and urban communities. Returnees are among the wealthiest people in their villages of origin, or emigration facilitates return migrants to relocate in urban areas' (ibid., p. 26). However, the high social status of labour migrants in Turkey is not the case from the perspective of members of the urban middle class. Some scholars argue<sup>11</sup> that members of the higher classes of Turkish society look down on the labour workers who left to work for *yabancılar* (foreigners) abroad. Thus, even if they are conscious of their economic wealth, their social status is viewed as low. This can be explained by a traditional problem in a class conscious and hierarchical Turkish society, where the status of people who work for someone else, rather than employing their own people, is low. This has reference to the traditional understanding of honour in Turkey (for more, see van Eck, 2002). Moreover, regarding the relation between social class and the situation of returnees, Grasmuck and Hinze (2016) determined that the 'returnee' descendants of Turkish migrants to the US, traditionally members of the middle class, used their parents' networks to find work in Turkey. Usually, they secure privileged positions despite little experience or a lack of relevance between the obtained education and job position. However, descendants of Turks who immigrated to Germany, traditionally members of the working class and villagers, despite obtaining higher education, possessing

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<sup>11</sup> Information obtained in a private conversation with Prof İçduygu.

Western capital, and employment as professionals, were still stigmatised in Turkey as the children of rural and poor guest workers.

Regarding cultural practices, İçduygu (2009, p. 26) argues that 'Turkish workers often return home with changed attitudes and behaviours'. Therefore, the local non-migrant population refers to them as 'Almanyali', which İçduygu translates as 'Turk from Germany'<sup>12</sup>. The greatest and most striking changes comprise the status of women and children (for more, see Abadan-Unat, 1977; Kadioglu, 1994). As reported by Akgündüz (2008, p. 152), already in 1960, a group of young girls of Turkish origin living in Munich, Germany developed the custom of going out to dance every week. Females dancing in public, especially with other men, are still unacceptable for many Turkish families in Turkey. Research by Abadan-Unat (1964, cited in İçduygu, 2009, p. 27) indicated that 20% of the respondents recruited from a group of Turkish migrants in Germany ate pork, 38% considered fasting during Ramadan as incompatible with modern lifestyles, and only 23% fasted during Ramadan. In addition, according to İçduygu (2009, p. 27), the construction of gender roles and relationships between children and parents in Turkish families abroad have become more relaxed.

Having discussed the historical influences on and social characteristics of Turkish communities in Europe, I now briefly introduce basic facts about Norway. In the sections below, I discuss the construction of a Norwegian national identity, history of migration from and to Norway, the Norwegian integration policy, and the current immigration debate in Norway.

### 1.3. Norway and Norwegianness

Norway is a modern welfare state, recognised repeatedly by various rankings including the UNDP's Human Development Report (2016) as one of the best countries to live. The idea of Norwegian championship in areas such as human rights protection, gender equality, and

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<sup>12</sup> The reference to Germany is conventional, and Germany may well represent other Western countries here.

welfare is shared in Norwegian society. The discourse of *verdens beste land* (the best country in the world) is common, and often referred to in the Norwegian media (for example, see Sjøberg, 2015).

The modern history of Norway is marked by two crucial events: Union with Denmark in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and union with Sweden in 1814. During these centuries, Norway was successively subject to Danish and Swedish kings, and the dissolution of the union with Sweden brought the country independence in 1905. The Norwegian anthropologist Gullestad (2002) argues that independence in 1905 along with Nazi occupation during World War II and three decades of nation building constituted the core events around which the contemporary idea of Norwegianness is constructed. Herein, the common imagery of Norwegian *innocence* plays a crucial role (ibid., 2005). Despite the well-documented history of Norwegians' participation in the slavery trade (Kjerland & Rio, 2009) and years of discrimination against minorities in Norway (Gullestad, 2006; Haagensen et al., 1990, p. 20), the discourse on Norwegianness presents the nation as a victim of colonialism, not the aggressor:

In popular consciousness, people in Norway are historically innocent with regard to slavery, colonisation, and racism. Norway is a victim of colonisation (by Denmark) and occupation (by Nazi Germany), and not a colonizer. 'Norway did not have colonies' is a common refrain. People in Norway supported the civil rights movement in the United States, as well as the African National Congress in South Africa. Norway has played an important role in peace negotiations in various regions of the world such as the Middle East, Guatemala, Sri Lanka, and Colombia, and Norway is among the world's nations that give most per head in development aid. In sum, Norway is seen as an innocent, humane, tolerant, anti-racist, and peace-loving society that is committed to helping the needy (Gullestad, 2005, p. 43).

Norwegian national identity started to emerge in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1811, a university was established in Norway, enabling Norwegian students to be educated locally, rather than in Denmark. According to Thorkildsen (2014), the demand to open the university in Norway

was one of the first, and only demands aiming at independence before 1814 voiced during the last 50 years of the union with Denmark. In 1814, along with independence from Denmark, the Norwegian constitution was established, becoming 'the very symbol of a new nation (...), a sort of secular divine law that should not be altered' (ibid., p. 266). According to Thorkildsen (ibid.), this view continues today. Around 1830, the new Norwegian nation began searching for an identity. 'Cultural nationalism' (ibid.) emerged, attempting to define the roots of identity and historical goal of the nation. Historians 'established the connection between new nation and ancient Norway, which had existed in the Viking era and the Medieval Ages' (ibid., p. 266), claiming Norwegians to be the heirs of the Norse tribe. Another dimension of the creation of cultural nationalism was uncovering the Norwegian elements of culture such as fairy tales, folk songs, and music. Furthermore, it was attempted to establish a new, more Norwegian-like language. There is no doubt that Christianity, with its ethics, created the foundation of Norwegian national identity. Christianity had long been present in the country, primarily until the 16<sup>th</sup> century as Catholicism and after reformation as Lutheranism. Thus, it influenced people's moral values and how the country was organised and led. Until 1845, every Norwegian had to be a member of the State Church and pass an exam before being confirmed, which gave them rights such as receiving a salary as an adult, getting married, testifying in court, and owning property (ibid., p. 268). Nevertheless, at the onset of nation building, religion did not significantly support the on-going processes of national identity creation. Church circles were considered conservative, this likely motivated by the Lutheran idea of subordination towards the (Danish) King as the representative of God (Thorkildsen, 2005). Thorkildsen (2014, p. 267) claims, 'Up to 1850, we find few traces linking nation and religion together in a national religion'. In the 1850s, a new generation of followers of Grundtvig, a Danish poet, clergyman, and nation builder emerged, who started linking Norwegian nationalism to religion. In 1863, a national reader was written in which Norwegian 'nationality was defined through heroic national history, through the 1814 Constitution, through the praising and description of nature, and through the presentation of folklore' (ibid., p. 269). At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 'the role of Christianity [in nation

building was] reduced to a part of the historical and cultural heritage represented by St. Olaf and the Cathedral of Trondheim' (ibid., p. 270). In 1889, a new national reader oriented towards secularisation was issued. The author's intention can be summarised in the phrase 'first Citizen and then Christian' (ibid., p. 270). As Thorkildsen (2017) argues elsewhere, this aim succeeded because '[i]n case of conflict between national identity and Lutheranism, national identity won'.

Some researchers (Hellström, 2016, pp. 88–89) argued that contemporary Norwegian national myths comprise the ideas of Norway as a strong independent state, free of former foreign domination (by Denmark, Sweden, and Germany). Furthermore, the country is considered as having a closeness to nature along with closeness to 'smaller local units' and being egalitarian. Moreover, since Nansen's trip to Greenland in 1888, skis became a national symbol for Norway, and remain so (Thorkildsen, 2014). In addition, after Norway hosted the Olympics in 1994, sport became the new myth of Norwegian nationalism (ibid., p. 276).

Several researchers problematised why closeness to nature is the core of Norwegian national identity. Moses and Brigham (2007) argued that Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century shared admiration for the country's rustic nature, at the centre of which was the mountainous landscape untouched by civilisation. Various thinkers praised life in the proximity of such nature, including Baron de Montesquieu. After his visit to Norway in 1778, Johan Christian Fabricus acknowledged an explicit correspondence between the nature-oriented intellectual climate of the time in Europe and the Norwegian lifestyle (ibid., pp. 79–80). Amidst this intellectual context in Europe, the creation of a modern Norwegian identity began incorporating Norway's unique nature as an important pillar (Witoszek, 1998). Current research shows that this value remains legitimate today, manifesting in the fact that outdoor life is the most preferred way to spend free time (Skarpenes, 2007, p. 537). According to Eriksen (1993), the orientation to nature in the 1990s was linked to the pride of Norwegians' rural connection, which was understood as an intimate relationship with their place of origin, usually outside urban centres. Today, nearly 81% of the Norwegian population live in urban areas (SSB, 2016); however, Eriksen's (1993, pp. 18–19) observation that those who



relocated from rural areas to towns maintain a close relationship with the rural place of their origin and with the people living there remains true for many. Along with the pride of a rural origin, eager engagement with local dialects is widespread in Norway. The dialects are spoken in private and public including on TV and at universities. This is in contrast to the situation in many European countries, where the dominant language is that of the city and rural dialects are used only in private communication.

Another pillar of contemporary Norwegian identity, the myth of equality, is discussed by many researchers (Vike, Lidén, & Lien, 2001). Gullestad (1992) refers to it as egalitarian individualism, which rejects hierarchy in society and views 'social climbers' as suspicious (Eriksen, 1993, p. 17). Here, 'individuals are autonomous, but equal' (Eriksen & Neumann, 2011, p. 11; author's translation). Egalitarian values are widespread in Norwegian society, and while they do constitute a common imagery of Norwegianness, research shows that the dimensions of equality differ and inequalities between genders and subtle markers of social and economic classes still exist (Lien, 2001; Vike, 2001)<sup>13</sup>. Consequently, it should be emphasised that Norwegianness does not constitute a fixed set of values, even though there are some common stereotypes of what it means to be Norwegian.

Currently, Norwegian national identity is exposed in the presence of minorities, which prompts the question on how inclusive Norwegianness can be and whether immigrants can become Norwegians by acquiring Norwegian values and rules (Eriksen & Neumann, 2011). Some researchers argued that the concept of whiteness is fundamental to the construction of Norwegianness (Jacobsen & Andersson, 2012, p. 14), imposing a binary opposition between the definition of a Norwegian and immigrant (Gullestad, 2006, pp. 72–74) and closing the options for newcomers of colour to acquire Norwegianness by customising

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<sup>13</sup> See also the 'Skarpenes debate', in which Norwegian egalitarianism is discussed in relation to class and power (Gisle & Mangset, 2012; Skarpenes, 2007; Skogen, Stefansen, Krange, & Strandbu, 2008). The debate clarifies the nuances of the notion of equality today in the abundant Norwegian society, where the direct flaunting of wealth is assumed a sign of bad taste (Skarpenes, 2007, p. 555). At the same time, the markers of cultural identity are exposed by members of the upper middle class in a veiled manner (see an example of Mette Møller's woollen dress in Gisle and Mangset (2012, p. 172).

Norwegian practices (Vassenden, 2010). Furthermore, according to Gullestad (2005, p. 30), the general Norwegian public tends to believe in the historically homogeneous character of Norwegian society, sometimes overlooking the existence of the indigenous Sámi people and other minorities in the North, as well as influences from considerable immigration before the 1960s to 1970s.

This section presented the core ideas behind the creation of Norwegian national identity, which was summarised by Gullestad (1990, p. 41) as ‘sameness, independence, self-control, love of nature, and a centering around the home’. However, these and the other values discussed should be viewed as the ideal imagery and myth of Norwegianness, rather than a guide to the personal orientations of each Norwegian. Having said this, I continue challenging the popular idea of the homogeneity of Norwegian society in the next section by focusing on the historical context of migration to Norway.

#### **1.4. Migration to Norway: The Historical Perspective**

Norway, because of its geographic location, was not much affected by people’s migration in the past. However, Brochmann and Kjeldstadli argue (2008) that even if not significant, immigration to Norway dates back to the year 900 (see also Haagensen et al., 1990, pp. 18–19), and Norwegian society has been relatively homogeneous only in the post-war period (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008, pp. 13–14). Immigration comprised among other things the influx of labour migrants from Sweden between 1860 and 1920 and immigration from Finland to Northern Norway, which continued between 1600 and 1800. Consequently, in 1900, 13% of Finnmark’s population was of Finish origin (Haagensen et al., 1990, p. 19). On the other hand, Norway had a rich emigration history, and had been an emigration country for decades. The period between 1865 and 1900 bore witness to the largest emigration from Norway to mainly the US, but also to Canada, Australia, and South America. During this time, approximately 900,000 Norwegians emigrated, and only Ireland had a greater emigration ratio. The authors of the book ‘Innvandrere: gjester eller bofaste? En innføring i norsk

innvandringspolitikk' (Haagensen et al., 1990, p. 21) argue that in the 1960s, immigration and emigration rates were balanced, and half the mobility was between Nordic countries, especially Denmark and Sweden. This might have been influenced by an agreement in 1954 concerning the Common Nordic Labour Market, which granted free movement between Nordic countries, namely Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. In 1967 the immigration rate was higher than the emigration rate for the first time, signalling a turning point in the modern history of Norwegian migration and changing Norway from an emigration to immigration country (Haagensen et al., 1990, pp. 9, 21). These events overlapped with guest worker movements in Europe in the 1960s. Nearly a decade later, Norway joined these processes in the late 1960s. Workers from countries such as Pakistan, India, Morocco, Turkey, and Yugoslavia started arriving in the country to take unskilled and low-paid jobs. Likely, they were attracted by Norway only in the early 1970s because of problems in accessing the labour markets of other European countries, while the Norwegian labour market still needed a workforce. The process was facilitated by the 1956 Aliens Act (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 160), which stipulated that everyone who could maintain herself and her family be issued a residence permit, and everyone who resided in Norway could apply for a work permit (Haagensen et al., 1990, pp. 21–22, 49).

In 1969, the first principles of the immigration policy were formulated. One was that Norway should not recruit workers abroad, unless a direct shortage for particular jobs emerged. This bilateral agreement could have contributed to the rapid economic growth of the country, but concerns pertaining to the increasing number of immigrants influenced the decision. Thus, the Norwegian government did not launch a labour force recruitment programme and had no recruitment offices abroad, as did Germany. As such, labour force mobility was primarily based on direct employer-worker agreements. Employers sought workers on their own by travelling to countries such as Turkey and Yugoslavia (*ibid.*, pp. 21–22, 49–53). In 1971, a stricter immigration law was introduced consequent to the problems in the labour and housing markets due to the increased number of immigrants. From then, work permit applications were processed by Norwegian embassies in the sending countries before—not

after—arrival in Norway. Furthermore, a regulation stipulating that proper housing be arranged before a work permit was granted was introduced (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 160).

After the oil crisis in 1973–1974 and limits or bans on recruiting labour workers in Western Europe, the Norwegian government feared a significant increase in the number of immigrants. The concerns were that such influx would exacerbate the already poor housing situation in the country, and that the precarious living conditions of immigrants would influence Norwegian wages and working conditions. Therefore, on 1 February 1975, a Royal Decree enacted an immigration stop for one year. It affected all first-time work permit applicants, and aimed to limit the immigration of unskilled workers to Norway. However, this does not imply that the influx of people to Norway stopped. Rather, immigration continued in various forms such as the refugee movement, the mobility of highly skilled experts, and through family reunification for those already settled in the country. In addition, the Norwegian labour market remained open to Scandinavian citizens, and numerous exceptions were introduced to the ban. The stop was prolonged several times until 1981, when it was extended for an indefinite period (Haagensen et al., 1990, pp. 23, 52). According to Brochmann and Hagelund (2012, p. 162), the introduction of the immigration ban was ‘paradoxical’, because in contrast to other European countries, the Norwegian economy was flourishing after the discovery of oil resources in the North Sea and the demand for a workforce was high. The main reason for the immigration stop was poor housing conditions. However, the ban did not solve this problem; rather, the family reunification process increased the demand on proper dwellings.

## **1.5. Norwegian Immigration Policy**

Scandinavian integration policies have been influenced by Sweden, which formulated the first plan for immigrants’ adaptation among other Scandinavian countries. This influence was stronger in Norway than in Denmark. The immigration policy focused on a culturally pluralist

country, and aimed to grant immigrants the right to maintain their language and culture (Haagensen et al., 1990, pp. 54–55). In 1974, the first debate on the integration of immigrants took place in the Norwegian Parliament, where the idea of *valgfriheten* (freedom of choice) was introduced. It was suggested that the government should not determine the type of integration policy according to assimilation or integration patterns, but that immigrants themselves should choose the attitude they were willing to adopt towards Norwegian society (Haagensen et al., 1990, p. 54; Hagelund, 2002). Before this, ‘no real immigration or integration policy was formulated in Norway’ (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 157). Besides the rule of *valgfriheten*, the principles of the Norwegian immigration policy formulated in 1974 and 1981 included equal opportunities, immigrants’ rights and duties, immigrants’ obligation to adapt to Norwegian society by learning about it and learning the language, and Norwegians’ obligation to respect the cultures of immigrants (Haagensen et al., 1990, p. 58). The principle of *valgfriheten*, which centred on the freedom to follow cultural (folkloristic) practices, was soon interpreted by immigrants as the freedom to follow their entire lifestyles, rules, and laws, which differed from those in Norwegian society. Therefore, it was limited in 1988 to assure that newcomers respected all rules, values, and laws of Norwegian society (ibid., p. 63).

From the onset, Norwegian immigration policy granted immigrants equal treatment including access to welfare benefits. However, research indicates that labour workers mostly avoided such assistance, fearing that their residence and work permits would not be renewed if they used it. The fear was caused by reports on the deportation of immigrants allegedly because they relied too heavily on benefits (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 161). Around the 1980s, when their work and residence permits were established, labour migrants began seeking welfare benefits. This was a more convenient alternative than relying on private networks and later being indebted by gratitude. However, since the migrants did not know their rights, many adopted the strategy of testing what would be provided to them. This was interpreted by social workers and society as attempts to misuse the services (ibid., p. 170).

After the 1991 Immigration Act, visa regulations became the primary tool of immigration control (Brochmann & Lavenex, 2002, p. 61). Foreigners entering Norway were required to possess a visa. However, there were many exceptions to these regulations, which applied only to countries that traditionally 'supplied' labour migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Moreover, obtaining a work permit by citizens of countries outside the EEA area required engagement with the labour market in Norway. After Norway joined the Schengen area in 2001, its immigration policy has been highly influenced by the regulations imposed by the European Union (ibid.).

The current Norwegian immigration policy was labelled by some researchers as de facto multiculturalism (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007, pp. 197–198). The main principle, according to the White Paper to the Norwegian Parliament (*Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013)*, 2012), views immigrants as valuable human resources and aims to provide the best opportunities for their participation in the labour market. Employment is considered 'key to participation, financial independence, and equality' (Andersson, 2012, p. 4). Another goal is to provide children with equal access to education, with special emphasis on the participation of first generation Norwegians in kindergartens. Furthermore, the right to freedom of young people from immigrant families, which is understood in a Norwegian, individualistic way, is addressed in the policy. The official policy also focuses on providing good housing conditions and health care for minorities. Practically, minority children in Norway should be granted an opportunity to participate in minority language instruction. However, as I demonstrated elsewhere (Nikielska-Sekula, 2016; Ślusarczyk & Nikielska-Sekula, 2014), for Polish immigrant children in the Akershus area, this opportunity was often translated into the work of a bilingual teacher, who using the minority language, helped to understand Norwegian and the subjects covered at school. As such, in practice, minority language training is often a tool to acquire fluency in Norwegian.

An important aspect of the current integration policy in Norway was highlighted by Staver (2015) in her paper on the family reunification process. As people wanting to bring their foreign spouses to Norway are required to provide proof of a certain income, Staver (ibid.,

p. 1466) argues that Norwegian family reunification policies ‘work to actively select migrants on economic grounds. The mechanism through which family migrants are selected is the versatile tool of the income requirement, which indirectly selects family migrants based on the sponsor’s position in the labor market’.

Despite the controversies noted above, Norway’s integration policy was ranked by the MIPEX (2015) as number 4 of the 38 countries analysed. Favourable aspects of the policy indicated by MIPEX were labour market mobility and political participation. The lowest scores were assigned to access to citizenship and anti-discrimination, but these were qualified as ‘halfway favourable’. Therefore, Norway’s immigration policy is still one of the best among developed countries<sup>14</sup>.

## 1.6. The Norwegian Debate on Migration

There is consensus among scholars that the Norwegian immigration debate is polarised. According to Eriksen (1996), the debate on immigration in Norway in the 1990s had two fronts. One supported the idea that the strong maintenance of the culture of origin among immigrants limits or makes impossible their successful integration. The other blamed ethnic discrimination of immigrants by the receiving society for unsuccessful integration. The dichotomist view on the Norwegian immigration debate was also presented by Brox (1991), who underlined its polarised character as being either anti-racist or racist (Andersson, 2003, p. 81). More recently, Andersson pointed out that ‘[f]rom the late 1990s, and especially after 11 September 2001, criticism of Islam, Muslims, and immigrants’ “foreign cultures” became more significant and normalized in Norwegian public debate’ (Andersson, 2012, p. 422). She argues that the community of Pakistani Norwegians, once the biggest minority group in Norway, became the main reference in the discussion on immigration policy, integration, and Islam (ibid., p. 419). Vestel agrees (2009, p. 469) that the immigration debate in Norway after

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<sup>14</sup> For the countries covered in the MIPEX, visit: <http://www.mipex.eu/>.

11 September 'incorporated the theme of terrorism with an intensified suspicion toward Islam'. He claims that while these shifts influenced mostly Pakistanis, it affected all Muslims. Culturalist threads in the Norwegian immigration debate since the 1990s contributed to regarding immigrants, especially Muslims, as a potential threat to Norwegian values. Some researchers noted the tendency to translate into a public enemy who puts at risk the unity of Norwegian society the figure of a Muslim used interchangeably with the figure of a non-Western immigrant (Bangstad, 2011, p. 6). Bangstad (ibid.) notes that paradoxically, anti-Islamic attitudes in Norwegian society benefited from collective concerns about sustaining freedom and equality, often assumed as flagship values of modern Norwegian society. After several reports of attacks against gay people and women in immigrant-populated districts in Oslo, these were translated into general anti-Muslim attitudes. Muslims were accused of threatening the freedom of sexual minorities and neglecting gender equality, thus violating values, the protection of which appeals to many Norwegians.

An important date for the current character of the Norwegian immigration debate was 22 July 2011, when deadly attacks in the centre of Oslo and on the island of Utøya were performed by a terrorist: the middle-class, white, and ethnic Norwegian, Andreas Bering Breivik. After the attacks, concerns about anti-immigration rhetoric, which may have contributed to the fatal events, emerged. Wiggen (2012, p. 586) argues:

In the aftermath of July 22, politicians became acutely concerned about their own anti-immigrant rhetoric and how it may have influenced the terrorist Anders Behring Breivik. A broad consensus to address and change the language used in the immigration debate was agreed upon; more openness and more democracy was promised.

Nevertheless, as Wiggen admits, despite some advancement, the debate remained unchanged. Andersson (2012, p. 424) claims that soon after the 22 July events, similar dichotomies as those described by Eriksen in relation to the debates in the 1990s arose. However, the negative attitudes focused 'more on Muslims than on "ethnic groups" or "immigrants"'. The first fraction of the old debate's new edition pointed out that the



naturalisation of hate against immigrants contributed to the attitudes represented by Breivik. The second position focused on the weakness of Norwegian immigration policy, which failed to manage cultural differences between immigrants and Norwegians.

Anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant voices in the Norwegian immigration debate are not unique and resonate across Western Europe. Furthermore, the polarisation of the Norwegian immigration debate mentioned by numerous scholars (see Andersson, 2012; Brox, 1991; Eriksen, 1996; Wiggen, 2012) is not precedent. Immigration debates in Europe became surprisingly similar, shifting in the late 1980s and 1990s towards regarding immigrants' presence as deeply problematic (Gullestad, 2002). Consequently, immigrants are presented in common discourses in Europe as unwelcome guests, even though Europe needs immigration to maintain its economic growth, as some researchers point out (Schmidt, 2011). The similarities between the immigration debate in (Western) Europe and Norway were also highlighted by Andersson (2012, p. 424):

In Norway, as in the rest of Europe, attitudes towards immigration (and Muslims in particular) become increasingly polarized when one party advocates white (ethnic) nationalism and another advocates a cosmopolitanism and diversity that is more divorced from national identity.

Regarding the immigration debates in Europe and Norway, Wiggen (2012, p. 587) emphasised the existence of 'a strong Orientalist legacy' shared by politicians, journalists, scholars, and the public. Orientalist legacy is based on incorrect images of the Middle East and Islam, and positions the culture of the dominant society as superior to the culture of immigrants.

The presumption is that ethnic Norwegians' culture is the culture everyone should adhere to, and that ethnic Norwegians have a claim to it that is different and more legitimate than people who arrived later (ibid., p. 594).

Similar concerns towards the orientalist character of the Norwegian immigration debate were voiced by Gullestad (2002) and numerous contributors to the book 'Grenser for Kultur'

(Fuglerud & Eriksen, 2007). The latter researchers (see especially Andersson, 2007) maintained that the Norwegian immigration debate is defined by the limits of methodological nationalism, 'understood as the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of modern world' (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 301)<sup>15</sup>. Besides orientalism and nationalism, racism is present in the immigration debates in Norway and outside, although its existence is indirectly mentioned (Gullestad, 2002). Gullestad (ibid., p. 59) argues that these components underlying the immigration debates in Europe limit immigrants' opportunities to become equal participants in the societies of their new homeland:

In contemporary debates, the focus on culture and ancestry often provides an overlapping common ground between racism and nationalism in current signifying practices. The focus on ancestry and cultural sameness implies an invisible fence for the acceptance of immigrants as unmarked citizens who 'belong' in Norway.

To summarise, the Norwegian debate on immigration and integration has been polarised since the 1990s. While its one fraction tends to take for granted the existence of nation states as primary references for peoples' identities and positions Norwegian cultural norms as superior to the habits of immigrants, the other seeks to explain integration problems of immigrants by pointing out the hostile attitudes of the dominant society.

Having discussed the broad context of immigration to Norway and the Norwegian immigration debate, I now focus on Drammen as a destination for migrants from Turkey.

## 1.7. Migration to Drammen

Drammen is situated in the Eastern region of Norway around 40 km south of the capital city of Oslo. It has long had a reputation of being an industrial, working-class city. Its geographical

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<sup>15</sup> However, note that the writings of Eriksen, the Norwegian anthropologist who strongly influenced the public and academic debate on immigration, was characterised as representing methodological relativism, among other aspects (see Vike, 2012).

location on the river and natural resources such as surrounding forests contributed to its port-city character and the nature of the industry developed there. The river provided necessary paths for trade, while access to the forest allowed the wood-based industry to develop, including paper mills where the first labour migrants from Turkey reportedly worked. In the 1980s, about 27% of the working population was employed in industry, while this number was only 21% for the country as a whole. Nevertheless, the city today has changed its character from an industrial to a service centre and its appearance on the waterfront. In 2005, 80% of the people employed in Drammen worked in the service sector (Angell, 2011). Despite the changes, in the consciousness of many Norwegians, Drammen remains an unappealing place of settlement, because of its reputation as a working-class city and closeness to the capital, where those who can afford it find more attractive dwellings. In 2013, the population of the city was approximately 65,000. In 2013, 25% of the city's inhabitants had an immigrant background (immigrants and Norwegians born to immigrant parents); thus, it can be regarded as one of the most diverse cities in Norway. The majority (13.5%; 2,200 people) of inhabitants with immigrant backgrounds are of Turkish origin. This number constitutes 12.9% of all Turks settled in Norway. People with immigrant backgrounds in Drammen are relatively well settled: 47% have lived in Norway for more than 10 years, especially people of Turkish origin; and 62% of immigrants with a Turkish background settled in Drammen have lived in Norway for more than 21 years. In addition, inhabitants of Turkish origin have low spatial mobility. They do not move out of Drammen or within it<sup>16</sup> (Høydahl, 2014).

The district with the biggest proportion of immigrants in the city is Fjell, where 44% of inhabitants have an immigrant background. The district is surrounded by forested hills and was constructed in the middle of the 1960s. Today, it comprises mostly apartment blocks, although some single-family houses are found in the area. A high percentage of inhabitants with immigrant backgrounds (35%) are found also in the central district of Strømsø on the

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<sup>16</sup> In total, 6% of Turkish people have relocated to a different place, compared to 44% of Polish people inhabiting the city (SSB, 2014).

southern side of the river. This district houses various facilities run by minorities. While Drammen as a city is slowly shedding its bad reputation as an ugly, industrial, working-class city, the Fjell district is currently struggling with a negative reputation (Connell, 2010; Skiphamn, 2010). It is considered an immigrant neighbourhood lacking proper educational resources and opportunities. Experts from Drammen Municipality stated that Fjell faces a significant outflow of population, consisting especially of ethnic Norwegians and skilled members of minority groups. Therefore, to prevent social exclusion of the district's inhabitants, the municipality launched the Fjell 2020 project, which aims to improve the available opportunities. It plans to build a hall in which to offer extracurricular activities, increase the attractiveness of the district by creating an appealing outdoor space in the form of parks, and to improve the quality of education for youths. The idea is to acknowledge and mobilise resources in Fjell such as multilingualism. The expected outcome is to have more people in the labour market by 2020 than there were in 2012 (Expert interview with an employee of Drammen Municipality). Another project with a more cultural and artistic dimension is 'Fremtiden er Fjell' (The future is Fjell). The project, through artistic means of communication, aims to change attitudes towards Fjell and to overcome the prejudices towards the district. The focus was on Turkish culture, as Turks constitute the largest minority. However, this goal was not attained, because people of Turkish origin were not involved as much as expected.

Having presented the general characteristics of the city of Drammen, in the next section I discuss the historical context and current character of Drammen's Norwegian-Turkish population.

### **1.7.1. Turks in Drammen: Mono-village Communities**

Modern international immigration to Drammen and the area began in the 1960s with the flow of guest workers, and lasted until 1974/1975, when the ban on immigration was enacted. The pattern was similar to that in other Western European countries: Labour

migrants were followed by their families some years later. Turkish people constituted a significant number of newcomers. An expert from Drammen Municipality describes the settlement patterns in the city as follows:

Drammen is a typical working-class city. Here, where we are sitting now, for example, [and] along the whole river, there were just paper mills. (...) Drammen was working class [city] and most [immigrants, especially Turks] lived in the centre. At that time, the construction of dwellings in Fjell began, and they were considered very modern. In those days, people lived in a different way. [The houses were] cold, many even had the toilet outside. Suddenly, these buildings in Fjell were built: modern, warm, with indoor plumbing and central heating. Therefore, many Norwegians moved there at first. (...) After a while, the Konnerud area began being inhabited. People started building small houses there and the first Norwegians who moved up to Fjell now preferred Konnerud, [and moved to] villas with gardens and things. Then, the immigrants started coming to Fjell (Expert from Drammen Municipality).

Thus, before becoming an immigrant district, Fjell was a modern residential area. The changing preferences of wealthier Norwegians influenced the influx of immigrants into Fjell. This process, in the case of Norwegian Turks, was supported by the willingness of extended families to live in one neighbourhood.

In the context of Turkish migration to Drammen, a particular history is circulated orally and in the literature. However, there are small inconsistencies in some details and the date of arrival, which ranges from 1967 to the early 1970s. An expert from Drammen Municipality explained it as follows:

The first Turks came to Norway in 1970 through a lawyer who lived in Drammen. This lawyer is quite well known. The lawyer travelled to Beysehir in Turkey. As I said, along the river here were the paper mills. [At the time] in Norway, there was on-going major economic development and the demand for a labour force [was high]. These factories went crazy, but lacked people. The lawyer—I do not know how they got in touch with

the lawyer, certainly business—but the lawyer went to Turkey. He did the same thing as the Germans. Many Germans travelled to Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia ... and then [the lawyer] went to the village. I do not know why Konya, but he wanted young people. He would even check their teeth. I know that the Germans would also check if the teeth were strong. He [the lawyer] brought 10 people [to Norway] at first, and they worked in various paper mills here. They were here as guests, and had never planned to settle here. They were just here to earn money, exactly as the Poles do today. They did not have many things with them either. [The plan was to stay] one year, then they expected to go back and build [a house in Turkey]. They lived across the street in a yellow house. I do not think the building is still there. Twenty men lived in one apartment. Exactly the way Poles do today. Very busy! They say that they would sleep in shifts. They worked in shifts too. They were hardworking and [people] liked them, because they did not argue, they worked. Then they were asked. [The employers] in different factories were so satisfied with their work and they [wanted to] increase the labour force. Therefore, [the employers] wondered if they knew someone who would be interested in working for them, and then they brought the others. (...) The 10 who arrived first, or 15, were from the same village in the area of Beysehir. Essentially, the 20 [who arrived first] brought their uncles and cousins. The 30 became 40, then 50, and then their families came ... No, sorry. First, they returned. They said they were going to buy tractors to improve their farming. Yes, and so they returned to do it. Many surely did. They worked for a year in Turkey and thought: 'No, I need to build a better house, repair the roof'. Then they returned [to Norway]. Eventually, one suddenly brought his family [to Norway] and the others thought: 'Wow, he is doing so well he has his family [here]. Hot food'. At that point, the others started bringing their families too. Eventually, [they created] a community. However, the dream of travelling back [to Turkey], the dream of a tractor ... It has been 30 years and they still live here (Expert from Drammen Municipality).

This story is in accordance with the Norwegian immigration policy of the time, when direct recruitment by an employer was still possible (see Haagensen et al., 1990)<sup>17</sup>. However, it seems that the story about the lawyer applies to the Sunni Turks from the Konya area. The Alevi community originating from the same area seemed to arrive in Drammen slightly later and through different channels. They describe their story as follows:

**Mustafa:** We are originally from Turkey, but almost 100% of us are Norwegian citizens (...). It has been more than 40 years now [since] the first generation came to Norway. The oldest men, it was his father (*pointing to a person*), he is still on holiday now, but he is retired. Therefore, he [the oldest member] has lived in Norway for 45 years.

**Ahmed:** The first group of the first generation came to work here. They sought work through the Norwegian Embassy in Ankara, and were granted permission. They started here. We were ... there were 16 people in 1975 [in Norway]. Yes. Now, there are 400 of us (Group interview, Alevi Association).

By 'us', Ahmed is referring to the Alevis originating from the same village in Konya province, who are settled in Norway mostly in Drammen and Oslo. Zirh (2007) argues that the Alevis from Konya may not have been aware of the possibility of labour emigration, because of their village separation and lack of contact with Sunni Muslims. Therefore, they arrived in Norway later and through different channels than the Sunnis. Possibly, the knowledge of labour migration was hidden from them because of discrimination.

The beginnings in Drammen were difficult for both Sunni and Alevi Turks, because of difficult living conditions and the language barrier. There was a lack of Norwegian-Turkish dictionaries, as reported by the first generation of immigrants from Turkey, and resources to learn the language were not available. People used Turkish-English and English-Norwegian dictionaries to find basic words:

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<sup>17</sup> Earlier in this chapter, I explained the Norwegian immigration policy at length and described the 1971 changes to the recruitment process for the labour force. This was a shift from informal–direct methods to the formal–via Norwegian embassies method.

**Sertac:** [If it comes to the language, we knew] anything! Just ‘finger language’.

**Mustafa:** Yes, it was very difficult.

**Yasemin:** Turks lived in barracks.

**Mustafa:** Old houses, outside toilet.

**Orhan:** I lived in a barrack for two years.

**Mustafa:** We had problems with the language. We could not even buy an egg in a shop. We were not able to say the word. I had to say: (*imitating a chicken’s cackle, everyone laughs*) (Group interview, Alevi Association).

Undoubtedly, the Turks in Drammen are a well-settled group, originating mainly from rural areas in Turkey. The pioneers were recruited as unskilled guest workers, and after comparing the opportunities in Turkey to those in Norway, they decided to stay in Norway and bring their families. The expert from Drammen Municipality, who is familiar with Turkish local communities, and Sandrup (2013) in her PhD thesis on the Turks in Norway, state that the Turkish people’s expectations of the benefits of working abroad began with the ability to buy a tractor to facilitate cultivating the land and ended at having large and comfortable houses. It seems that ‘the dream about a tractor’ has become part of the myth of pioneer migration distributed in the Norwegian-Turkish milieu. Over the years, the dream of Norwegian Turks rooted in Norway to return was postponed to retirement. However, as their children and grandchildren, who were born and raised in Norway, were not motivated to settle in Turkey, those who returned usually spent half a year in Norway, mirroring the patterns of numerous Norwegian retirees owning houses in the Southern countries. Thus, Norway has become home to Turkish immigrants and their offspring, and constitutes the most important arena of their everyday practices. Transnational ties and influences, while still strong, remain regulated and adapted to the everyday reality in Norway. Trips to Turkey change this slightly, allowing more significant influences from local places in Turkey on the daily routines of my respondents. However, this phenomenon is limited to the period spent in ancestral villages.



### 1.7.1.1. *Turkish Communities in Drammen: Reflected Heterogeneity*

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the population of Turkey has a heterogeneous character comprising various ethnic and religious minorities as well as different political and other orientations expressed by membership or sympathies towards formal and informal social, religious, political, cultural, and educational associations. This heterogeneity is mirrored in Turkish communities abroad. In Drammen, Norwegian Turks constitute a diverse group with numerous small communities. The Alevi community does not maintain formal contact with Sunni organisations and is quite isolated. This seems true for the Kurds too. I was told that some people of Kurdish origin from Turkey live in Drammen, but the method of snowball sampling, which I employed to recruit people, did not lead me to any Norwegian Kurds originating from a territory of Turkey. This may indicate limited contact between Norwegian Turks and Norwegian Kurds in Norway. In this section, I discuss the presence of various formal organisations Drammenian Turks engage with and their links to international (or transnational) movements.

According to the data presented by the Turkish Religious Community in Drammen (Diyanet), the following religious organisations addressing the needs of the Turks operate in the city: the Diyanet's mosques (Sunni), which are regulated by the Turkish Ministry of Religious Affairs; Sülaymanites (Sunni); and Alevis, most of whom identify with Bektashism<sup>18</sup>. Besides them, the data mentions 'Nurcular', which has links to the ideology of the Güllenists. Their activity is oriented towards education rather than religion, and they operate in bigger cities.

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<sup>18</sup> According to a generalisation in the public and academic discourse, Bektashism is traditionally regarded as an urban version of Alevism (Doja, 2006b, p. 459). While Alevism developed in rural areas and had the character of folk practices, Bektashism represented a more ordered version of Alevi practices and was common in urban areas among educated people. Regarding the current state of Bektashism and Alevism, scholars argue: 'Insisting, however, that modern Alevi and Bektashi groups have much more in common than they have differences, the Alevis themselves will often talk about the "Alevi Bektashi" creed, culture, or tradition' (ibid.). Based on interviews with members of the Alevi community in Drammen, I understood that the Bektashi order influenced the Drammenian-Alevi community upon the Alevi revival over the last three decades in Turkey, which led to the reopening of Bektashi convents (ibid., p. 460). Since the exact differences between Alevism and Bektashism are not important in my research, and as my respondents refer to themselves as Alevi, I used this term. For more information on the historical background, political aspects, and current state of knowledge on Bektashism, see Doja (2006a, 2006b).

In my fieldwork, I identified and visited all the abovementioned religious centres, and/or participated in the public events they organised. Below, I briefly explain the differences between Sunnism and Alevism and the characteristics of the abovementioned religious organisations/movements, as these nuances become important for understanding the empirical findings presented later in this thesis.

Some researchers differentiate between Arabic and Turkish Islam:

Turkish Islam was in any case rooted in the Anatolian countryside, the mosque, the cemetery, and the rhythm of the religious festivals and daily prayer, rather than in a sophisticated understanding of the Arab-based Sharia (Shankland 2012, p.108).

Turkish Islam was shaped by the secular framework of the modern nation state. There are presently two main groups of Muslims in Turkey. The majority are Sunnis and a smaller group of Alevi, constituting approximately 10–12% of the Muslim population in the country (ibid., p. 107). Shankland outlines the characteristics of Turkish Sunnism:

The Sunni population is, broadly speaking, conventional in terms of belief and doctrine as it is usually understood. Though there is enormous variation in actual practice, it is held to be usual for believer to maintain the literal truth of the Qur'an and to uphold the 'five pillars' of Islam: believe in God, pray, fast, pay alms, and undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca (ibid., p. 108).

Defining Alevism is not an easy task, because the term is ambiguous, sometimes referred to as a religious belief and sometimes as an identity. 'Many scholars define Alevi as a heterodox Muslim group with roots in Turkey; a few activists identify it as a distinct belief system and lifestyle that is outside Islam' (Özyürek 2009, p. 236; see also Shankland 2007, p. 1). Shankland argues:

Alevi doctrine, while it does not reject the 'five pillars', emphasizes the esoteric side of religious life, the God that is found within all human beings. (...) This emphasis on the inner self and individual conduct, rather than outward fulfilment of doctrinally

prescribed practices, means that they favour a state that does not promote the public expression of faith (Shankland 2012, p. 113).

The members of the Alevi community I researched generally did not follow the custom of fasting during Ramadan and did not perform daily prayers. Moreover, women in the community were not veiled, and did not occupy a different space than men in the religious house. It seemed that the traditionally gendered spatial division was not present in the Alevi community, while in the Sunni communities I visited, it was inscribed in the spaces of facilities such as mosques and ethnic clubs.

Alevi identity in Drammen was created some time after their arrival. Primarily, the Alevi joined the practices of the Sunnis in accessible Turkish mosques in Drammen. However, over time, they created their own place for religious practices, marking the boundary between them and the Sunni Muslims. The Alevi Association in Drammen is linked to Bektashism. Alevis in Drammen are proud of their moderate Islam, lack of headscarves, and relaxed attitudes to the pillars of Islam. At the same time, they complain about discrimination from the Sunni people, which is based on this religious heterodoxy. Interestingly, in the narratives of Sunni respondents, the Alevi-Sunni tensions were absent and generally, the existence of Alevis in Drammen was completely ignored. This probably demonstrates that Sunni respondents adopted the homogeneous definition of the Turks, ignoring religious minorities. In turn, the Alevis clearly cultivated the memory of discrimination under Sunni rule in Turkey, benefiting from the freedom of belief in Norway.

The Sunni group in Drammen is also divided in several factions, although the borders between them may be blurred for many, and many may just not realise the reasons for and features of this division. There are three Sunni mosques in Drammen, two run by Imams financed by the Turkish government and ordered by the Diyanet, and one—‘private’—linked to the Sūlaymanites (Bangstad & Elgvin 2016) and called ‘Det Islamske kultursenter i Drammen’ (Islamic Cultural Centre in Drammen). Sūlaymanites is a vibrant religious organisation ‘with a nucleus in Cologne’ (Akgönül, 2009, p. 44). It has a broadly developed

network of mosques, and the primary goal is the Islamic education of youths. It opens Quranic schools, and organises summer boarding schools and pilgrimages (ibid.).

Another influence on Turkish communities in Drammen is the Gülen movement under the leadership of a cleric based in the US, Fetullah Gülen. The Gülen movement is an intellectual organisation, aiming to educate and reconcile Islamic beliefs with the latest scientific discoveries. It evolved from the *Nurcu movement*, developed by the 'brilliant religious thinker' (Shankland, 2012, p. 112) Said-i-Nursi:

In essence, Nursi advocated a policy whereby believers should study hard to educate themselves and be part of the secular Republic while at the same time continuing to seek a reconciliation between the literal truth of their religion and the advances of modern science (ibid.).

There seem to be several main principles of the movement, for example, to encourage members to pursue the best education and avoid confrontation in favour of flexibility in discussing problematic elements of ideology or doctrine. The organisation supports the education of selected students who cannot afford it. However, Toprak (2012) argues that the movement 'is organized around economic activity and wealth, combined with religious teaching and a concomitant way of life' (ibid., p. 225). Thus, the Gülen movement is not a purely educational institution, but also a power and business centre. Until 2013, it was supported by the Turkish Erdogan's ruling party, the AKP. Scholars note that the coalition between Gülen and the AKP shaped the power and economic relations in smaller Anatolian cities. Toprak (ibid.) contends that officials in towns and municipalities originated from the AKP, while the Gülen movement served as a 'financial empire' and worked in cooperation with the party. Those who did not join them reported having problems in maintaining businesses and finding jobs (ibid., p. 224). After 2013, the cooperation between the Turkish government and Gülenists collapsed. In July 2016, shortly before writing this chapter, the Gülen movement was accused of backing a failed military coup in Turkey.

Drammen, as well as many other Norwegian cities, hosts the International Festival of Language and Culture under the local name ‘Språk og kultur festival’<sup>19</sup>. The event is organised internationally by Fetullah Gülen’s organisation. Until 2013, it held its international finale in Turkey. The collapse of relationships between the AKP party and Gülen movement dates back to 2013—the year my research started. While the conflict was not as visible then as it is now, there were some signs of reluctance towards the Gülenists from officials in the mosques financed by the Turkish government. They rejected participation in the festival, and referred to the organisers as ‘people trying to overthrow the Turkish Government’. Individual respondents generally did not mention the Gülen movement in the interviews.<sup>20</sup> Only some experts—activists and politicians of Turkish origin—brought up the issue, although indirectly and without naming it. After the coup, the issue was discussed in the local media, both Norwegian-Turkish and Norwegian. Since the fieldwork was completed before the coup, I have no knowledge of individual attitudes towards the event.

Interestingly, despite various lines of division between the Turks in Drammen, many of my Sunni respondents were ignorant of the meaning and features of these boundaries. People active in the government mosque frequented the festival. Selecting a mosque to attend was often based on convenience and distance from home. Furthermore, some respondents raised threads of Islam and science that were consistent with Gülenist ideology; however, they did not explicitly link these to the movement. Thus, I argue that political and ideological differentiation between Turkey and Turkish communities worldwide was reflected structurally through the organisations of Norwegian Turks in Drammen, but not necessarily shared on an individual level. The only line of division the Alevi respondents explicitly outlined was the tension between the Sunnis and Alevis in Drammen and Turkey.

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<sup>19</sup> The festival is described in chapter 7.

<sup>20</sup> Only Fatma mentioned it. See the quote on page 255.

*1.7.1.2. Same but Different. Boundaries and Bonds Between Turks in  
Drammen and Turks in Turkey*

The heterogeneity of Turkish communities in Drammen was described in the previous section. Now, I briefly focus on the often-overlooked differences between Norwegian Turks in Drammen and Turks in Turkey. During my research, I visited Konya and Beysehir in Turkey, from where most Drammenian Turks originated. Furthermore, I conducted field trips to three of the villages Drammenian Turks originated from: two Sunni villages and one Alevi. Moreover, I visited Izmir—one of the most European cities in Turkey—where the families of the majority of Drammenian Alevis lived and which was the destination of their holiday trips. I conducted one-day visits to the villages, accompanied by an interpreter and my family—my husband and daughter. The interpreter was a young woman of Turkish origin, an intern at the Migration Research Centre at Koç University in Istanbul. She had an academic interest in migration and refugee studies. Furthermore, she completed an internship in Drammen and was therefore familiar with the city and the Turkish community there. She had no personal or familial relations with Drammenian Turks before her arrival in Drammen. We travelled by car, which had Norwegian plates.

I visited the villages with my family to avoid suspicion, which may have arisen from the presence of two young women travelling alone across Anatolia. The presence of the family, especially a baby, was also meant to eliminate any suspicion that we were representatives of the Norwegian government or customs. This was, however, a common fear and reported privately to the interpreter by the Norwegian Turks in the villages. The interpreter did her best to dispel all doubts and we quickly regained trust. Moreover, the interpreter received a call from a Drammenian Turk settled in Norway after the fieldwork in the villages was completed and after I reappeared in Drammen. The man was interested in the purpose of the visit, but after the interpreter's explanation, he did not contact me. After this, I decided to complete the fieldwork in Drammen to avoid arousing suspicion and causing stress for the participants in my study. To protect their anonymity I have withheld the names of the villages I visited and while in the villages, did not mention that I met people originating from there. I

stated that the purpose of the visit was to write a PhD thesis on Turks in Norway, and that I had heard that many originated from the village. Therefore, I wanted to visit the village and observe life there. I underlined that my interests were centred on cultural practices. Despite stating the Polish background of my family at the onset, the villagers treated and introduced us to other people as Norwegians. Only one Norwegian-Turkish family we met in Alevi village acknowledge our Polish background. We tried to adjust our clothing to emulate the locals' loose clothing, but our unveiled hair, jeans, and my daughter's and mine blond hair and blue eyes made it impossible for us to blend in as locals in Konya and Beysehir, let alone the villages.

Konya is one of the most conservative areas in Turkey, and its population comprises devoted believers in Islam. The city has more than 1 million inhabitants. Beysehir is a smaller city, inhabited by over 40,000 people according to the 2000 census. While Konya shapes the character of the region, as the capital of the province, Beysehir constitutes the main urban reference point for the inhabitants of the visited villages. The streets in both Konya and Beysehir were dominated by people with references to Islam inscribed in their clothing. Most women were veiled and a significant number of men wore a Muslim cap.

The villages were much poorer than the cities. In the Sunni villages, we were greeted and guided by men. Women were much less visible on the streets than they were in Konya or Beysehir. However, in the Alevi village, elderly women were eager to make contact with us, and invited us to their houses. While the Sunni villages were relatively young and vibrant, mostly elderly people inhabited the Alevi village, the smallest of the three. According to our Norwegian-Turkish host, 'No one here is young, no one is pregnant, and the village is dying'. Alevi women were covered in a relaxed way, in contrast to the Alevis in Drammen, who did not use the veil.

Generally, people in the villages were very welcoming. We were invited to their houses and provided with food. Moreover, we were not allowed to pay for our tea at the teahouse. Regarding the pattern of the fieldtrip, upon entering the village, some locals would 'take

control' over us, showing us around. Since I had an interpreter, there were no communication problems. The interpreter was familiar with rural customs, and ensured that we did not violate any taboos.

Observations in the villages provided a valuable resource for the data analysis, and clarified obvious and visible differences between Norwegian Turks and the local people. The most striking differences included the observed economic wealth of the Norwegian Turks compared to the Sunni villagers. For example, these differences were reflected in their housing. The summer residences of the Norwegian Turks were three times larger and much more modern than the local dwellings, which were made of stone. In addition, the Norwegian Turks contributed financially to the village based on needs. They contributed towards financing the treatment of the sick and provided used items and clothing for the villagers. Other explicit differences—according to the locals—were evident in everyday practices such as clothing style and the relationships between males and females common among Norwegian Turks. The locals interpreted the latter as unacceptable, as it included behaviours such as men and women holding hands in public and women greeting their male friends. The Sunni villages were a vibrant reference point for Norwegian Turks originating from there. However, the Norwegian Alevi Turks did not frequent the Alevi village, and their preferred holiday destinations were resorts or bigger Turkish cities like Izmir.

Despite the clear transnational ties between the Norwegian Turks and the local places and communities of their ancestral origin, they are a different group than the Turks in Turkey. Their everyday practices and lifestyles have adjusted to the Norwegian reality and transformed in relation to the 'primary habits' brought from the villages by first generation immigrants. Consequently, considering my respondents as Turks and overlooking their unique practices, which were developed in the spaces of Norway and influenced by Norwegian and global factors, is a mistake that distorts reality.

In this chapter, I discussed the historical, cultural, and social context to create a better understanding of respondents' translocational positionality. Next, I provide a theoretical overview of the existing research to position my work within the current academic debates.





## 2. Research Overview and Main Theoretical Discussion

The previous chapter familiarised the reader with the broad context influencing the situation of Norwegian-Turkish communities in Norway. I highlighted some differences between Norwegian Turks and people inhabiting their ancestral villages of origin. I pointed out that the lifestyles of the Norwegian Turks have changed over the decades since their settlement in Norway, even if they continue performing transnational practices. In this chapter, I focus on the interconnections between existing research on migration in the Norwegian and Turkish context and the research presented in the thesis to frame the theoretical assumptions of my work. Consequently, this chapter provides the reader with the theoretical framework employed in the thesis, and situates the research in the European and Norwegian academic debates on migration. First, I summarise the Norwegian research on migration. Then, I present an overview of the research on the Turkish migration in Europe and Norway and identify the research gaps this thesis seeks to address. In the second part of the chapter, I present the main theoretical discussions engaged with in the thesis. I summarise the criticism of essentialist approaches in cultural migration research and propose an alternative framework for the investigation by employing practice theory, positionality, and intersectionality.

### 2.1. Norwegian Migration Research

Migration research in Norway is relatively well developed. It addresses specific ethnic groups settled in Norway and the cross-group characteristics of immigrants. People of Pakistani origin long constituted one of the largest minorities in Norway. Consequently, most migration research in Norway focused on various aspects of Norwegian-Pakistani livelihoods (Bivand Erdal, 2013, 2016; Bolognani & Bivand Erdal, 2016; Walseth & Strandbu, 2014; Østberg, 2000, 2003). However, migration research in Norway has also focused on other

ethnic groups such as the Tamil (Bruland, 2012; Fuglerud & Engebrigtsen, 2006; Engebrigtsen, 2007; Tharmalingam, 2011) and Somali (Fangen, 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b). Interestingly, not much research focuses on the people of Swedish origin, who also constitute one of the largest minority groups in the country. Minority groups in Norway are often analysed through cross-group common characteristics, rather than ethnicity. In this regard, numerous studies have been published on minority youths (Andersson, 2000, 2002; Jacobsen & Andersson, 2012; Mainsah, 2011; Prieur, 2002; Vestel, 2009), Muslims in Norway (Jacobsen, 2004, 2005; Vogt, 2002), and minority women (Jacobsen & Stenvoll, 2010; Predelli, 2004; Walseth & Fasting, 2004). Regarding the 'new' minority groups in Norway, much research has recently focused on Polish immigrants, whose 'mass' arrival was driven by the enlargement of the EU in 2004 (Bivand Erdal & Lewicki, 2016a, 2016b; Bygnes & Bivand Erdal, 2017; Friberg, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2016). Some researchers have also investigated the Spanish minority in Norway, whose influx can be linked to the 2008 economic crisis (Bygnes, 2017; Bygnes & Bivand Erdal, 2017).

Eriksen (2010b, p. 299) argues that sociological and anthropological research on migration from poor to rich countries focuses mainly on the following three areas: (1) Discrimination against immigrants in the *host*<sup>21</sup> society, (2) immigrants' group identity maintenance strategies, and (3) the relationship between the cultures of immigrants and the host country. Since these areas of focus seem to reflect the Norwegian academic debate on migration, I follow Eriksen's classification while presenting trends in migration research in Norway in the upcoming sections.

### 2.1.1. Discrimination against Immigrants in the Host Society

Numerous studies on the unprivileged position of minorities in Norway have been published. One classic work is the book by Grønhaug (1979) entitled '*Migrasjon utvikling og minoriteter*',

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<sup>21</sup> I use here the notion of a host country after Eriksen, but because of the concerns it elicits, I refer to immigrants' *countries of residence or new homelands* throughout the thesis.

which analyses how asymmetrical power relations between Norwegians and immigrants caused cultural disqualification among the latter group. In more recent publications, scholars address the concept of racism and whiteness in educational (Rhedding-Jones, 2001; Svendsen, 2014), working (van Riemsdijk, 2010), and other contexts (Guðjónsdóttir, 2014), demonstrating that whiteness facilitates blending into Norwegian society. Much attention is also dedicated to the discriminatory aspects of public and media debates on minorities (Bangstad, 2011; Wiggen, 2012). In addition, competences in broadly understood Norwegianness as facilitators of immigrants' integration into the work place and school are also discussed (Dahle & Seeberg, 2013; Johannesen & Appoh, 2016). These analyses demonstrate that high demands of assimilation are imposed on immigrants, emphasising that often only the 'Norwegian way' of doing things is accepted as correct by numerous institutions such as schools and health care centres.

In the context of discrimination, Wikan's (1995) concept of the underclass, which she applied to immigrants in Norway, sparked significant discussion within the immigration debate in the country. With reference to multiculturalism, Wikan (2002) blamed the integration policy, calling it a generous betrayal, for strengthening the vulnerable position of some groups of immigrants such as women. She suggested that rather than offering help, society's expectations of immigrants should be advanced, as this would overcome patriarchal dominance in immigrant families. Her concepts were first criticised as blaming 'members' of the underclass for their unprivileged position, and then defended by Brox (1997), who argued that structural change in the Norwegian labour market and the vulnerable position of the immigrants within it validates the concept (Andersson, 2003, p. 81). Wikan, an active participant in public immigration debates, was accused of creating a dichotomy between us (Norwegians) and them (immigrants) in the common discourse (Gullestad, 2002; Wiggen, 2012). However, Hagelund (2002) reiterated her statement, claiming that the freedom of choice of cultural integration leads to the unprivileged position of some immigrant groups, particularly women. The primary question Hagelund posed was how to provide freedom in maintaining ethnic culture, while securing full individual rights. Consequent to the on-going

debate, Andersson (2005) raised the problem of the marginalisation of youth immigrants in Norway, emphasising the inadequacy of traditional perspectives of inequality to minority youths in Oslo.

### 2.1.2. Group Identity Maintenance Strategies of Immigrants

The identity of minority members, especially youths, has attracted significant interest in the Norwegian academia. After 1990, as a result of the disappointment with essentialist perspectives on identity in European research, a new tendency emerged. Researchers began focusing on the favourable aspects of being an immigrant youth, based on postmodern theories of identity. The outcome was numerous publications describing so-called 'multi-ethnic youth cultures' (Andersson, 2003, pp. 75–76). The 'old' identity discourse in Norway was criticised as presenting immigrant youths in categories of victims or criminals, which negatively influenced their integration (ibid. 2003, 2005). One study representing the new identity paradigm was carried out by Andersson (2005). Using the Schutzian life-world perspective, she analysed factors shaping the identity of immigrants from different social groups. Youth identity was also a subject of Østberg's (2003) research, in which she presented the development of the 'integrated plural identities' of young Pakistanis in Norway. Østberg applied the concept of negotiation to explain the process of identity creation among her informants, while Strandbu (2005) argued the adequacy of identity theories in relation to participation in sports activities. The Creole identity perspective and power perspectives were criticised by Strandbu as not enhancing understanding of the situation of minority girls. Prieur (2002) claimed that the femininity of her minority informants is not Norwegian or that considered popular in the country of their ancestral origin, being a stand-alone, negotiated value. In her study on Muslim women in Oslo, Predelli (2004) presented Islam as a flexible source, which her informants used to justify their gender role interpretations, which ranged from conservative to liberal. The ambiguous identities of first generation Norwegians are also discussed by Kaya (2014) and Haque (2012). The latter analysed the relationship between the use of minority language and the identity of people

of Indian ancestry in Norway. Research representing the new paradigm in approaching the identity of minorities challenged the assumption of the in-betweenness of minority youths, demonstrating that their identity goes beyond a 'hybrid' of the two cultures, as it is a unique, multidimensional, and stand-alone value.

### **2.1.3. Relationships Between the Cultures of Immigrants and the Host Country**

Research on the culture of immigrants in Norway concentrates on the relationships of immigrants and minority youths with modern (Norwegian) and traditional (ancestral) culture (Fuglerud, 1999; Øia, 1993, 1998), the influence of migration on cities (Blom, 1997; Djuve & Hagen, 1997; Eriksen, 1997), culture of Muslim immigrants and its changes under the influence of Western ideologies (Jacobsen, 2011), and transnational marriages (Nadim, 2014; Schmidt, 2011). Fangen (2007a) analysed the multiple positioning of young Somalis among the various groups they came in contact with. Some comparative studies dealing with the differences between particular elements of Norwegian and immigrant culture have also been published (Dahl, Hansen, & Olsen, 2010; Stiles, Gibbons, Lie, Sand, & Krull, 1998).

According to Eriksen and Höem (1999, p. 133), research dealing with the relationship between immigrant and Norwegian culture often adopts traditional ethnic perspectives, which emphasise the ethnic borders between particular groups and focus on the differences between society and minorities. These authors also criticised an approach in which Norwegian and minority cultures are not problematised, but interpreted as homogeneous. They further pointed out that sometimes the culture of immigrants is viewed according to categories of deviation with reference to European norms. Here, they specifically refer to Muslim immigrants, as per the orientalism stance (Alghasi, Eriksen, & Ghorashi, 2009), which purports the differences between (superior) Western and (inferior) Oriental cultures. This discourse realises the culturalist approach, which focuses on the ethnic differences between groups.

#### 2.1.4. Other Research

Besides research focusing on the three areas mentioned above, namely the discrimination of immigrants, identity formation, and the relationship between Norwegian and immigrant cultures, other trends are also identified in the Norwegian migration literature. These trends are represented by recent research focusing on the latest wave of immigration, and describe aspects of migration linked to education, the labour market, future plans about settlement or return, and citizenship practices. This section briefly summarises these to provide the reader with a more complete understanding of the trends in migration studies in Norway.

Some researchers (Bygnes, 2017; Bygnes & Bivand Erdal, 2017) analysed the narratives of Polish and Spanish immigrants in Norway on their experiences of mobility, motives for migration, and prospective plans regarding settlement in their new homeland or returning to their countries of origin. The situation and working conditions of labour migrants in the Norwegian labour market were also an area of focus (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016; Friberg, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2016). Researchers have also been interested in various aspects of the experiences of Polish children and their parents with Norwegian educational institutions. Amongst other things, these studies focus on the invisibility of Polish children in schools, their narratives of national belonging, and their parents' engagement with the Norwegian education system (Nikielska-Sekula, 2016; Slany & Pustulka, 2016; Ślusarczyk & Nikielska-Sekula, 2014; Wærdahl, 2016). Takle (2013) and Jacobsen and Andersson (2012) analysed the political participation of immigrants in Norway, and various studies describe citizenship practices (Bivand Erdal, 2016; Bivand Erdal & Lewicki, 2016a; Fangen, 2007b).

To summarise, research on migration in Norway focuses mainly on the aspects of immigrants' identity creation, discrimination, and the relationship between immigrant minorities and Norwegian society. Regarding the new immigration, numerous studies on immigrants' participation in the labour market and the education of immigrant children have been published. Furthermore, issues pertaining to citizenship and the political participation of immigrants have also been a topic of research. Most of these studies focus on immigrants from Pakistan, Somalia, and recently Poland, as well as on immigrant youths and women. The

gaps to be filled in migration research in Norway includes research on the unique space in which people with an immigrant background develop and exercise attachment to both Norway and their ancestral homelands and negotiate values and practices derived from minority, majority, and global culture. Another gap is the research target, Norwegians of Turkish origin, who are underrepresented in the extant literature.

Having summarised the general trends in migration research in Norway, in the next section I outline the European debate on Turkish migration and Norway's contribution to it.

## **2.2. European Debate on Turkish Migration and the Contribution of Norway**

Migration from Turkey has gained academic attention since the wave of migration of guest workers to Western countries in the 1960s. Various researchers analysed the situation of Turks from various perspectives and the needs and trends of the time. Countries in which most studies were conducted generally housed a relatively large Turkish population such as Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium.

Kaya (2007) distinguishes three stages in the Turkish migration research. In the first stage, research focused on the economic statistics of Turkish migration and the dream of immigrants to return. After the migration ban in the 1970s, scholars focused on cultural conflict, culture shock, acculturation, in-betweenness, and the identity crisis (ibid., p. 484) faced by Turks in Europe. Anthropological research on the Turks in Western Europe only began after the 1990s. This last stage of the research was characterised by various approaches and 'questions concerning citizenship, discrimination and racism, socio-economic performance, and increasingly (...) the emergence of diasporic networks as well as cultural production' (ibid.).

The large volume of research published on Turks in Europe makes it impossible to mention all studies. Consequently, this section provides the reader with a comprehensive literature



review that presents the main trends in recent research on Turkish migration in Europe within the social sciences. The review focuses on social anthropology and summarises selected debates within the field. It aims to provide knowledge on the types of studies conducted and their outcomes on selected aspects of the livelihoods of European Turks. The review is limited to the broadly understood Turkish communities settled in Europe, excluding work on the recent migration of Turkish students and professionals, as this is outside the scope of this thesis.

### **2.2.1. Turkish Neighbourhoods and Businesses**

The first significant trend in research on the Turkish migration focuses on the Turkish aspects of so-called immigrant neighbourhoods, especially in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany. Among other things, researchers have focused on belonging expressed through positioning identities in the urban space of German cities (Çağlar, 2001; Ehrkamp, 2005), relationships and tensions between minority (Turkish) and native inhabitants of neighbourhoods in Germany and the Netherlands (Hanhörster, 2000; Smets & Kreuk, 2008), and the housing conditions of Turks in Sweden (Özüekren, 2003) and the Netherlands (Bolt & van Kempen, 2002). Furthermore, the entrepreneurship strategies of Turkish-run businesses are also widely discussed in the context of Germany (Kesteloot & Mistiaen, 1997), Belgium (Pécoud, 2004), and Finland (Katila & Wahlbeck, 2012) analysing the role of entrepreneurs' social capital in achieving success.

Available research on Turkish neighbourhoods and Turkish-run facilities is usually limited to countries with a relatively significant Turkish population such as Germany, the Netherlands, or Belgium. Except for work from Finland (*ibid.*), little has been said about the urban activity of Turks in countries with a lower population of people of Turkish origin such as Norway.

### 2.2.2. Media Consumption

Another important trend in the Turkish migration research focuses on media consumption by Turks in their new homelands. In this context, worthy of mention is the work by Çağlar (2004) and Adriaens (2014), which describes the identity formation of people of Turkish descent by discussing their media consumption. Çağlar (2004) examines the influence of German-Turkish presence on commerce, and problematises the boom of a broad spectrum of facilities targeting Turks in Germany. These facilities were created through German entrepreneurship and include Turkish language advertisements on German TV and banks run according to Sharia law. In addition, Çağlar points out the impact of specific German-Turkish media on the formation of new identities among people of Turkish origin in Germany. Adriaens (2014) analyses the identifications of female youths of Turkish descent. Her approach suggests determining threads that are important for respondents by discussing their ideal TV program. Adriaens uses visual methods as a pretext to the conversation about important identifications and the struggles of young girls of Turkish descent in Germany. This way, she omits imposing on them confusing categories of ethnicity. Her approach partly reflects the theoretical suggestions of Çağlar (1997) to focus on consumers' relationship between an individual and objects and not on abstract identities and cultures. Çağlar (ibid.) contends that the person-object relation reveals everyday practices, meanings, and identification without presuming belonging or indicating essentialist cultural affiliations. Savaş (2014) agrees, discussing the belonging of Turks in Vienna by analysing their relationship with material objects.

### 2.2.3. Discrimination and Othering

Another branch of research focuses on discrimination and the othering of people of Turkish descent settled in Western European countries. Yildiz and Verkuyten (2012) describe the difficulties faced by Turkish Islamic movements in Germany and the Netherlands to construct a new identity that overcomes growing prejudices linking Muslims to terrorism. Skrobanek and Jobst (2010) as well as Mandel (2008) deliberate the discriminatory discourses against

Turks in Germany. Mandel (ibid.) analyses the rhetoric of foreignness and structural difficulties faced by the Turks in Germany, arguing that they have never been accepted as equal citizens. There is consensus in the literature regarding Turkish migration that Germany has never been welcoming towards Turks and despite the cosmopolitanism of German citizens, Turkish people were never accepted as equal members of German society (see for example, Inowlocki & Lutz, 2000; Soysal, 2001). Other interesting research is that by Tanyas (2016), which concentrates on the marginalisation and othering of young people of Turkish descent raised in the UK. Her data clarifies the rootedness of the respondents in the UK, even though this is where they experience discrimination. Furthermore, Tanyas (ibid.) demonstrates that a lack of fluency in the Turkish language contributed to respondents' marginalisation by compatriots born and raised in Turkey.

#### 2.2.4. Gender and Family Issues

The situation of Turkish women has also gained attention in academia. Researchers focused on the use of public space by Turkish women in Rotterdam (Spierings, van Melik, & van Aalst, 2016), the role of women in Turkish-run businesses (Karataş-Özkan, Erdoğan, & Nicolopoulou, 2011), the consequences of having limited skills in the language of the new homeland (Liversage, 2009), and the discourse on honour and shame (Mirdal, 2006). Based on its originality, it is worthwhile to note the work of Inowlocki and Lutz (2000) on female labour workers. As female labour migrant pioneers from Turkey are generally considered to not exist, the authors confirm women as an important part of the guest worker movement.

Another stream of research analyses relationships in Turkish families. Some focus on marriage practices and the choice of a partner in Turkish migrant families (Aybek, 2015; Baykara-Krumme, 2015; Milewski & Hamel, 2010; Reniers, 2001), while others consider parental influence on children (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007). Generally, it is argued that the parental role in the choice of a spouse remains important, and marriages are usually performed with the consent of both spouses and their parents. Usually, the role of the

parents is to suggest preferable candidates that later are or are not accepted by prospective spouses. Baykara-Krumme (2015, p. 22) suggests that about half the marriages of Turks in Western Europe between 1970 and 2011 were arranged, but this proportion was much higher for first generation immigrants than for their children, who were born in the new homeland. Interestingly, while consanguineous marriages are not rare in Turkey (ibid.), they are still more frequent among Turks abroad (Reniers, 2001).

### 2.2.5. Political Activism and Citizenship

An interesting research stream centres on transnational influences between domestic policies and policies in the new homelands. Ögelman (2003) proves in his work that homeland conflicts and policies influence Turkish communities in Germany. More precisely, political migrants from Turkey mobilise people in Turkish communities abroad who were apolitical on arrival. In turn, Argun (2003) discusses the influence of the Turks settled abroad on domestic policies in Turkey. Some research also focuses on the views of citizenship shared among Turks abroad (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2002).

### 2.2.6. Youth Studies

Numerous researchers focused on the youth culture created by young people of Turkish descent. These studies are based on fieldwork conducted in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, regarded in the common discourse as 'Little Istanbul', despite its diverse population. For example, Soysal (2001) describes the identities of youths of Turkish origin in Kreuzberg as being in flux. As such, he points out their rootedness in Germany, particularly in Berlin, and criticises other researchers for overlooking this fact. Youth culture in Kreuzberg, specifically hip hop culture, gained the attention of Çağlar (2001) and Kaya (2001). Çağlar (2001, p. 608) points out that the identities of youths in Kreuzberg, who define themselves with reference to the multi-source music style, cannot be reduced to mere Germanness or Turkishness. They attempt to create the basis of their belonging to a particular location or city, rather than

embrace the abstract concepts of ethnicity. Consequently, youths want to be called 'Berliners' rather than 'German Turks' or Turks. Another interesting study on the youth culture in Kreuzberg is by Petzen (2004), who discusses the quest of queer people of Turkish origin to create 'spaces of their own'. Her research, besides focusing on youth culture, also refers to another trend in Turkish migration, which is described in the next section.

### 2.2.7. Creating Spaces of Their Own

There is a slowly developing trend in Turkish migration studies that focuses on the struggle of people of Turkish descent in creating spaces of their own within a new homeland. Such research focuses on the physical space and mental and socio-cultural areas of belonging. Their main feature is acknowledgement of the belonging of people of Turkish descent to the spaces in their new homelands. This research also pays attention to the complex and multidimensional identities of minority people, especially those born in the new homelands. The creation of spaces of their own can be understood as constructing physical and socio-cultural arenas within which the members of minorities act in new homelands, exercising their practices that bear both transnational and local influences.

Some research is grounded in the idea of rootedness of minorities in new homelands, but focuses on other aspects of their livelihood than the actual creation of spaces of their own. Examples include studies by Soysal (2001), Çağlar (2001, 2004), Adriaens (2014), and Savaş (2014), which were described in previous sections of the literature review. Worthwhile here is the work of Ehrkamp (2005), which considers Turkish immigrant neighbourhoods in Germany as arenas of placing identities. She argued that Turks created belonging to the local in Germany by positioning there their Turkish identities and transnational practices. Ehrkamp's work provides an excellent perspective on how integration into the new homeland can occur through belonging to the minority communities there. It also refutes the assumed contradiction between maintaining transnational ties and local integration. The paper by Güney, Kabaş, and Pekman (2017) is also important. The authors discuss the role of

youth culture in Kreuzberg, Berlin, in the formation of a Turkish diaspora<sup>22</sup>. They attempt to answer the question of how these youths transformed the migratory experience of the 1960s into a diaspora by contesting the space of Kreuzberg. The paper acknowledges the rootedness of young people of Turkish descent in the local space of Berlin; however, it still refers to them as immigrants, despite that most of these youths never migrated. Similar problems were observed in the work of Kaya (2007). This work challenges the assumption of foreigners of the Turks in Germany in many ways, and acknowledges that their actual living space is Berlin. Nevertheless, the terminology used in the paper fails to overcome the stereotypes of Turks as physically situated in the new homeland, but mentally and culturally living beyond its society. Unfortunately, with a few exceptions (Adriaens, 2014; Çağlar, 2001, 2004; Ehrkamp, 2005; Soysal, 2001), this misuse of terminology is represented by many researchers in the field of Turkish migration. Many studies, which acknowledge the multiple and complex identities of the Turks in Europe, still employ the traditional categories of ethnicity and approach people born in Europe through the framework of migration, rather than their actual belonging to new homelands. This confirms that despite a slow change in general theoretical approaches, the social sciences still lack either the terminology or the custom of challenging notions applied to minority youths born in new homelands. Consequently, scholarly research tends to reproduce the foreignness of Turks in Europe.

### 2.2.8. Turks in Norway: Research Overview

Despite the existence of some research, the Turkish minority in Norway has not been thoroughly discussed in either the Norwegian or European migration debate. Some scholars focused on Norwegian Turks, analysing them along with other ethnic groups such as Norwegian Pakistanis, Norwegian Vietnamese, and Norwegian Indians. These studies were partly in accordance with European trends in research on Turkish migration, focusing on areas such as gender and family issues (Lappégard, 2006; Prieur, 2002), political activism

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<sup>22</sup> See the criticism of a diaspora in chapter 7.

(Rogstad, 2009b), the neighbourhood and segregation (Søholt & Lynnebakke, 2015), and the collective identity of immigrant adolescents (Sam & Virta, 2000). Turkish youths and other minority adolescents in Norway have also gained researchers' attention; however, from a different perspective to that described in the *Youth Studies* section of the European debate on Turkish migration. Rather than focusing on youth culture, comparative studies have been conducted on minority and 'native' adolescents in subjects such as bullying and victimisation (Fandrem, Strohmeier, & Roland, 2009) and outgroup contact attitudes (Bratt, 2002). Moreover, Norwegian-Turkish issues have also been examined in the context of minority education (Fekjær, 2007).

Regarding research only on Norwegian-Turks, the area of knowledge covered most is linguistic studies. This is represented in the comprehensive work of Türker (2005) on Norwegian-Turkish codeswitching and Nistov's (2001) publication on Norwegian language acquisition by people with Turkish as a mother tongue. Another study, which fits well in the European discussion on media consumption of Turks in Europe, was conducted by Çınar (2016), who discusses the participation of Turks in ethnic online communities and their engagement in social media. Rogstad (2009a) analysed the activity of Turkish organisations in Norway in line with the trend of researching the political activism of Turks in Europe. The relationship between welfare services and equality of Norwegian Turks in Drammen was tackled by Angell (2011), which contributed to the discussion on the othering of Turks in Europe. Furthermore, an interesting ethnographic work on Turks in Norway is Sandrup's (2013) doctoral thesis entitled, 'Farfars hus: norsktyrkiske familier: innvandrede utvandrere'. Sandrup documents Turks' memories of settlement in Norway in the 1970s. She also describes immigrants' habitus based on her fieldwork in a Turkish village, focusing on the transnational ties between Norwegian-Turkish families and their relatives in Turkey.

As described above, the Norwegian debate on Turkish migration, even if limited, shares many commonalities with the European discussion on the issue. Areas such as gender and family, segregation, media consumption, and the political activism of Norwegian Turks have gained attention from scholars. Nevertheless, the Norwegian debate on Turkish migration has a

significant gap. Little attention has focused on the creation of a space of their own, not only by Norwegian Turks, but also by immigrant minorities at large, specifically regarding the everyday negotiations of their practices and values. In short, the extant research on Turkish communities in Norway regards them from the perspective of ‘the other’ and prioritises differences in attitudes and living conditions, as well as ethnic practices. My research addresses this gap and those summarised in the next section.

### **2.3. Research Gaps and Contribution of this Thesis**

In the first part of this chapter, I presented an overview of the research debates in the field of Norwegian migration studies and European research on Turkish migration. Now, I unify these debates by highlighting the emerging research gaps that this thesis seeks to address.

As discussed above, with a few Norwegian contributions, the literature on Turkish migration in Europe is widely developed. Nevertheless, several gaps still need to be addressed. First, Turkish migration has been analysed in the context of the top destinations for labour workers in the 1960s and 1970s. Consequently, research on Turkish migration is dominated by work in the German, Dutch, and Belgian contexts, but underrepresented by research in countries with a less significant Turkish population. Second, regarding the Norwegian immigration debate, not much research focuses on the material and socio-cultural spaces that refer to Norwegian and minority cultures and that approaches these cultures as coexisting sources of individual identifications, not as dichotomies. Eriksen and Höem (1999) claim that migration research too strongly underlines the differences between the society of the country of settlement and immigrants. Also in the European discussion on Turkish migration, most studies either presume the foreignness of Turks in new homelands or despite acknowledging their belonging to the new destination, impose othering categories on minority members born in the new homeland, referring to them as migrants. Furthermore, with a few exceptions (Adriaens, 2014; Çağlar, 2001, 2004; Savaş, 2014; Soysal, 2001), there is a strong orientation to Turkishness in the research, while other (global and new homeland



societies) influences on the creation of new spaces and the performance of cultural practices are usually overlooked. Third, barring the abovementioned exceptions, the Turkish migration debate still lacks alternative methodological approaches to analyse the complex multiple identifications and multi-layered belonging of minority youths born in the new homeland.

Through my research, I would like to contribute to the discussion on the creation of spaces of their own by people of Turkish descent in new homelands. Consequently, in Eriksen's categorisation, I want to join the discussion on the relationship between the culture of the minority and that of the new homeland. Here, minority and dominant cultures are not understood as an essence, nor are they regarded as dichotomist. The spaces of their own are interpreted as arenas within which individuals' practices, values, and collective identifications are present that challenge traditional, essentialised ethnic or national identifications and extend beyond a mixture of minority and majority cultures. I attempt to address the three gaps outlined in the previous paragraph. In this regard, below I discuss the three main contributions of my research— empirical, theoretical, and methodological.

Since most research that problematises the formation of an alternative—neither minority nor dominant—culture and contestation of space was conducted in Kreuzberg, a district in Berlin commonly regarded as Turkish, my contribution is especially relevant in terms of empirical evidence. First, Drammen, the location of my fieldwork, is a mid-sized city, in contrast to the metropolis of Berlin, and no particular district can be regarded as exclusively Turkish. Second, the Turkish population in Norway is much smaller than in Germany, and Turks do not constitute one of the largest minority groups. These factors might have influenced the processes of livelihood organisation and formation of belonging. Furthermore, Turks in Norway are rarely covered in the international literature on Turkish migration. **Thus, the empirical novelty of my thesis is to enhance knowledge on the Turkish minority in Norway: Their belonging and everyday practices in the context of a mid-sized city with no exclusively Turkish district.**

With my research, I aim to challenge the dichotomy between the Turks and native population, which is still present in the common discourse and in academia. I propose approaching people of Turkish descent as equal members of Norwegian society, which I mirror through reflexive and careful use of terminology. I criticise referring to people born in the new homeland as immigrants, as I believe that the experiences of actual immigrants—those who have migrated and settled in a new land—differ significantly from those of people who have never experienced such mobility. Thus, I propose regarding respondents primarily as individuals, rather than as Turks. Consequently, **the theoretical novelty of my research is the discussion on the physical and socio-cultural living space of Drammenian Turks that challenges pre-assumptions of their ethnic identifications and otherness.** The starting point of this discussion is acknowledging the position of members of the Turkish minority as equal participants in Norwegian society and creating a methodology that enables this.

Finally, and as a consequence of the theoretical novelty, I attempt to contribute to the discussion Çağlar (1997) began and Savaş (2014) and Adriaens (2014) continued, which is based on attaining collective identification and aspects of identity, by discussing the elements of everyday routines. While Çağlar and Savaş recommend focusing on the relationship between individuals and commodities, Adriaens does so by analysing media consumption, specifically the ideal TV programs of young girls. This approach enables determining respondents' identifications and belonging by analysing their practices and without imposing fixed identities, which they may find difficult to relate to. Consequently, **the methodological novelty of my research is an attempt to understand belonging, translocational positionality, and the construction of cultural heritage through analysing respondents' everyday routines and practices and by discussing meaningful places, items, people, values, and activities,** rather than by directly addressing abstract ideas of historicised identity.

Having defined the theoretical gaps in the research that my thesis aims to address, I now turn to the theoretical assumptions that constitute the conceptual framework of the analysis described later in the thesis.

## 2.4. General Theoretical Perspective

The second part of the chapter provides the reader with a brief overview of the main theoretical discussions engaged with further in the thesis. Below, I consider the criticisms of essentialist notions of culture and ethnicity, and outline how these are approached in the thesis. I also introduce perspectives of practice theory, positionality, and intersectionality, which frame the analysis described in further chapters.

### 2.4.1. Criticism of Essentialist Cultures

Researchers agree that the essentialist notion of culture can no longer be used in academia as an analytical concept (Çağlar, 1997; Macdonald, 2013; Wikan, 1994). In the public and political discourse, the notion of culture has become part of the taken-for-granted knowledge lacking criticism or reflexivity. In this context, culture is treated as an existing object that usually reflects a rigid and homogeneous set of values, traditions, ideas, and practices. In Western European countries, the notion of culture has recently emerged in the common discourse in the context of migration movements. Furthermore, cultural differences were identified as one of the greatest dangers of immigration. The ubiquity of the notion of culture and its taken-for-granted meaning calls for a critical discussion on what culture signifies in today's globalising reality and the limitations and opportunities it provides for analysing processes in the postmodern world, which is characterised by constant ambiguity. Below, I describe selected perspectives on culture. At the end of the section, I discuss the approach to culture in this thesis.

Geertz (1973, p. 5) defines culture as 'a web of significance', which occurs as a result of human activity. Williams (1958) also postulates this semiotic understanding of culture with a focus on meaning. He argues that:

[e]very human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings. Every human society expresses these in institutions and in arts and learning. The make of a

society is the finding of common meanings and directions and its growth is an active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact and discovery, writing themselves into the land. (...) A culture has two aspects: the known meanings and directions which its members are trained to; the new observations and meanings which are offered and tested (ibid., pp. 53–54).

According to Williams, culture is therefore a process with features that are ‘both traditional and creative’ (ibid.), including the most ordinary common meanings and finest individual meanings. Directly connected to real people, culture does not exist beyond human actions. Williams’ definition of culture recognises human agency in the creation of culture, but it also assumes that all members of a culture are equal and have an equal right to negotiate and change meaning within the culture. Even if culture should represent the actions of every single member, the official, shared cultural narratives and meanings are provided by those with power. The meanings and practices of vulnerable groups are marginalised and excluded from the mainstream understanding of a culture. Therefore, that taken as the ‘culture of the group’ is actually privileged members’ image of the ‘real culture’ of the nation, community, or tribe, and it excludes the experiences of those with vulnerable positions in the group. This problem is visible in places where culture and cultural differences are focused on, because of the coexistence of two or more groups of different (usually ethnic) backgrounds and it was discussed by Wikan (1994) in the Norwegian immigration context.

Wikan (ibid.) shares Williams’ argument that culture does not exist beyond human actions. She goes further, claiming that culture is merely a concept, a mind construction referring to the ideas, knowledge, and lifestyles of a group of people. Developing this idea, Eriksen (2015) proposes shifting the focus of migration research from the abstract concept of culture to personhood and individual actions, which can tell the researcher more about the complexity of immigrants’ situation.

It has been argued that culture is problematic as an analytical concept. The focus on culture underlines differences rather than similarities between people of different backgrounds, but at the same time, implies a lack of variation among individuals. Culture as an abstract concept

shared by the people identifying with it sometimes becomes a reference for collective action. However, what is understood as the real culture may still differ among individuals. Macdonald (2013) and Wikan (1994) claim that the notion of culture is dangerous and essentialist, although this does not imply that employing it is unjustifiable. Both scholars admit that there are cultural differences between people of different backgrounds, and that referring to different cultures emphasises these variations. However, the exaggerated ideology of differences, which has developed around the notion of culture in the migration context, and lack of reflection on variations within one culture and the similarities between two different cultures, has contributed to huge misunderstandings of the concept. Therefore, both Wikan and Macdonald (ibid.) argue that the notion of culture can be used in academia, but only with careful consideration of all the problems it bears.

Culture and ethnicity are often treated as the main division between people (Eriksen, 2013; Wikan, 1994). Often ignored is that members of ethnic groups are subject to other subdivisions such as education level, economic and social class, gender, age, place of living, and so on. These divisions can be stronger than ethnicity and work across cultures. An educated, middle-class Norwegian Pakistani may have more in common with an ethnic Norwegian representing similar features than with an illiterate compatriot (Wikan, 1994). To discover these nuances, the focus should be on the actions of individuals and their social positionality, which is influenced by various locations such as gender, class, age, level of education, and race and ethnicity, rather than on 'cultural (or ethnic) differences' (Anthias, 2008).

Considering the standpoints of the scholars presented above, I understand culture as a process undergoing constant transformation, rather than as a homogeneous, fixed entity. Culture is subject to the relationships of power that occur within it, and individuals may not share the official interpretations of culture produced by these powers. In addition, I sympathise with the idea that practices linked to particular culture(s) are not limited by their boundaries, and may occur in other cultural systems as well. Thus, cultures are fluid and changeable. Based on this understanding of culture, I share Çağlar's (1997) criticism of the

notions of creole and hybridity, referred to by her as 'confused essentialism'. Çağlar claims that no community is defined a priori, and the idea of mixing cultures assumes the existence of essentialist cultures that can mix with other essentialist cultures (see also Anthias, 2001). This terminology indicates that 'the sources of diversity are pre-given, rather than being practice bound' (Çağlar, 1997, p. 173). I acknowledge that the idea of culture shapes social life, namely that regular people do believe in cultural differences between various groups, further influencing the disposition of privilege in societies. However, I do not include culture in the analytical framework of this research. In the thesis, instead of talking about culture, I focus on the location and positionality of individuals, their practices, and systems of significance. Adopting the terminology of Anthias (2001, p. 634), this study addresses social positions: 'a set of effectivities' and social positioning, which is 'a set of practices, actions, and meanings'. This approach draws from the concept of translocational positionality (ibid., 2002, 2008) explained at length in chapter 6.

Having discussed the theoretical concerns of the concept of culture, I now problematise the interrelated notion of ethnicity.

#### **2.4.1.1. Ethnicity**

The notion of ethnicity arouses similar analytical problems as that of culture. Broad consensus exists among numerous reputable scholars on the constructed character of both concepts. However, similar to culture, ethnicity is treated in the public discourse as real, as something that has influenced social life in Western societies. In this section, I problematise the concept of ethnicity and determine how to approach it without falling into the trap of essentialism.

In her essay, 'Ontology and Social Construction', Haslanger (1995) differentiates between 'hard facts', which are of biological origin and exist *objectively* in nature, and phenomena constructed by human actions. She proposes regarding the latter group as social constructions, acknowledging them as 'objectively real phenomena' (Ingthorsson, 2013, p.

10). I argue that ethnicity can be regarded as a social construction, because despite lacking biological evidence, it organises social life. Ignoring ethnicity in research would be overlooking an important element of social life. However, ethnicity is still problematic as an analytical category.

Barth's (1969) seminal work on ethnic groups and boundaries may provide a direction for advancing the analysis of ethnicity as socially constructive. Herein, *objectivity* is torn between material non-existence and the ability to influence social life. Barth argued that ethnic groups are not characterised by a concrete substance unique to its members. The existence of ethnicity depends on the maintenance of ethnic boundaries, which distinguish different groups in an interaction situation. Even if the cultural features of groups do not vary significantly, the sense of ethnicity remains strong as long as the group boundary is maintained (ibid.). Barth further contends that ethnicity is not about the 'cultural stuff' embedded in it, but about boundary maintenance. He views (ibid., 1994) ethnicity as a feature of social organisation, rather than an expression of culture. Ethnic groups and their characteristics are created in specific interactional, historical, economic, and political circumstances. Therefore, they are situational, not primordial. The cultural differences between groups, which are primarily significant, constitute the markers of ethnic boundaries (ibid.). Consequently, some habits and values are included in the boundary of a group, while others are rejected.

Barth (ibid.) differentiates between three levels of ethnicity formation: the micro level of an individual; mezzo level of collectivity construction through leaders and the rhetoric used to mobilise ethnic consciousness; and the macro level of state policies, which influence the creation of ethnicity. The three levels are interdependent, and what occurs on one level is reflected on the others. In the research presented in this thesis, I touch on all three levels of ethnicity. In chapter 4, I analyse expressions of ethnicity in the city, referring to the Barthian micro and mezzo levels. Chapters 5 and 6 cover the micro level, as I am interested in individual identification and attachments to places and groups that may have ethnic connotations. Chapter 7 is dedicated to the micro, mezzo, and macro levels of ethnicity, and

reviews individuals' engagement in institutionalised heritage as delivered by the government and local communities. Furthermore, individual experiences of heritage are explored.

Barth's concept has been highly influential since its publication; however, as Eriksen (2013, p. 64) claims, his key ideas were already present in the Chicago School and in research by Soviet scholars who were not that well known. Barth's concept was criticised by Cohen (1994) and Jenkins (2008), among others.

Cohen (1994, p. 120) argued that Barth's concept of ethnic boundaries is based on the assumption that ethnicity is

generalised to the members of the group, and is not implicated in their self-perceptions other than as bearers of a given ethnic identity. By treating identity as a tactical posture, this ignores both self-consciousness and the symbolic expression of ethnic identity.

For Cohen, ethnic identity is expressed symbolically and involves individuals' self-consciousness of being a member of a particular group. Furthermore, Cohen questions the integrity of ethnic boundaries. He argues that anthropologists assume

the existence and integrity of collective boundaries, such as those of ethnicity. Rather than questioning their existence or questioning the extent to which they might reasonably be generalised (ibid., p. 124).

Jenkins, while acknowledging Barth's great contribution to our understanding of ethnic boundaries as arbitrarily constructed, contends that his concept 'might also suggest that the "cultural stuff" out of which that [ethnic] differentiation is arbitrarily produced and reproduced is somehow irrelevant, which surely cannot be true' (Jenkins, 2008, p. 111). He states:

To return, in closing, to the 'cultural stuff', the basic conclusion is that boundaries, and the interactions across them, are intimately and indissolubly bound up with the cultural contents of ethnicity. Although he has not developed it in detail, this is a



conclusion towards which Barth himself has eventually been led. During a retrospect on *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, he acknowledged that: 'the issue of cultural content versus boundary, as it was formulated, unintentionally served to mislead. Yes, it is a question of analyzing boundary processes, not of enumerating the sum of content, as in an old-fashioned trait list. But ... central and culturally valued institutions and activities in an ethnic group may be deeply involved in its boundary maintenance' (Barth, 1994, pp. 17–18, quoted in Jenkins 2008, p. 126).

Jenkins maintains that paying attention to cultural stuff such as language, food, and the practices linked to particular ethnicity do not necessarily imply its homogeneous or essentialist character. He also emphasises that relationships between groups depend on cultural markers of the differentiation they are mobilised around (Jenkins, 2008, p. 172). Indeed, different cultural practices are linked to ethnic groups. However, they are not the properties of the members of these groups. They may or may not be shared, and some may be exercised by members of other ethnic groups. In other words, while it is possible to indicate the more common practices and values within particular ethnic groups, exercising these habits is neither obligatory within nor limited by the group boundary. In addition, the group boundary is not fixed, but situational and changeable.

Despite scholars' criticism of Barth, his work remains influential and shapes the character of current ethnic studies. One approach stemming from the Barthian concept of ethnicity, which assumes ethnicity as a matter of social relations, is represented by Eriksen (2013, pp. 29, 32), who claims that by talking about ethnic groups we automatically accent the mutual contact and relationships between them. He argues that it is not possible to regard an ethnic group in isolation to other ethnic groups, as they are created in contact with others and defined in relation to what they are not: in relation to people from outside the group. For Eriksen (2010a, p. 16) 'ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group'. He continues:

Ethnicity is an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves as essentially distinctive from members of other groups of whom they are aware and with whom they enter into relationships (ibid., pp. 16–17).

Aligned to Barths' argument and inspired by Eriksen, Baumann (1999, p. 59) argues, '[ethnicity is] a social process of maintaining boundaries that the people themselves recognize as ethnic'.

While a matter of social relationships, it is widely agreed that ethnic groups usually involve some type of longer historical continuity (Eriksen, 2013, pp. 60–61). Alonso (1994, p. 392) argues that ethnicity is constructed and hence fluid, 'but this fluidity is limited by hegemonic processes of inscription and by the relations of forces in society'. Alonso suggests the necessity of showing how particular ethnicities were created. In light of this statement, the context of Norwegian and Turkish identity creation presented in chapter 1 becomes more significant in understanding the empirical findings discussed further in the thesis.

Considering the abovementioned conceptualisations of ethnicity, I propose that ethnicity be regarded as an organisational principle (Barth, 1994), effect of social interactions (Baumann, 1999; Eriksen, 2013), and individuals' self-consciousness (Cohen, 1994), which is constructed and negotiable within the limits set by the hegemonic discourse and social structures (Alonso, 1994). There is broad consensus that ethnicity is only one aspect of identity (see Alonso, 1994; Marti, 2008), and in the thesis, this is approached through a translocational positionality framework (Anthias, 2002, 2008), which enables an analysis that acknowledges multidimensional influences from other social positionings such as gender, age, and class issues.

Having clarified my understanding of ethnicity, I briefly link nationalism to ethnicity, explaining the relationship between understandings of Turkishness as national identity and as ethnicity.

Jenkins (2008, pp. 87, 150) claimed that it 'is hard to imagine a nationalism that is not, in some sense, "ethnic"' and that 'all nationalisms are, in some sense, "ethnic"'. He states that

the boundary between ethnicity and nationalism is indefinite. For Eriksen (2013, p. 24), the difference between nationalism and ethnicity is that nationalism assumes that cultural and national boundaries overlap, while ethnicity, even if seeking recognition, lacks the quest of its own state. Thus, ethnicity is a category claiming recognition and particular rights, but not seeking a sovereign state, which nationalism does.

Regarding Turkish ethnicity, I agree with Jenkins and Eriksen that nationalism is linked to ethnicity and that the boundary between the two is blurred. As explained in the first chapter, Turkish national identity was created in nation-building processes and linked to the ethnic group of Turkic peoples from Asia Minor. This common ethnic background was created to give the nation a common ancestry. With mass migration from Turkey, the national identity celebrated within the country was ethnicised abroad. However, that defined as (Turkish) ethnic uses the same symbols and narratives as (Turkish) nationalism. In the thesis, I refer to Turkishness as the ethnic identity of my respondents based on the technical differentiation proposed by Eriksen: Turks abroad do not seek the foundation of a sovereign state on the territory of new homelands. However, the actual border between national and ethnic symbolism remains vague and indefinite.

#### **2.4.2. Theoretical Assumptions of the Thesis**

Having discussed the concerns about essentialist approaches to culture and ethnicity and proposing the way culture and ethnicity are handled in the thesis, I now describe the theoretical assumptions that frame the analysis in further chapters, namely practice theory, positionality, and intersectionality.

The theoretical approaches discussed here were employed to overcome essentialising respondents' belonging and identity. Practice theory, as used here, aims to shift attention from the concepts of identity, ethnicity, and culture to the actions of individuals, and through them, identify and theoretically structure the issues connected to their more abstract identifications and the meanings they give to the spaces and places of Drammen and the

traditions they engage with. Positionality and intersectionality, developed within the feminist theory, enable researching relationships between different and often contradictory social locations of individuals and multi-layered meanings of places. Intersectionality and positionality also inform the conceptualisation of belonging, which I employ in the thesis and discuss in this section. While practice theory was applied in designing and conducting the research, the findings are theoretically structured through intersectionality, positionality, and other approaches introduced later.

#### *2.4.2.1. Practice Theory*

Consequent to the strong criticism of essentialist notions, I focus primarily on practices in my fieldwork to identify identifications and belonging as well as the meaning of vernacular places. This is achieved by analysing the routines of Drammenian Turks and the items, landscapes, people, values, and activities mentioned in their 'self-portrait without self', a method of data collection explained in chapter 3.

Consequently, the thesis focuses on the individual practices of Norwegian Turks. I was inspired by practice theory, which was developed by scholars such as Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984), and Schatzki (1996, 2001a, 2001b). Note that none of these scholars were prioritised in my research. Rather, my approach combines selected statements raised by them and their followers, and seeks to reflect the construction of the collective identifications of Drammenian Turks by analysing their individual and collective practices.

Swidler (2001, pp. 83–85) claims in her article, 'What anchors cultural practices' that

[Theories of practice] emphasized 'practices' understood as routine activities (rather than consciously chosen actions) notable for their unconscious, automatic, unthought character. Practices can be the routines of individual actors, inscribed in the ways they use their bodies, in their habits, in their taken-for-granted sense of space, dress, food, musical taste—in the social routines they know so well as to be able to improvise spontaneously without second thought. Practices can also be trans-

personal, imbedded in the routines organizations use to process people and things, in the taken-for-granted criteria that separate one category of person or event from another—‘art’ from what is not art or the sane from the mad. (...) To study culture (...) becomes to observe closely those publicly accessible practices, either through micro-observation of largely mute and unnoticed practices or through ‘thick description’ of the publicly observable symbolic and ritual practices that structure the possibilities of meaning in a given ‘cultural system’.

Micro-observation of unnoticed practices requires coming down to the individual level and critically analysing her seemingly insignificant everyday life routines. Thick description of cultural practices, to paraphrase the propagator of the method, Geertz (1973, p. 9), sorts out the structures of signification embedded in the practice. In other words, the researcher’s task is to name and interpret all significant elements of the situation of practice, including the discursive meanings, persons, and objects involved and omitted in the situation (Clarke, 2005).

Turner (2001, p. 120) distinguishes individual from collective practices through the notion of ‘individual habits’. He argues that practices themselves are always shared, defining them as ‘non-linguistic conditions for activities that are learned. (...). An activity that requires its genuine participants to have learned something of this tacit sort in order to perform’ (ibid.). In this work, I distinguish between two levels of practices, namely the individual and collective. Practices on an individual level reflect various interpretations of a collective norm, while practices on a collective level comprise the scope of standardised and accepted interpretations of collective norms. Barnes (2001, p. 23) claims, ‘Practice at the collective level is not a simple summation of practices at the individual level (habits). Shared practice is, as the ethnomethodologists say, a collective accomplishment’. Barnes (ibid., p. 19) defines collective practices as ‘socially recognized forms of activity, done on the basis of what members learn from others and capable of being done well or badly, correctly or incorrectly’. Therefore, there are socially constructed limits of ‘appropriate’ practices, although this does

not imply only one possible way of performing the practice. Usually, a spectrum of acceptable interpretations of practices exists.

In his paper 'Practice mind-ed orders', Schatzki (2001b) concurs with the opinion of Barnes on the correctness or incorrectness of certain interpretations of particular practices. He argues that practical intelligibility, a know-how embedded in practices, is primarily determined by rules (ibid., p. 51). According to Schatzki (ibid., pp. 46–47), '[s]ocial orders are established within sway of social practices, because practices mold the forms of determination that are responsible for them'. These forms of determination include specifying what people do and the institution of meaning ascribed to practices.

Practices form the chief context of social orders by molding action and meaning—that is, by helping to shape the practical intelligibility that governs activity and by carrying that, in accordance with which the meanings of arranged entities are instituted (ibid., p. 48).

Therefore, social order occurs as a result of an arrangement across individual practices, and is changeable with human actions (ibid., p. 53). However, the new social order is not the sum of 'old' and 'new' practices. Rather, it represents a different quality in which all known and newly met meanings are renegotiated and adapted to the new living environment.

As noted, practices can be individual and collective in form. Individual practices, which Turner refers to as habits, have personal character and differ between people. A collective or shared practice occurs on an interpersonal level, containing both routine activities and shared meanings, ideas, and discourses, all limited by the consent on what is accepted and correct. Barnes (2001, p. 24) says that '[p]eople do collective things not because they are independent individuals, but interdependent social agents (...). They modify their individual habits as they interact with others in order to sustain a shared practice'. These shared, collective practices constitute the cultural patterns of behaviour in a particular group. However, they vary in terms of making what is colloquially assumed as culture heterogeneous and vague in its features. According to Reckwitz (2002), in practice theory,

the core elements, which are an immanent part of practices, are the body, mind, things, knowledge, discourse and language, structure, and agents. These are the elements of situation (Clarke, 2005), and are in the focus of analysis in this thesis.

In conclusion, in my study, practices are understood as a routine set of actions performed by subjective social agents in response to their socio-material environment. Practices may be individual or collective. Collective practices, being the effects of negotiations between individual interpretations of a particular practice, are not homogeneous, but vary among individuals. Social agents answer expectations of the socio-material environment as expressed in rules, discourses, structures of social relations, material objects, nature, and so on in an individual way, negotiating the character of a collective, shared practice. In turn, shared practices create social order, which can change over time as a result of human activity. Therefore, collective ideas inform individual practices, but are verified by agents. Consequently, practices vary between humans, forcing a heterogeneous understanding of culture. Individual variations in practices are as important as their shared, negotiated equivalents, because they provide an overall picture of the group including its vulnerable representatives.

Individuals have explicit explanations as to why they maintain certain practices. The agent can break the rules connected to a practice, and choose to change or not to maintain the practice, bearing all consequences of her decision. This affects not obtaining 'the acceptable or correct end' of social action, according to terminology introduced by Schatzki (2001b, p. 53). These abnormal actions consequently change the social order, providing that the deviation will be followed by others over time and eventually meet social consensus.

In this thesis, I attempt to determine the collectivities respondents identify with by analysing observed and declared practices. This allows me to grasp the complexities across Drammenian-Turkish communities and inconsistencies between individual and group self-definitions. Furthermore, it enables me to indicate the link between the practices and collectivities not consciously marked as a primary source of respondents' identification.

#### 2.4.2.2. *Positionality and Intersectionality*

While practice theory influenced the choice of methodology employed in the research, the theories of positionality and intersectionality constitute the major approaches to data analysis. In this section, I describe these and indicate their relation to the empirical aspects of the thesis.

Alcoff (1988) defines positionality as a concept advanced within feminist theory. It rejects the essentialist definition of a woman expressed by identifying her attributes and characteristics, focusing instead on the situational context that influences her identity. Alcoff (ibid., pp. 458–459) explains positionality as follows:

When the concept ‘woman’ is defined not by a particular set of attributes, but by a particular position, the internal characteristics of the person thus identified are not denoted so much as the external context within which that person is situated. The external situation determines the person’s relative position, just as the position of a pawn on a chessboard is considered safe or dangerous, powerful or weak, according to its relation to the other chess pieces. The essentialist definition of woman makes her identity independent of her external situation: since her nurturing and peaceful traits are innate, they are ontologically autonomous of her position with respect to others or to the external historical and social conditions generally. The positional definition, on the other hand, makes her identity relative to a constantly shifting context, to a situation that includes a network of elements involving others, the objective economic conditions, cultural and political institutions and ideologies, and so on.

Positionality thus refers to defining a person not based on her essentialist characteristics, but according to the situation she engages with. The context determines the individuals’ position. However, as Alcoff admits, because of their agency, people can relate to and influence their situation by making sense of it. As such, Alcoff does not overlook human agency in the creation of a self-definition:



I assert that the very subjectivity (or subjective experience of being a woman) and the very identity of women is constituted by women's position. However, this view should not imply that the concept of 'woman' is determined solely by external elements and that the woman herself is merely a passive recipient of an identity created by these forces. Rather, she herself is part of the historicized, fluid movement, and she therefore actively contributes to the context within which her position can be delineated. I would include Lauretis' (1986) point here, that the identity of a woman is the product of her own interpretation and reconstruction of her history, as mediated through the cultural discursive context to which she has access. Therefore, the concept of positionality includes two points: first, as already stated, that the concept of woman is a relational term identifiable only within a (constantly moving) context; but, second, that the position that women find themselves in can be actively utilized (rather than transcended) as a location for the construction of meaning, a place from where meaning is constructed, rather than simply the place where a meaning can be discovered (the meaning of femaleness) (ibid., p. 459).

According to Alcoff, womanhood is therefore not an attribute, but a position, while positionality pertains to defining the broad context of a woman's situation and her agency in creating it. This approach may be extended to 'personhood' in general, reflecting the ways in which human's positions are defined by situation.

The concept of positionality is linked to the notion of intersectionality as understood in feminist studies (for a review, see Yuval-Davis, 2006b). In the work of Essed (1991) and Crenshaw (1993), who are regarded as two of the most influential authors in the field, intersectionality is primarily connected to the experiences of women of colour. Their work focused on how race/ethnicity and femininity simultaneously influence the unprivileged position of women of colour, having consequences different from those of the experiences of white women of rape, violence, and so on. In a broader context, intersectionality focuses on how different social divisions such as gender, class, race, ethnicity, and disability work

together to influence an individual's de-facto situation. Yuval-Davis (2006b, p. 205) argues the following:

The point of intersectional analysis is not to find 'several identities under one' (...). Instead, the point is to analyse the differential ways in which different social divisions are concretely enmeshed and constructed by each other, and how they relate to political and subjective constructions of identities.

She claims that:

What is important is to analyse how specific positionings and (not necessarily corresponding) identities and political values are constructed and interrelate and affect each other in particular locations and contexts. Similarly important would be an examination of the particular ways in which the different divisions are intermeshed. One cannot assume the same effect or constellation each time and hence, the investigation of the specific social, political, and economic processes involved in each historical instance is important (ibid., p. 200).

Positionality and intersectionality can be applied to a wider context than the one they were originally attached to, namely women and women of colour respectively. Therefore, the concepts are useful in the analysis of complex identities of members of both privileged and unprivileged groups (ibid., p. 201). Thus, I integrated positionality and intersectionality in the theoretical framework of the research presented in this thesis, because I believe they challenge essentialism, enabling the identification of the multiple and contradictory processes occurring in the daily lives of Drammenian Turks.

Positionality and intersectionality influence my approach to identity. Inspired by Anthias' (2008), criticism of the notion of identity, I employ the concept of belonging and translocational positionality to analyse the processes connected to the self-identification of Norwegian Turks. I discuss belonging further in this chapter, and problematise translocational positionality in chapter 6.

In chapter 4, while analysing Turkish vernacular places in Drammen, I employ the theory of space of Massey (1994, 2005), in which she regards places as having multiple, unfixed, and changeable identities. Her concept is based on intersectionality. Massey points out that places have multiple identities as moments of space, in which meaning depends on the visitors and interactions occurring within the them and the broad context of the situation around them. As such, places are processual, not bounded or fixed. Massey's approach enables uncovering the multiple meanings and identities of Turkish vernacular places in Drammen, shifting attention from the immigrant or Turkish character to the broad spectrum of political, economic, and cultural influences behind the creation of space.

In chapter 6, I employ Anthias' (2002, 2008, 2013) concept of translocational positionality based on intersectionality to analyse the complex positioning and self-definition of respondents of Turkish origin born and/or raised in Norway. Intersectionality focuses on power relations. However, in my research, by using the concept of translocational positionality, I do not limit the analysis of individuals' social locations to those crucial for power relations such as gender, class, race, and ethnicity. I am interested in all social locations including membership in various groups (often conflicting), jobs, rural/urban ancestral origin, and religion. Therefore, I focus on the mutual influence of these aspects on individuals' experiences within other social locations and how the combination of social locations determines positionality in the hierarchies of power in particular social contexts. Even though the level of individual experiences is prioritised in my thesis, in chapter 6, I outline the structural forces shaping respondents' everyday lives. The focus is on marriage practices and gender relationships in the Turkish context. Following the argument of Yuval-Davis (2006b, p. 200), I believe that social locations viewed together alongside an understanding of the influence of one on the other provides insight into individual identities.

### 2.4.2.3. *Belonging*

Belonging is often conceptualised as an alternative to the concept of identity. Anthias (2008, p. 8) argues that belonging supersedes identity as an analytical concept, because it is 'about experiences of being part of the social fabric and the ways in which social bonds and ties manifest in the practices, experiences, and emotions of inclusion'. Therefore, the focus is not on a fixed set of abstract ideas of identity.

Anthias (2016, p. 7) conceptualises belonging as 'to what and with whom one is a member, where and by whom one is accepted and feels attached to'. She argues that belonging gains attention when a sense of exclusion emerges. Belonging comprises not only the formal rights of being a member of a particular collectivity, but also a sense of the acceptance of one's membership within a certain group (ibid. 2008, p. 8). Belonging involves hierarchies and shifting boundaries (ibid., p. 9). Yuval-Davis (2006a, p. 199) defines belonging as follows:

[B]elonging can be an act of self-identification or identification by others, in a stable, contested, or transient way. Even in its most stable 'primordial' forms, however, belonging is always a dynamic process, not a reified fixity, which is only a naturalized construction of a particular hegemonic form of power relations'.

Yuval-Davis distinguishes between three levels of the construction of belonging: (1) Social locations, which comprise 'objective' determinants of belonging such as gender, profession, age, or economic status; (2) identifications and emotional attachments, which are an expression of individual preferences concerning belonging to particular groups; and (3) ethical and political values that are used to judge one's belonging (ibid., pp. 199–204). She argues that there is a difference between belonging and the politics of belonging. Belonging refers to the idea of 'feeling of home' within a particular socio-geographical setting, while the politics of belonging seek to relate belonging to specific groups via planned political programs (ibid. 2011, pp. 4–5). I argue that the politics of belonging are not exclusively implemented through official policies, but also through identity strategies present within minority communities, including families.

This conceptualisation of belonging as an alternative to identity is an important point of departure for the discussions in further chapters of the thesis. Already mentioned concepts of positionality, intersectionality, and practice theory, which shift attention from individuals' identity to everyday practices, are tools I employ in the analysis to overcome essentialism. Through practice theory, I attempt to grasp respondents' attachments to various groups and their situational self-definition by analysing their routines. Intersectionality, positionality, and other theories introduced in further chapters theoretically model the findings to provide a picture of respondents' multi-layered belonging and the complex social situation they are entangled in. I approach vernacular places as multidimensional rather than fixed, and emphasise that different people experience them differently. Furthermore, I regard Drammenian-Turkish identity as heterogeneous, processual, and exercised differently across the group. I discuss how various aspects of this identity work together in the different social positioning of those who claim it and those on whom this identity was imposed.

In closing this chapter, I address the tension between the focus on individual practices and meanings on which my methodological assumptions are based and the fact that I still research a group of Norwegian Turks, as such strongly referring to a collective ethnicity. As mentioned, the concept of traditionally understood ethnicity is shared in the common discourse, and the Turkish inhabitants of Drammen are no exception. They identify with Turkishness and refer to themselves as Turks. In my research, I address this idea of identity, while trying to demonstrate that in practice, it is not as fixed and obvious as it first appears. Consequently, while sampling was performed with reference to respondents' own identification with the traditionally understood ethnic group, data collection and analysis were designed to overcome primordialism and essentialism to obtain a more complex notion of respondents' belonging and identification. The research outcomes thus indicate how people classified as Norwegian Turks in the common discourse may share practices, meanings, and a sense of belonging beyond Turkishness. My research attempts to present Norwegian Turks in the various contexts of their everyday lives, highlighting the situations in which their different social positions and positionings emerge. While some of these

circumstances reveal stronger orientations to ancestral traditions, others are connotations to relatively modern lifestyles. The latter is often overlooked in both the common discourse and academia.

After clarifying the theoretical assumptions of the thesis, in the next chapter, I describe the methodology of the research conducted.



### 3. Methodological Framework

The first two chapters acquainted readers with the broad historical, theoretical, and empirical context of the research conducted in this study, while situating them within wider academic debates. This chapter considers the methodological assumptions of the thesis. I discuss the methodological framework of the research and role of the situational analysis (Clarke, 2005, 2009), the data collection and analysis methods, and the sampling process. I also discuss my position as an immigrant researcher, considering the possible influence in the field. Finally, I focus on the ethical aspects of the research.

#### 3.1. The Postmodern Turn in Grounded Theory: Situational Analysis

The methodological framework of the research is based on qualitative methodology. The study was inspired by, although it did not fully follow, Clark's (ibid.) theory of situational analysis. Situational analysis is a postmodern variation of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Below, I briefly explain the main assumptions and criticisms of grounded theory and explain situational analysis. Then, I discuss the elements of a situational analysis as integrated into the methodological framework of this research.

Grounded theory has developed significantly since it was first described in 1967 by Glaser and Strauss. The theory shifted from a positivist to constructivist and finally postmodern stance. Below, I outline the main postulates of traditional grounded theory to clarify my methodological approach.

Key to the traditional positivist grounded theory is entering the fieldwork without any assumptions or preconceptions, and to develop theory based on empirical data (Corbin &



Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Thus, grounded theory is an inductive method. It assumes that the real external world exists and can be discovered, which the constructivists and postmodernists severely criticised. The on-going debate led Charmaz (2000, 2009) to develop a new constructivist grounded theory, which is 'ontologically relativist and epistemologically subjectivist' (Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006, p. 31). Constructivist grounded theory maintains that the real world exists, but does not claim that the real world is unidimensional (Charmaz, 2000, p. 523). It also rejects the vision of the researcher as a *tabula rasa* (ibid. 2009, p. 130), acknowledging that it is not possible to leave behind one's experiences and knowledge before entering the field. Regarding the technical aspects of conducting research, in both grounded theory and constructivist grounded theory, data collection and data analysis are interrelated processes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 6). Based on the data analysis, codes describing threads emerging from the fieldwork are formulated. Codes are grouped into more advanced and abstract categories (Charmaz, 2000). The theory is developed based on categories and their simultaneous comparisons (Glaser, 1992), and consultation with the field is expected.

The situational analysis by Clarke (2005, 2009) represents the postmodern turn in grounded theory. A situational analysis is an inductive method that advocates entering the field to *search* for theoretical models, rather than *test* pre-conceptualised theories. Despite that, situational analysis omits the problem of a naive, positivist vision of a unidimensional and objective world waiting to be discovered, instead acknowledging the discursive character of reality. As such, it suggests focusing not only on the action of interests, but also on the broad situation the individual engages with. Therefore, Clarke claims that all tangible and intangible elements surrounding the action should be involved in the analysis. Furthermore, situational analysis contends that the background of the situation must be unmasked in the research to uncover the 'silent discourses' backing the motivations of individuals. As such, the method extends beyond 'the knowing subject' (ibid., 2009, p. 201) to focus on both, namely people physically absent in the situation, but who are afforded significance and power, and people physically present but without significance (ibid., p. 204). In a situational analysis, similar to

constructivist grounded theory, the researcher is not viewed as a *tabula rasa*. Part of the research is articulating the researcher's background to enable tracking the impact on analysis. This is a condition *sine qua non* for providing the bigger picture of the examined situation (Kacperczyk, 2007, p. 19). The researcher's experience is crucial in discovering 'silent discourses'; therefore, it must be clearly presented in the research report. Thus, situational analysis is distinct from grounded theory based on the attitude to the researcher's pre-knowledge, which it assumes as positive and benefits from it to better understand the *situation*. In addition, situational analysis acknowledges the complexity of the research environment, implying the possibility of conclusions that are not straightforward. It also enables that research questions are posed before the research starts (ibid., p. 24), which is not accepted in traditional grounded theory methodology.

Finally, situational analysis proposes introducing pre-questions and analysing the data by employing three types of maps: (1) Situational maps, which present the (tangible and intangible) elements of a situation and examine the relationship between them. (2) Social worlds/arenas maps, which present the relationships between collective factors and the arenas of commitment in which discourses occur. (3) Positional maps, which examine the positions articulated and unarticulated in the empirical data (Clarke, 2009, p. 210). Maps are designed as supplemental to the methods of analysis applied in grounded theory (Clarke, 2009).

### 3.2. Methodology

My research is inspired by situational analysis, even though it does not fully follow the method. I employed the strategies developed for a situational analysis, which entail focusing on a broad situation and paying careful attention to the researcher's influence in the field. I was interested in the actions of individuals and the broad situation surrounding the action including hidden aspects; non-present but significant others; and structural, cultural, political, and economic influences. I focused on the elements mentioned in Clarke's model

maps such as the tangible and intangible elements of a situation, the social arenas respondents refer to, multiple positioning of respondents, and meaningful places and landscapes. However, I did not construct situational maps before entering the field, because this would have entailed defining the elements of the *situation* before entering the *situation*. I was concerned that my previous experiences in researching Turks would influence the maps too strongly. Even though I had some expectations before entering the field, which are described later in this chapter, I did not want to formulate them at the beginning of the research. Rather, I allowed the elements mentioned by the maps to emerge from the new *situation* I engaged with.

Concerning the researcher's position, from the onset, I was conscious that my background of being a young, female, immigrant researcher, and a former temporary resident in Turkey with knowledge of the Turkish culture and language would influence the field. This is elaborated further in this chapter.

Another influence from the situational analysis method on my methodology was entering the field without a scientific theory with which to explain findings. Even though I had some predictions and expectations for the field, I did not formulate hypotheses to be tested. I entered the field with concepts such as cultural heritage, identity, Turkish vernacular space, and the interconnections between Norwegian society and Norwegian Turks. The progressing data collection process directed my interest more specifically to the spatial expression of belonging, the construction and negotiation of identity, and participation in cultural heritage and its transformation. These new areas of interest emerged from the data obtained during the observations and interviews. I realised that vernacular facilities made strong references to Turkish nationalism and Turkish urban landscapes, mainly to Istanbul. However, I also spotted strong influences from Norwegian society on these places. Since I came to Norway only to complete my PhD, I was not familiar with Norwegian landscapes or the architecture; therefore, these influences were not neutral to me. I focused on the relationship between belonging and space, and the belonging I wanted to investigate was not limited to mere *Turkishness*.

During the interviews with Norwegians of Turkish descent, I realised that the respondents constantly negotiated their ethnicity, introducing themselves as Turks, but later stating a clear belonging to Norway. In addition, the transformation of Turkish cultural heritage was declared during the interviews. My experiences of both Turkish vernacular places and contact with people of Turkish origin in Drammen differed from what I was accustomed to when living in Turkey. I felt that I did not deal here with the same *Turkishness* as that I was familiar with in Turkey. Honestly, my experiences of contact with people of Turkish origin in Drammen were closer to those I had with ethnic Norwegians. I elaborate on this later in this chapter. My experiences motivated me to investigate the practices of respondents, who declared a strong attachment to Turkishness. However, I felt that in many contexts, this did not follow the assumed norm in Turkey. After further research, I realised that the Turkishness declared by respondents is a cliché or façade beyond which more complex processes occur. This influenced my approach to the multidimensional analysis and the decision to focus on what people do and think as well as their values, rather than on their abstract identifications.

After analysing the data, I applied various theories to explain specific aspects of the observed reality. These theories are discussed along with the findings they were applied to in further chapters of the thesis. Among them, I distinguished three overarching theories, which were detailed in chapter 2. The first is practice theory, which enabled me to focus on everyday practices and routines as they were declared by the respondents and which I observed. In addition, I employed the feminist approaches of positionality and intersectionality as they complement the situational analysis in terms of obtaining an overview of the whole situation respondents are engaged in. Finally, through the data analysis and upon employing multiple theoretical approaches to explain the findings, I formulated the following research questions, which are addressed in this thesis:

a. How do Norwegian Turks construct and negotiate their identity with regard to their complex social positioning including their gender, age, ethnicity, job position, and membership in Norwegian society?

b. Is the sense of belonging of Norwegian Turks spatially reflected in the spaces they create, occupy, and contest? How? What is the meaning and functions of Norwegian-Turkish vernacular places in Drammen? How is the idea of home conceptualised?

c. Has the ancestral heritage of Norwegian Turks changed under migration? How? Do they participate in Norwegian heritage?

The collected data, namely interviews, field notes, and visual materials, were interpreted and analysed using MAX QDA software. I distinguished and categorised multiple threads stemming from the collected data. Thus, the categories were not preconceived, but created based on the information emerging from the data. Based on the created categories, I selected threads of interest for the thesis, and provided a thick description of the data referring to them. The next stage was to apply the selected existing theories to explain and deepen the findings, and make connections between the findings and existing migration literature with a focus on Turkish migration. In this way, I was able to identify patterns common to Turks throughout Europe.

Because I employed existing theoretical approaches to explain the data, my research is not a classic example of a grounded theory or situational analysis. Therefore, I stated at the beginning that the methodological framework was only inspired by situational analysis. The research started without a classical hypothesis and at the first stage of analysis, the theory was driven by the empirical findings. In the second stage of the research, I applied existing theories to reformulate and deepen the findings, making connections to the existing literature. This was because the theoretical support was useful in extending the conclusions, and I believe it contributed to describing the complex *situation* of Norwegian Turks.

The empirical data collected for the research comprises a huge volume of material beyond the actions of individuals. It includes data collected from the fieldwork in Turkey, regular monitoring of Turkish and Norwegian-Turkish formal and informal media, and thorough desk research on structural, historical, political, cultural, and economic influences in the Turkish and Norwegian contexts. The large volume of data was collected to embrace the complex

situation of Norwegian Turks. Following Clarke (2005, 2009), these elements were viewed as those comprising the situation in the data analysis. However, in the thesis, I prioritise the data obtained during the ethnographic study in Drammen from visual material and semi-structured interviews with employees, owners, and visitors to Turkish vernacular spaces, as well as the data obtained from the in-depth interviews. The rest of the data is only partially presented as needed to substantiate the information provided or to provide the reader with a broader context of the described issues.

### **3.3. Practice-focused Methods of Data Collection**

The data was collected between December 2013 and May 2016. The most intensive period was between December 2013 and December 2014. The main fieldwork had two parts, namely data collection in the city and in-depth interviews with first and second generation Norwegians of Turkish descent. The data collection methods were designed to grasp respondents' micro-practices. The methods were designed such that they avoided addressing abstract concepts concerning identity, belonging, or ethnicity. These were determined by analysing respondents' observed and declared practices, value systems, and their meaningful places, people, and items. While ethnographic observation along with visual data collection provided an opportunity to grasp how practices were performed in vernacular facilities and during Norwegian-Turkish arrangements in the city, knowledge about declared practices, namely the everyday routines of respondents born and/or raised in Norway, were obtained from respondents' narratives. While narratives cannot be mistaken for actual practices, these were considered a useful source of data, because the significance (or lack of it) of the declared practices for an individual was revealed, situating them in the broader context of how respondents recall their everyday lives.

Data collection in the city comprised an ethnographic observation combined with photo documentation of the area and visited facilities. I conducted 24 semi-structured interviews with employers, owners, and people who frequented Turkish vernacular facilities in

Drammen, most of who were first generation immigrants from Turkey to Norway. Furthermore, expert interviews were conducted with local activists and representatives of the Drammen Municipality. I would walk around Drammen, sit in local Turkish restaurants, and observe the activities around Turkish-run facilities and other public places in Drammen such as market squares and libraries. Without violating people's privacy, I tried to document every place I visited by taking photographs. I also participated in public and semi-private events organised by Norwegian Turks in Drammen, such as festivals and gatherings in mosques.

Ultimately, during the first part of the fieldwork, I collected around 3,000 photographs of Drammen and around 50 (one to two pages each) field notes from the observations. I also conducted 24 semi-structured interviews, and had more than 100 informal conversations with people in the city, especially Norwegian Turks. The method of visual data collection was based on the 'walking and photographing' approach by Krase (2012), which aims to systematically document—through photographs—the *walked* area, including all possible elements of the landscape, even though they appear unimportant at first. Therefore, the collected visual materials were raw, comprising a wide range of information from which that of interest was selected in the analysis. Employing visual data in the study was in accordance with the main assumptions of visual sociology (see Harper, 2012), namely that visual data should be treated as a source of knowledge and not as an illustration of findings. In the thesis, I present photographs from the fieldwork when relevant. The reader should note that the substantial information presented in the text the photographs refer to is based on the photograph analysis. Therefore, the photographs are not mere illustrations of the data, but the source of the knowledge presented.

The second part of the fieldwork comprised 12 in-depth interviews with first and second generation Norwegians of Turkish descent. The interviews started from the self-portrait

without self<sup>23</sup> schema. Respondents were asked to name and write down the things that sculpted them into who they are. These things were classified into five groups: (1) Belongings important to the respondents; (2) significant spaces, places, and landscapes; (3) people who shaped them into who they are; (4) ideas, values, and emotions that describe them; and (5) activities through which they express themselves. The first part of the interview was a discussion of the elements written down by respondents. Interviewees were asked to explain why the thing, place, person, idea, or activity was important to them and how it sculpted them into who they are. During this part, respondents were also asked to briefly introduce themselves. The second part of the interview was more structured and comprised questions concerning respondents' routine practices. The interview design sought to avoid classification of practices and identifications as Turkish or Norwegian. However, the respondents often made such classifications themselves during the narratives. The interviews were anonymous. All interviews, excepting one in English, were conducted in Norwegian<sup>24</sup>. Norwegian was chosen as the language of interviewing so as not to prioritise the Turkish identification of respondents, which could have influenced the findings. It seemed the most neutral choice, since the interviews were conducted in Norway, where minority groups speak Norwegian in public. All but one interview was recorded and transcribed. The one was not transcribed as the respondent did not consent to recording. The interviews were conducted at various locations such as public places and ethnic clubs. I was never invited to a private house by first and second generation Norwegians of Turkish descent.

Besides the fieldwork in Norway, I also conducted a small fieldwork study in Turkey, where I visited the villages of respondents' origin in Konya province. Here, I conducted ethnographic observation and unstructured interviews with the villagers about the practices, habits, ways

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<sup>23</sup> This was inspired by Harper's (2012) visual method, the self-portrait without self. I intended to use it in its original form; unfortunately, as the respondents were not willing to take photographs, I transformed the visual task into the written schema.

<sup>24</sup> The interview was conducted in English at the respondent's suggestion, not because the respondent was not fluent in Norwegian, but as a courtesy to the researcher, who was more fluent in English than Norwegian.



to make a living in the villages, and the relations with and perceptions of Norwegian Turks. I also visited the cities of Konya, Beysehir, and Izmir, which are important references for Drammenian Turks, where I conducted ethnographic observation. The data from this fieldwork is introduced in the thesis when relevant. In chapter 1, I provided more detail on this fieldtrip.

### 3.4. Sampling

I reached respondents through snowball sampling. I would enter Norwegian-Turkish facilities, and make contact with people working in and visiting these places. I also participated in the events organised at the facilities and in citywide events run by Norwegian Turks. I tried to approach people through the Internet, and made some contacts in this way. In the beginning, I used two of my private contacts made through attending Norwegian courses for foreigners and the international students' community, the spheres in which ethnic Norwegians generally do not participate. As such, I took advantage of my position as an international student and foreigner in Norway. The first contact showed me around Drammen and helped identify hidden facilities run by and designed for Norwegian Turks. The second introduced me to a Norwegian-Turkish family. Thanks to him, I was invited to the diner during the Sacrifice Fest and was able to interview the family. Later, as a result of visiting the facilities, I made crucial contact with gatekeepers in some Norwegian-Turkish communities, who introduced me to more people. I also managed to invite some people to participate in the study by participating in events organised by Turkish people in Drammen. Overall, I reached most respondents through personal contact with them at the facilities, during the events, and through the gatekeepers.

The process of reaching Norwegian Turks was difficult, because of many immediate rejections and withdrawals after consenting to participate in the study. Eventually, I conducted 12 in-depth interviews with first and second generation Norwegians representing different genders, levels of education, and employment sectors. Furthermore, the

respondents were linked to different Turkish communities in Drammen. All but one of the respondents invited to the in-depth interviews were born and raised in Norway. The one was born in Turkey and immigrated to Norway when she was seven years old. Common features of the respondents born and raised in Norway were their ancestors' rural origin and former guest worker status. Moreover, most respondents' ancestors had their roots in a conservative area of Konya province. To avoid calling the respondents born in Norway immigrants, I refer to those born and raised<sup>25</sup> in the country as Norwegians, specifically first and second generation Norwegians of Turkish descent. First generation Norwegians of Turkish descent are the children of two immigrant parents with a Turkish background, while second generation Norwegians of Turkish descent are the children of at least one first generation Norwegian of Turkish descent. Those who migrated to Norway later in the life course are called first generation immigrants from Turkey. Distinguishing generations within the Norwegian-Turkish population is complex, because of the habit of importing spouses. Furthermore, the most significant differences in practices and values were observed between first generation immigrants from Turkey and Norwegians of Turkish descent. Therefore, I avoid classifying Norwegians of Turkish descent according to generations later in the thesis.

Since opposition to participation in the study among Norwegian Turks in Drammen was quite common, those eventually recruited might have represented a more active and open group. However, far-reaching conclusions should not be drawn from the reluctance of Norwegian Turks to participate in my research given the growing Islamophobia in Western Europe (Eriksen, 2013). As one of the leaders of a Turkish mosque in Drammen told me, people might have been afraid of saying something that could have negatively portrayed Norwegian Turks, contributing to anti-Muslim sentiments.

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<sup>25</sup> The respondent who was born in Turkey and migrated to Norway aged seven years old is included in this category.

### 3.5. Position of the Researcher

In terms of the researcher's position regarding informants, Carling, Bivand Erdal, and Ezzati (2014) argue that there is an 'archetypal insider–outsider divide in migration research', where an insider is a member of a minority group, while an outsider represents the dominant society. This division is simplistic, as it prioritises a single dimension of individuals' identity, namely an ethno-national background. Many researchers, myself included, fall outside the dichotomised categories of the archetypal insider/outsider position, being neither a representative of a dominant society nor a member of a researched ethnic/national group. Thus, Carling et al. (ibid.) view the insider/outsider dichotomy as a continuum. They distinguish a number of 'specific markers' that influence researchers' positionality from the perspective of an informant, such as name, gender, age, occupation, physical appearance, language skills, parenthood and pregnancy, migratory experiences, clothing style, cultural competence, sustained commitment, and religion. Some of these categories are visible at first glance, while others may be revealed or hidden by the researcher according to her will. These multiple positions and the way the researcher uses them influences her insider/outsider position in the eyes of the informants. Below, according to the characteristics distinguished by Carling et al. (ibid.), I discuss my position as a researcher, insider/outsider aspects, and the possible influence on the fieldwork and data analysis.

At the time of the research, I was a young female of Polish origin, as mentioned, and classified as a white person. I came to Norway in 2013 to complete my PhD and studied the Norwegian language only for the purposes of the research. Therefore, even though it did not significantly impede communication, my fluency in Norwegian was limited at the time of the fieldwork and I had a strong Polish accent. The respondents were likely easily aware of my accent after our first conversation. Therefore, my position from the first moment of the interaction was as a stranger to Norway. As such, respondents' belonging to Norway was much stronger than mine. Furthermore, because of the large number of recently settled Poles in Norway, I was automatically connected to this group and considered one of 'them'. This impacted the often-referenced situation of the Poles in Norway by respondents. Based on my status as an

immigrant, respondents regarded me as representing the same 'third space' of Norwegian society: 'a space of foreigners'. This probably led to the more open expression of opinions on Norwegian society, as the respondents were sure that I would not take it personally.

In addition, I was considered by many to be a young student doing her homework. Therefore, the interviews were not burdened by the seriousness of an academic investigation, and the power relationship between the respondents and I appeared equal. If there was any domination, I was the one dominated by older respondents more fluent in the Norwegian culture and language. My position as a researcher and PhD student was acknowledged only by young respondents studying at the university. They sympathised with my struggles to find respondents, and assisted in convincing potential respondents to participate. Some also asked me for advice on their academic assignments or English skills. My interest and competence in the Turkish culture, status as a former temporary resident in Turkey, my familiarity with the small cities and villages of respondents' ancestral origin, and my ability to speak basic Turkish were interpreted by many as a sign of respect for Turkish heritage. This contributed to an atmosphere of friendship and understanding during the interviews, and strengthened my position as an insider. My first-hand experiences in Turkey and admiration for Istanbul, which I eagerly shared with the respondents, repositioned me from a fellow immigrant and foreigner to a semi-insider to Turkishness. These aspects further relaxed and opened the respondents. Sometimes, they would use our shared position as non-Norwegians and talk about Norwegian society from the perspective of an immigrant. At other times, they compared the situation of their ancestors, who arrived as pioneers in Norway, to mine.

Overall, my position according to the respondents was that of a young student with a friendly attitude to Turkish culture, a Polish immigrant, and a complete stranger to Norway. This position might have contributed to respondents' criticisms towards Norway and their emphasis of the positive values of Turkey. During the fieldwork, I became pregnant with my first child. This became quickly observable and improved my relationship with female respondents, with who I shared the position of a mother or mother-to-be (in the indefinite

future). Male respondents mostly ignored it. Concerning my gender, I was often treated as an 'honorary man' (Carling et al., 2014), and was allowed to enter male ethnic clubs and speak freely with imams. I believe that my university affiliation contributed to this position, as even though I was a student, I had the backing of a Norwegian institution.

According to the classification of the third party position of the researcher by Carling et al. (ibid.), namely that the researcher may be neither an archetypal insider nor outsider, my position can be described as that of 'an explicit third party' and 'an insider by proxy'. An explicit third-party position refers to people who are visibly neither members of a dominant society nor of an immigrant group. An insider by proxy refers to the position of a member of another immigrant group in the new homeland. At first, while searching for contacts among experts from the Drammen Municipality and gatekeepers from the Turkish community, I was considered an outsider to the migrant population in Norway and dominant society, especially when using English as the language of communication and when the gatekeepers were temporary workers at the Turkish mosques with no intention to settle in Norway. However, when I started my fieldwork with Norwegian Turks, who had migratory experience either of their own or their families, and I used Norwegian to communicate, I was designated the position of an insider by proxy. They viewed me as an immigrant from Poland, and all the stereotypes linked to this figure were imposed on me.

Since I came to Norway to complete my PhD, entering the field and advancing the research were coupled with learning about Norwegian society and being positioned as an immigrant within it. I gradually familiarised myself with the values, rules, and organisation of Norwegian society, and began to experience the meaning of being an immigrant in Norway. Even though I have lived abroad before, the role of an immigrant has never been imposed on me. I was a foreigner, an expat, an international student, a European, but never an immigrant. In Norway, to my surprise, I was classified as an immigrant from Poland. Every day, I faced the stereotypes and prejudices connected to this figure, which were predominantly associated with a low social status, poor language abilities in Norwegian and English, and performance of easy jobs. During one of the first classes of my Norwegian course at Folkeuniversitet, the

lecturer asked me if I was a wall painter. I was struck by the inappropriateness of this question, and could not understand why she asked me this. Some time later, I understood that the question was sparked by my ethnicity. In the lecturer's view, many Poles in Norway were painters. From then on, many compatriots, Norwegians, and people of other backgrounds settled in Norway asked me if my and my husband's (who is also Polish) professional backgrounds were linked to construction or cleaning. I also had to accept compliments about my level of English, which were often followed by comments on the very poor English skills of other Poles. A middle class, well-educated, urban professional from Poland, I had to explain myself to prove a once taken-for-granted social status. This was especially strange, because I have never before identified myself with my ethnicity, and always treated it as neutral with little to do with who I am. This experience suggested another direction of the research. I decided to check if ethnicity in the common discourse in Norway was a crucial marker of identity. Along with advancing the research, I concluded that Norwegian Turks identify themselves as Turkish not only because they want to or feel like Turks, but also because Turkishness has been imposed on them ever since.

Another experience influencing my fieldwork was during a commercial Norwegian class. I was surprised at how different the books to learn Norwegian were compared to what I knew from other language course books such as those for Spanish, French, or English. Instead of including interesting chapters on travel, extreme sports, global food, international history, and current scientific development, the books in Norwegian<sup>26</sup> were designed as guides on how to eat, behave, and what to wear. The literalness of this guidance struck me. After becoming familiar with the academic literature on Norwegianness and immigrants in Norway, I realised I was in a country with a system, a schema of appropriate behaviours ranging from clothing to raising children. Being from Poland, where the family, not the state, is a source of practical knowledge on clothing, eating, and raising children, I found it especially strange.

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<sup>26</sup> A series of books for 'adult immigrants' entitled 'På vei', 'Stein på stein', and 'Her på berget', published by Cappelen Dam (Ellingsen & MacDonald, 2008, 2014; Ellingsen et al., 2004)

After this experience, I noticed that many respondents' statements on how society should function were not only their private opinions, but also a sign of socialisation within or assimilation into Norwegian society, as expressed by sharing the 'recommended' way of living.

Before entering the field, I had certain expectations based on my previous experience of researching Turkish people in Turkey. I thought I would be warmly welcomed and after making contact with some people, that they would help me find other respondents. I imagined being invited to respondents' houses and to activities with local women of Turkish origin based on my experience in Turkey.

To my surprise, none of this happened, or at least, not immediately. People in Drammen protected their privacy. The hospitality that I experienced in Turkey was not experienced here. I was not invited to people's houses and my relationships with the respondents were formal. Furthermore, they did not seek personal contact with me. An exception was some females, who were first generation immigrants from Turkey permanently or temporarily settled in Drammen. They invited me to their houses and served tea, food, and treats in a warm and welcoming way. Furthermore, while visiting the ethnic clubs, I was usually given tea and sometimes snacks by the first generation immigrants present there. Generally, I observed that hospitality patterns were strongly influenced by having being raised in Norway. Norwegians of Turkish descent only offered me water in facilities and never invited me to their houses. They preferred to keep their distance, and were concerned with their privacy and anonymity. The first generation immigrants from Turkey tried to follow the basic patterns of Turkish hospitality, even though the scale thereof was less advanced than what I experienced in Turkey in similar circumstances. In addition, their concerns about protecting their privacy were much higher than I experienced in Turkey. As mentioned, this observation made me consider that the practices of Drammenian Turks might differ from those assumed by many as the norm in Turkey. This further influenced the direction of the research. I changed my standpoint from a focus on Turkishness to a focus on going beyond Turkishness.

### 3.6. Ethical Considerations

The ethical framework of my research is based on the general recommendations of the Norwegian National Committees for Research Ethics (DNFEK, 2014; NESH, 2016) and suggestions concerning the research on ethnic groups (Ingjerd & Fossheim, 2015). The project is registered at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data, and I followed their recommendations concerning the protection of participants' anonymity.

The Norwegian Act on Processing of Personal Data<sup>27</sup> allows the use of sensitive information as ethnic background for academic purposes. In my research, when recruiting respondents, I mentioned that I was searching for people of Turkish descent. Later, however, I did not ask about respondents' ethnic identification until they mentioned it themselves. Nevertheless, information about respondents' 'formal' ethnic background, as Norwegian authorities see it, is included in my research.

In this study, I prioritised the anonymity of respondents, especially that of those I conducted in-depth interviews with, as this was the most sensitive data. The names of all respondents were changed and information about their ancestral places of origin hidden. Furthermore, as a researcher, I felt responsible for concealing additional information provided by the respondents that could reveal their identity and bring them legal and other problems. Moreover, I do not show pictures of my respondents, and if people appear in any photographs, they did not directly participate in the study.

One ethical consideration at the onset of the research was what to call people of Turkish origin to avoid undermining their possible identification with Norway and to not generate much attention on Turkishness in the interviews. Ultimately, I refer to my respondents as Norwegians of Turkish descent. This problem, however, was quickly solved by the respondents, who called themselves Turks.

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<sup>27</sup> See '*Lov om behandling av personopplysninger*', 2015, § 8.



The greatest ethical problem encountered was connected to my visit to the ancestral villages in Turkey. When I communicated my will to visit the ancestral villages to respondents, I did not hear critical considerations from them. However, the event generated concerns among some of the members of one Drammenian-Turkish association. The considerations were voiced shortly after my post-village fieldwork visit to the association in Drammen. Therefore, I decided to immediately complete the fieldwork in Drammen to avoid the panic caused by the impressions among Drammenian Turks that someone was investigating their lives by visiting their villages of origin and ethnic associations in Drammen. I think I know the source of these concerns, but do not wish to state it to protect the best interests of the members of the Drammenian-Turkish communities.

Having discussed the contextual, theoretical, and methodological aspects of the thesis in the first three chapters, in the following chapters, I report the results of the empirical data analysis.

## 4. Placing Belonging in Drammen: Norwegian-Turkish Vernacular Facilities

Ehrkamp (2005) discusses the case of Marxloh, a neighbourhood with a high population of Turkish people situated in the city of Duisburg, Germany, as an arena for placing identities. She argues that German Turks created belonging to the local in Germany by positioning their Turkish identity and exercising transnational practices oriented towards Turkishness within these vernacular spaces and places of Marxloh. The work of Ehrkamp provides an excellent perspective on how integration into the new homeland society can be accomplished by belonging to minority communities and acting within them. She breaks with the idea of the mutual exclusion of maintaining transnational ties with an ancestral homeland and local integration in the country of residence, confirming that the former does not necessarily limit the latter. Nevertheless, Ehrkamp's work does not really focus on the process of transformation of Turkishness under the influences of a new homeland society. As the research of various scholars indicates, Turkish facilities differ across Europe, targeting different groups and having different meanings and functions<sup>28</sup>. In this chapter, which begins the empirical analysis, I attempt to address this gap by focusing on the engagement between the Turkish, Norwegian, and globalised influences reflected in the everyday practices of Drammenian Turks and related to the urban space of Drammen.

The chapter begins with an overview of the theoretical framework of analysis, which is based on Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualisation of space and its interpretations by Gottdiener et al. (Gottdiener, 1994; Gottdiener, Hutchison & Ryan, 2015). I also integrate the feminist approach of positionality into the conceptualisation of space, employing Massey's (1994,

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<sup>28</sup> Compare research on businesses run by Turkish people in Germany (Pécoud, 2004), Finland (Katila & Wahlbeck, 2012), and Belgium (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005).

2005) theory of spaces and places. Finally, I introduce the concept of the *vernacular* (Krase, 2002; Krase & Shortell, 2011). Drawing on these works, I argue that places are never mere landscapes, but comprise the relationships and discourses embedded in them, as well as cultural, political, and economic influences. The empirical section of the chapter focuses on the facilities and neighbourhoods of Drammen. I demonstrate that what is considered as Turkish in the Norwegian urban space is strongly influenced by local (to Norway) structural, economic, political, and cultural factors. I seek to present the local influences behind the creation of Turkish vernacular places in Drammen by analysing the meaning and functions of Turkish-run facilities ranging from mosques and cultural associations to grocery and furniture stores. I discuss the spatial organisation of facilities, the interactions within them, and the discourses attached to them. I highlight the unfixed identities of these vernacular places (Massey, 1994), which change according to the social interactions within them. In other words, I analyse the ways space is used and conceptualised at various occasions by various people, and attempt to uncover the structural and cultural influences behind the creation of a place.

A space in Drammen is not singular or homogeneous, but comprises multiple intertwining spaces with various users and different meanings for various people. Therefore, the claim that I analyse the urban space of Drammen requires setting specific limitations regarding the area of interest. This thesis focuses on the aspects of Drammen's spaces linked to the activities of Drammenian Turks. My interest lies in Turkish-run facilities, districts with a significant Norwegian-Turkish population, and individual experiences of Drammen's urban spaces and places expressed by inhabitants of Turkish descent. As such, Drammen is approached through the experiences of my respondents, my own research interests, and my position, which was discussed in chapter 3. This influences the image of the city presented in the thesis.

Gupta and Ferguson (1992, p. 8) argue that 'spaces have always been interconnected, instead of naturally disconnected'. In my research, analysing the particular aspects of the urban space of Drammen sometimes involved references to other transnational places and

spaces and foreign localities such as the ancestral villages from where the Drammenian Turks originated. This data were included in the analysis described in this chapter when relevant.

## 4.1. Producing Space

In his seminal work, 'The production of space', Lefebvre (1991) regards space as a social product and process. Consequently, he argues that while analysing space, the focus should shift from 'things in space' to the 'production of space' (ibid., p. 37). Lefebvre distinguishes three realms of space: perceived, conceived, and lived. These realms are spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space respectively. The spatial practice of society

embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life, and leisure) (ibid., p. 38).

Spatial practice thus designates the ways in which individuals use the space, and is a tool of space production. The representation of space comprises the ideology and meaning imposed on space by powerful actors. It is a

conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdivides, and social engineers (...)—all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. (...) Conceptions of space tend (...) towards a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs (ibid., pp. 38–39).

The last realm, representational space, is

directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence [it is] the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' (...). This is the dominated—and hence passively experienced— space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate (ibid., p. 39).

Lefebvre (ibid., p. 40) argues that the lived-conceived-perceived realms should be interconnected so that individuals can ‘move from one to another without confusion’. Following Lefebvre’s argument, I suggest that the experiences of space (the lived) depend on the ideologies of the space (conceived) and influence the way space is used (perceived) and vice versa: The way space is used (perceived) influences the conceptualisation of space (conceived) and experiences of it (lived). The lived-conceived-perceived triad is therefore inseparable and interdependent.

Lefebvre assumed that each society produces its spaces. Space is not neutral. Its production is linked to the economic, technical, and political realms. Consequently, space is not a pre-condition of society. It is produced according to the political motives of powerful actors to enable ordering according to the needs of these actors such as the state (ibid., pp. 84–85). If something is not able to produce its space, it becomes folklore and later disappears (ibid., p. 53). Therefore, the space reflects social activity and analysing its meaning, organisation, and use reveals the actual features of the social relationships that produce space (Ardener, 1993).

Multiple social spaces infiltrate one another. Spaces ‘are not *things*, which have mutually limiting boundaries and collide because of their contours’ (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 86–87). Lefebvre (ibid., p. 86) regards spaces as ‘concrete abstractions’ that are real ‘by virtue of networks and pathways, by virtue of bunches or clusters of relationships’. Following this, I argue that the social spaces that exist in relation to each other are interdependent and therefore must be analysed without overlooking these mutual influences. Ethnic space in a Norwegian city will always relate to spaces of Norwegian society and will remain part of the global(ised) space.

Various scholars adopted and reinterpreted Lefebvre’s approach to space. Gottdiener (1994, p. 196) summarises it as seeking to ‘understand sociospatial organization not as an outdated conceptual framework of city-based spatial forms but as a direct outcome of the relationships between economic, political, and cultural processes as they connect with the regionwide geography of metropolitan areas’. Inspired by Lefebvre, he continues:

Space cannot be reduced merely to a location or to the social relations of property ownership—it represents a municipality of sociomaterial concerns. Space is a physical location, a piece of real estate, and simultaneously an existential freedom and a mental expression. Space is both the geographical site of action and the social possibility for engaging in action (ibid., p. 123).

Following Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space, Gottdiener et al. (2015, p. 19) proposed a framework to analyse urban space, namely the 'socio-spatial approach'. They criticised regarding space as 'a container of social activities', recognising its active role in creating interpersonal relations. The socio-spatial perspective recommends focusing on the everyday lives of urban dwellers and recognising the dual relationship between humans and space. On one hand, space—in line with race, class, age, gender, and social status—influences an individual's actions. On the other, space is produced in human actions and people adjust it according to their own needs (ibid.). Gottdiener et al. (ibid., p. 21) summarised the socio-spatial approach as follows:

Individuals and groups, through their behaviours and interactions with others, their agency, constantly alter existing spatial arrangements and construct new spaces to express their needs and desires. The socio-spatial perspective connects the dual relationship between people and space with the social factors that are the bases of individual behaviour. The most fundamental concept of this approach is settlement space, which refers to the built environment in which people live. Settlement space is both constructed and organized. It is built by people who have followed some meaningful plan for the purpose of containing economic, political, and cultural activities. Within it people organize their daily actions according to the meaningful aspects of the constructed space.

#### 4.1.1. Positionality of Spaces and Places

Aligned to the argument above, Massey (1994) claims that space is multiple and complex and that it occurs in social relationships. Thus, it is not a bounded entity, a flat landscape one passes through. Rather, it comprises an abstract dimension beyond a mere location, namely social relationships ordered by economic, political, and cultural influences. Massey brings to the discussion on space the feminist angle of positionality, arguing that individual experiences of space depend on an individual's position in the social structure and hierarchies linked to this space. Among others, these comprise gender, race, and class. Consequently, a particular space is experienced differently and may have various meanings for different people.

Following Giddens (1990), Massey (1994, p. 6) argues that modernity divided space from place, because space, which comprises broad social relations, no longer needs to be local. Regarding space and place, she proposes the following:

I began to develop an argument for thinking of social space in terms of the articulation of social relations which necessarily have a spatial form in their interactions with one another. If this notion is accepted, then one way of thinking about place is as particular moments in such intersecting social relations, nets of which have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed, and renewed. Some of these relations will be, as it were, contained within the place; others will stretch beyond it, tying any particular locality into wider relations and processes in which other places are implicated too (ibid., p. 120).

As such, space represents broader and more abstract processes than a place. Space is a 'concrete abstraction' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 86), which materialises in the social relationships leading to its creation. Place, in turn, is a moment in space 'formed out of the particular set of social relations that interact at a particular location' (Massey, 1994, p. 168). Places are also products of social interactions, and they have multiple identities composed of a specific social structure, political influences, and local culture (ibid., p. 120). Massey compares the

identity of places to the identities of people, highlighting both as multiple, changeable, and processual. This concurs with Anthias' (2002, 2008) ideas on translocational positionality as a way to regard human identities, as discussed in chapter 6. Places are thus not bounded. They are 'unfixed' and dynamic. Massey opposes the essentialisation of places, underlining their processual character. She also rejects equating places with communities, arguing that community spreads beyond a particular place, and even if not, hierarchies within the community multiply the identities of places, because individuals' different positions in the community are translated into the different meanings, opportunities, or limitations inscribed in them (Massey, 1994, p. 153). In addition, Massey argues that places do not require that boundaries be defined (ibid., pp. 122, 152). She contends that in the common discourse, places are often assumed as connected to the particular identities of people and setting boundaries for places equates to setting boundaries for group identities. For example, this is the case for nationalism, which seeks to place national identity and define its 'edges' through territorial boundaries. However, as the identities of places are multiple, processual, and unfixed, the actual boundaries of places are blurred and changeable. Massey (2005, p. 151) adds that '[p]lace as an ever-shifting constellation of trajectories poses the question of throwntogetherness'. She claims that space can settle us next to 'an unexpected neighbour', randomly bringing together people with different ethnic, racial, class, and other characteristics, forcing their co-existence. Her argument is especially relevant for global cities, but may also be true in various circumstances of smaller cities with diverse populations such as Drammen.

Places undergo processes of globalisation. However, as Massey argues, this does not mean that they lose their unique character. In contrast, globalisation works within local circumstances, creating new qualities that bring together the global and local.

Globalization (in the economy, or in culture, or in anything else) does not entail simply homogenization. On the contrary, the globalization of social relations is yet another source of (the reproduction of) geographical uneven development, and thus of the uniqueness of place. There is the specificity of place which derives from the fact that



each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations. There is the fact that this very mixture together in one place may produce effects which would not have happened otherwise (ibid., p. 156).

Globalisation occurs locally and has local forms. In addition, I argue that what is known in Western Europe as ethnic or immigrant also has local forms, being influenced by the circumstances of the society of residence.

In conclusion, I regard space as produced in social relationships and influenced by economic, cultural, and political factors. Place is regarded as a moment in space capturing concrete interactions (still ordered by the same influences as space) at a specific moment in time and at a particular location. The experience of places depends on individuals' translocational positionality (Anthias, 2008); therefore, places have multiple identities depending on who and on which occasion participate in them. In other words, a place comprises a location, a physical area, as well as the social relations occurring within it, including discourses and cultural, structural, and economic influences beyond this mere locality. The character of interactions determines the meaning of the place, transforming it into what it *really* is in a particular context for particular people. Analysing places and spaces requires paying attention to the lived-perceived-conceived triad. To understand space, the researcher should focus on the way it is experienced, used, and conceptualised.

Having defined space and place, I now introduce the concept of the vernacular I apply when referring to facilities run by people of Turkish descent in Drammen.

#### 4.1.2. Vernacular Places

Krase and Shortell (2011, p. 372) argue that '[v]ernacular landscapes are the interpretive context of the signs of collective identity (...). Signs have meanings related to the patterns and places of urban life'. Considering Massey's (1994) argument of places as moments in space, vernacular places are not regarded as landscapes here, but involve a spectrum of

possible spatially located relationships. Vernacular places bear meaningful signs of ethnic identity, which are expressed either in public or in private, or in an expressive or phatic way, following the interpretation of Krase (2012) of Jakobson's (1972) typology of signs. Expressive signs of belonging involve intended signs of ethnic identification such as flags and foreign writing. Phatic signs of belonging are unintended markers of ethnicity that stem from everyday practices. Examples include the clothing and language used by people who frequent a place.

Vernacular literally refers to the local and indigenous. It recalls the autochthonic understanding of origin. Thus, vernacular may be interpreted as the autochthonic and folklore of both minority and majority groups. I suggest benefiting from the possible dual interpretations of vernacular understood as the habitus of immigrants and ethnic minorities as well as the local and specific of mainstream society. Consequently, while my understanding of vernacular refers to ethnic facilities and districts, it combines both: The traits of the new homeland's society and influences from the ethnic minorities in them. As such, vernacular comprises the ethnic, but also involves the local, emphasising that the current shape of immigrant or ethnic facilities always depend on the circumstances of the local of new homelands, previous meanings and functions of the space, and the broad discourses and relationships between individuals and groups within the new homeland's society.

Drawing the boundary between the vernacular and non-vernacular as well as vernacular and global is difficult—sometimes impossible. Blommaert et al. (2005, p. 217) note that a mono-functional space rarely exists, while the multi-functionality of facilities and public space is common. Sometimes the non-vernacular can become vernacular upon the occurrence of particular interactions and presence of particular people, for example, when a city square hosts an ethnic market. Furthermore, ethnic vernacular may in some circumstances become global, depending on who visits and for what reason. The Turkish-run kebab may be assumed as a globalised dining place for ethnic Norwegians, but viewed in ethnic or religious terms by some Norwegians of Turkish origin based on the halal meat served. The boundary between

the vernacular and non-vernacular as well as vernacular and globalised is thus situational. Considering this, in this chapter, I reject drawing the boundaries of vernacular, and acknowledge the multiple and shifting identities (Massey, 1994) of vernacular facilities to point out the circumstances in which they are vernacular and when they are not. In addition, I argue that vernacular spaces are influenced by the society of the new homeland as well as minority and global culture. The vernacular, understood as ethnic or minor, is thus always '*host-vernacular*', being embedded in the architecture and spatial conditions of the new homeland's society. Meanwhile, the non-vernacular is often regarded as neutral, and marked by the design, rules, and discourses of the dominant society.

Having explained the theoretical base of this chapter, I now describe the analysis of empirical data collected in the spaces and places of Drammen.

## 4.2. Placing Belonging in the Urban Space of Drammen

People develop belonging to places and spaces. By this, I mean that people declare attachment to localities often linking them to sets of meaningful social relationships. These contextual settings, which comprise physical locations and identification with particular groups, are important markers of identities. Therefore, spatial belonging comprises landscapes and the sets of social relationships attached to them. This understanding of belonging is consistent with how my respondents talked about their attachment to various places and spaces, some of which they referred to as home.

In this chapter, I analyse the belonging expressed spatially in the organisation of (Turkish) vernacular facilities in Drammen. I discuss the meanings and functions of vernacular places in Drammen to grasp the positioning of belonging within them. I focus on the structural, economic, and cultural factors behind the creation of the places analysed and their use by visitors. As such, here, I discuss two of the three dimensions of space distinguished by Lefebvre, namely the perceived and conceived. I am interested in uncovering the processual character of the places with their previous meanings, functions, and changeable identities

according to the type of interactions within them at a particular time. I analyse the symbols of Turkish ethnicity inscribed in the spaces of facilities and presented in the public space of the city. My interest is in the signs of belonging, discourses, and practices embedded and exercised within the space as well as the presence and role of Turkish heritage in the creation and organisation of space. The data analysed in this chapter was obtained through ethnographic observation, photographic documentation, and unstructured interviews with the owners, employees, and users of the places. When relevant, I introduce data obtained from the interviews with first and second generation Norwegians.

In Drammen, ethnic facilities including those run by Turks were spotted citywide and in neighbourhoods regarded as ethnic Norwegian. Conversely, non-ethnic facilities were not rare in neighbourhoods assumed as vernacular. Many Turkish facilities were situated outside or on the vague borderlines of an ethnic district, and their functions and aesthetics did not differ from those more centrally located. I classified the analysed facilities according to their private or public character. By private and semi-private places, I refer to facilities that address particular group(s) of Norwegian Turks, while public places are considered open to everyone. Private and semi-private places comprise Turkish mosques and Turkish ethnic clubs, while public places are represented by restaurants, grocery stores, and shops, as well as the broadly understood space of the city. While analysing the spaces and places linked to vernacular facilities in Drammen, I focus on the phatic and expressive signs of identity inscribed in them. At the same time, I do not regard the identities of analysed places as fixed or bounded, recognising their changeable character and that various people experience them differently.

#### **4.2.1. Public Expressions of Belonging**

Kesteloot and Mistiaen (1997), in their paper on the transformation of the character of Turkish restaurants in Brussels between 1970 and 1990, distinguished two groups of business motives as those originating within or outside the ethnic group. Within-group motives refer

to the needs of the Turkish population in Belgium. Outside-group motives refer to the needs of the rest of the people, mainly native Belgians. In my opinion, outside-group motives do not refer exclusively to the 'native' population of the receiving society, but may involve several minority groups as a separate business target. In other words, outside-group motives may not be about the dominant society at all.

With this in mind, I distinguished three categories of Turkish vernacular facilities oriented towards a broader outside-group audience. They are usually ethnic businesses of various kinds. I classified these facilities according to the main discourses motivating their activity: Islam, Turkishness, and diversity. The Islamic discourse motivates entrepreneurs targeting the Muslim population of Drammen and selling products suitable for Muslims. Places with Turkishness as motivation are facilities with expressive references to Turkey inscribed in their names and spaces. These places employ Turkishness as an expression of identity and as a brand. Their target extends beyond the group of Turks. Finally, the diversity discourse motivates places offering alternative products to those available in Norway in terms of aesthetics or selections such as food from across the world. The target is broad but in practice, as stated by shop owners and employees, clients are mainly the members of immigrant minorities. Besides vernacular facilities, belonging is expressed in the public space of the city such as the streets, squares, and other places accessible to everyone. This space is also discussed in this section. The categories reflect the specificity of the reality observed in Drammen. However, they represent the ideal type, meaning that some places may partially fit several categories at once.

#### *4.2.1.1. Islam as Motivation*

There are two facilities in Drammen run by Norwegian Turks, which were established to fill the niche created by the needs of the Islamic population in the city. The two facilities are Nisa, a boutique selling clothes for Muslim women, and a butcher selling halal meat.

Nisa<sup>29</sup> was established to fill the niche for Islamic clothes for women, providing outfits consistent with the requirements of Islam and suitable for various occasions ranging from everyday sets to wedding dresses. Similar boutiques are very common and popular in Turkey. The shop targeted people with a Muslim background and others who 'like to cover themselves slightly' (Owner, Interview). The person who ran the shop is a female first generation Norwegian of Turkish origin. She explained the meaning of the shop's name, Nisa:

[Nisa] in Arabic means woman, but in Turkey, it is used as a female name. Nisa, my boutique, has a great selection for [people from] various cultures such as those from Africa, Asia, and other places where they use [the word] 'nisa' and where the language [is] Arabic. They recognise the name. I wanted to have something that everyone recognises at once. Therefore, it is called Nisa. A very short and beautiful name (Owner, Interview).

As the main language used in Islam is Arabic, it is likely that many Muslims are familiar with the word nisa. The name of the shop was selected so that the main target—Muslim women—could recognise it, but it does not exclude other customers: 'Nisa is a short word and easy [to remember] by everyone' (Owner, Interview). Such negotiation of the target group confirms the observation of Pécoud (2004) in Germany that Turkish entrepreneurs try to reach as big a group as possible. This attitude was also true for other business facilities run by Turks in Drammen. Nisa was indeed frequented by customers of different ethnic backgrounds including ethnic Norwegians. According to the owner, it attracted the non-Muslim population attending ethnic weddings in Norway and outside the country, as well as elderly women looking for more traditional outfits. The shop was mostly supplied by a popular Turkish Islamic fashion brand, Armine, and most products were imported from Turkey and as such, generally reflected the aesthetics of Muslim fashion popular in that country. This made a clear but phatic reference to Turkey for those familiar with the trends there. Among other objects, the shop also sold rings with tulips (Photograph 1), which

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<sup>29</sup> At the time of writing this chapter, Nisa had already disappeared from the landscape of Drammen.

according to the owner, strongly refer to Turkish Islam: 'This is a Turkish-Muslim symbol called a tulip. A tulip always bears a single bloom, and it symbolises Allah or God. It is very present in the Quran' (Owner, Interview).



Photograph 1 Rings with tulips and Arabic inscriptions of God's name sold by Nisa

The walls were decorated with pictures of a secular Istanbul, which were recognisable by those familiar with the city (Photograph 2). The owner claimed that Istanbul was a place in Turkey that she loved and felt attached to: 'I like Istanbul very much. (...) [Visiting it] is one of the joys in my life'. The owner created the interior design of the shop based on her taste and without declared references to any known patterns. The presence of the phatic references to Turkish Islam, along with pictures of Istanbul, imposed a transnational dimension on the place. However, it lacked expressive signs of Turkish ethnicity such as flags or descriptions in Turkish, and many of the mentioned phatic references might be connected by outsiders to Islam or the broadly understood East. Depending on the customer, the identities of this place (Massey, 1994) ranged from being oriented towards Islam and Turkishness to those identified as broad 'ethnic folklore' or general fashion. Thus, Nisa integrated a social space created around the religious discourses of Islam and those centring on the transnational

longing for Turkey and fashion. Furthermore, Nisa was the only example of a semi-public Turkish vernacular place in Drammen targeting women.



Photograph 2 Photographs of Istanbul: Mosque in Ortaköy, Maiden Tower, Galata Tower, and Nostalgic Train at Istiklal Street were displayed on the walls of Nisa.

Another shop established to meet the needs of the Muslim population in Drammen was a halal butchery. According to an employee, the name of the shop—Kacar—referred to a Turkic group from central Anatolia in the Qajar dynasty. This reference was aligned to the discourse on Turkic ancestry taught at schools in Turkey. As such, the name of the shop bore a clear and strong reference to the collective heritage of Turks.

The butchery did not include specific decor and the overall design of the space was more practical (focused on selling meat) than aesthetic. Two graphic boards explaining the types of meat hung on the wall. A front window refrigerator with meat was positioned centrally. The employee stated, ‘The interior design is adjusted to work so that we can easily prepare meat, because here only fresh meat is sold’. (Employee, Interview). The conceived aspect of the space—its interior design—was thus in accordance with the perceived (Lefebvre, 1991).



Furthermore, the conceived aspects of space were aligned to the regulations of the Act on Food Production and Food Safety ('Lov om matproduksjon og mattrygghet', 2015), which reveals the important links between vernacular facilities and the regulations of the dominant society. This confirms that businesses do not operate separately from the structural features of Norwegian society.

In the small cashier corner of the butchery hung the Ottoman Coat of Arms and a calendar featuring a picture of a mosque and small inscription in Arabic. The Coat of Arms is another direct reference to Turkish heritage and reflects the owner's private identification with it, as confirmed in our conversation. When asked about the Ottoman Coat of Arms, the employee explained in detail the symbolic references it conveyed, comprising both the Ottoman Empire and Islam. Turkish heritage informs the symbols of Turkishness inscribed in the space, and Turkish Islam constitutes a part of this heritage. This claim of belonging makes the space transnational. On the other hand, the symbols, despite the clear message, were subtle in their exposure, and they did not overwhelm the overall practical and neutral design of the space.

Among the employees, I recognised the owner's family members, which represented the place as a typical family business similar to those spotted by researchers studying Turkish entrepreneurship in different European countries. Furthermore, the language spoken in the shop differed according to the customers, although Norwegian was dominant. However, during my visit, I overheard a conversation in Turkish with a customer. The conversation started in Turkish, implying the mutual recognition of a Turkish background between the employee and customer.

Only halal meat was sold in the shop, revealing the clear main target as people following Islamic dining rules. Therefore, the food requirements of the Muslim population of Drammen were the major motivation to establish the butchery. That said, the target included other clients, who were welcomed as per the principle that business is business (Pécoud, 2004). As

stated by the employee, the butchery's clients were of various ethnic backgrounds including Norwegians, who were especially present during the barbeque season.

Nisa and Kacar are two examples of Turkish entrepreneurship targeting the needs of the Muslim population of Drammen. As such, they were inscribed with the Islamic discourse in their activities *per se*, and their functions focus on facilitating particular Islamic practices. I argue that Nisa and Kacar as places are different moments of the same space (Massey, 1994), namely the social space of Muslims in Drammen, even if on various occasions, their identities extend beyond the links with Islam. In addition, Nisa had a strong gender dimension involving mainly women in its interactions. Both Nisa and Kacar bore signs of Turkish ethnicity, which were exposed to varying degrees, embedded in the space. These signs, however, did not dominate the space, but attempted to maintain a *neutral* character of inclusion. Pécoud (2004, p. 12) claims that 'Generally speaking, business is business: shop-owners are understandably concerned with their economic fate and are not obsessed with cultural or identity matters'. This statement applies to all the business facilities discussed in this chapter.

#### 4.2.1.1. *Turkishness as Motivation*

Some facilities in Drammen had striking references to broad Turkishness in their name, type of products sold/served, and clear signs of ethnic identity such as Turkish flags. Among these places were two Turkish restaurants, 'Cappadocia' (Photograph 3) and 'Kaya', and a shop 'Istanbul Palaz gavebutik'.



Photograph 3 Cappadocia Restaurant welcomes guests.

Cappadocia Restaurant is advertised as serving 'real Turkish food'. It serves food that is popular and likely to be found in Turkey. The interior design of the place comprises an open kitchen/bar area with pictures of the served dishes displayed above it (Photograph 4), and the sitting area is arranged with regular tables and chairs. The visible display of dishes is quite common in many restaurants in Turkey. On the walls and around, many decorative elements from Turkey are displayed including a water pipe popular in Turkey, small sculpture of Cappadocia's landscape, and the Turkish flag along with two Norwegian flags (Photograph 5). Moreover, a decorative plate, produced and painted in the Turkish style, but with the imprinted logo of Drammen's sports club was visible. The plate and combination of Turkish

and Norwegian flags are examples of the emergence of new material qualities in which Turkish and Norwegian influences intermingle. In the restaurant, both Norwegian and Turkish were spoken. The staff mainly spoke Turkish to each other and a few Turkish customers, but Norwegian to other clients.



Photograph 4 Cappadocia Restaurant. Served dishes are displayed above the open kitchen area.

The restaurant was vernacular and transnational. Expressions of Turkish ethnicity were present in phatic—the language spoken and expressive form—through conscious symbols referring to Turkey. However, this Turkishness was transformed into a brand for the products served. Many straightforward signs were designed to attract clients' attention. Therefore, it was impossible to discern between the expression of belonging and the marketing strategy of the restaurant.

Interestingly, the owner claimed that most of his customers including regular clients were Norwegian. According to him, they were attracted by the low prices and quality food. Indeed, during my multiple visits, I spotted many Norwegians dining inside. The owner explained, '[There are] not that many Turks [dining here]. Not many Turks eat out. They eat only

homemade food'. The restaurant served exclusively halal meat, which contributed to the place's popularity among Muslims. However, the owner argued that serving halal meat is important because of its taste.



Photograph 5 Water pipe, sculpture of cave house typical of Cappadocia, and the Turkish and two Norwegian Flags displayed in the window of Cappadocia Restaurant.

The design of the restaurant and attitudes of the staff were inclusive and welcoming. In these terms, this place, strongly marked by ethnic references, had similar functions as popular Italian restaurants with little in common with Italian identity. Nevertheless, the overall design of the restaurant was not a reflection of Norwegian taste, and the expressions of belonging inscribed in the space were confirmed by the owner's identification with Cappadocia in Turkey.

Another place with directly inscribed references to Turkey in its name was Istanbul Palaz Gavebutikk (Photograph 6). This shop offered various products ranging from cosmetics, clothing, and accessories to kitchen equipment imported from Turkey. The interior design of the place was similar to that

in urban, multi-range shops in Turkey. The Turkish flag was displayed in the shop along with two Norwegian flags. Asked about the meaning of this combination, an employee replied, 'In Norway, Norwegian rules are important, and in Turkey, Turkish rules count' (Employee, Interview). This statement elicits similar interpretations of integration popular among Norwegian Turks, who share the idea that one should obey the principles of Norwegian

society while living in the country and that there are differences between acceptable behaviour in Turkey and Norway to which one should adjust.



Photograph 6 Istanbul Palaz Gave Butikk sells products imported from Turkey.

Cappadocia Restaurant and Istanbul Palaz operated with expressive and recognisable signs of ethnic belonging while popularising products and food from Turkey. This ethnic expression, however, was accompanied by references to Norway, which made them publicly acceptable. Both places were moments of the same space (Massey, 1994) of Turkish-like interactions and practices, providing opportunities to maintain them in two ways: First by supplying people with 'original' food, and second, by selling tools to prepare ethnic food, ethnic gifts, and ethnic clothes. Furthermore, while being an option for 'home-like' experiences for the Norwegian-Turkish population in Drammen, Cappadocia Restaurant hosted interactions of the Norwegian population with Turkish folklore, in this way referring to another social space of broadly understood contact of a major population with the cultural practices of minorities.

Kaya Restaurant is another facility run by Norwegian Turks that demonstrated a direct reference to Turkey on the front signboard. The restaurant was situated at Konnerud Street, outside what is locally regarded as the ethnic neighbourhood. Here, the interior design was in the Scandinavian style including candles, wicker hearts, and lanterns. A *nazar* was displayed on the signboard with the opening hours outside the front doors, along with information on 'Homemade Turkish Food for the Whole Family'. Inside hung a picture of Istanbul and a *dua*, an Arabic prayer. These references to Turkishness did not overwhelm the general design of the space, which was typical of cafés targeting the dominant Norwegian population. The food served in the restaurant was a mix of international dishes and Turkish cuisine, including popular snacks such as bruschetta served with Turkish yoghurt. A traditional Adana Kebab made from halal meat was also served here. The international, globalised dishes on the menu were similar to those available in places targeting the general public. On the other hand, the halal meat and traditional Turkish dishes made the cuisine more Turkish. The clients were 'international' and Norwegian, according to an employee. Kaya Restaurant is an example of a place serving a modified version of Turkish cuisine. Its interior design was adjusted to the tastes popular in Norway. I argue that the restaurant was located on the borderline between that considered Norwegian and Turkish. Despite that references to Turkey were clear and visible, the owner and employees spoke Turkish amongst each other, and the Turkish influences on the cuisine were evident, Norwegian patterns were inscribed in the organisation of the space. Unfortunately, the restaurant was not successful. It was opened two months before the interview and it closed some months later. It might be that this mix—Norwegian design, globalised meals, and ethnic identity—in a place did not suit the expectations of the Drammenians, who if interested in ethnic food, preferred it in its traditional form in vernacular places. If visiting Norwegian places, they may not have sought references to ethnicity.

#### 4.2.1.2. Diversity as Motivation

Many facilities in Drammen provide clients of minority background with products from their places of origin. Among them, I distinguished two groups of Turkish-run enterprises. These were the so-called *exotic* or *immigrant shops* and semi-neutral facilities selling furniture that differed from the Scandinavian aesthetic. The common feature of these places was the relatively low prices of the products sold.

##### 4.2.1.2.1. Immigrant Shops

Immigrant-run grocery stores represent spaces created by social relationships between inhabitants of Drammen with a minority background. These stores offer products from various parts of the world, targeting a broader population than a single ethnic or religious



Photograph 7 Turkish-run grocery Nor-Gøy.

group. 'Immigrant shops' share an unsophisticated design, generally comprising narrow aisles filled with global products and a wide range of fruits and vegetables displayed in green cases, often in front of the shop. The prices are affordable and the shops are open on Sundays, making them popular among lower-income people, immigrants searching for



products from their ancestral homelands, and other groups such as Norwegians wanting to shop on a Sunday. Being open on a Sunday indicates the influence of Norwegian legislature on the creation of the shop's space. The legislature stipulates that shops with an area of less than 100 m<sup>2</sup>, petrol stations smaller than 150 m<sup>2</sup>, and a few exceptions are allowed to open on Sundays. This created a niche for small immigrant grocery stores, even though bigger chains have now entered this niche. Nevertheless, being open on a Sunday attracts different clientele and invokes different types of interactions in the shop. This exemplifies how the structural influences of Norwegian society contributed to the creation of another identity of these places.

In Drammen, two such shops are run by Norwegian Turks: Elite and Nor-Gøy. Here, I focus on Nor-Gøy grocery store (Photographs 7, 8, and 9), which served as an interesting case.

The store sold local products from various places outside Norway.



'International food is [sold] here. We can say—all types of products. Russian, Turkish, Arabic, Balkan, [and from] Kosovo. Various types and international food' (Owner, Interview).

Photograph 8 Corner with fruits and vegetables. Nor-Gøy grocery store.

The store's offerings respond to the needs of a diverse Norwegian society, which comprises minorities seeking particular ethnic products to maintain their dining traditions originating from outside Norway, and a globalised Norwegian society, which seeks oriental products and attempts to recreate 'foreign' receipts. As such, the same products are regarded as either local or exotic, depending on the audience. The owner claims, 'My target is of course first and foremost foreigners'. Norwegian clients of the shop are paradoxically often interested in the organic vegetables and fruits from Norwegian farmers sold in the grocery. The history behind the shop's name is interesting. The name Nor-Gøy refers to both Norway and the owner's place of origin in Turkey:

**Owner:** Nor is for Norway. Gøy is where I come from. In addition, you can always say that Norway is fun<sup>30</sup>.

**Karolina:** Do you come from Gøy?

**Owner:** Yes, this is [a name of the city in Turkey]. We actually come from fun [gøy]. The name focuses on Nor-Norway and Gøy- [my city of origin] (Owner, Interview).



Photograph 9 Interior of Nor-Gøy grocery store.

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<sup>30</sup> Gøy means fun in Norwegian.

The name reveals a strong double belonging to Norway and the local village in Turkey. The latter was hidden through a play on words and likely not recognisable by outsiders. The shop maintained an inclusive and neutral character, and Norwegian was officially spoken. However, I discovered that some employees spoke little Norwegian and used Turkish in their intra-communication, but pretended to communicate in Norwegian when clients were in the shop. These contradictory expectations and meanings of the shop confirm the multiple identities of this place (Massey, 1994). The different languages spoken on various occasions reveal different social spaces overlapping within this place. These spaces materialise in interactions that transform this vernacular facility into an organic or low-cost grocery store or exotic or ethnic shop, depending on who visits it.

The design of the shop, according to the owner, may have something in common with similar grocery stores in Turkey. I visited some shops in the owner's village of origin (Photograph 10), finding more similarities between immigrant grocery stores in Drammen than between Nor-Gøy and the local shops in the village. This implies mutual influences between already existing immigrant facilities, and confirms that what is regarded as immigrant and foreign is



Photograph 10 Local grocery store in a Turkish village in Central Anatolia.

strongly influenced by local fashion, becoming part of Norwegian society. The Turkish spoken between employees of Nor-Gøy and the word play in the shop's name reveals transnational references to Turkey. However, I argue that the organisation of the space within the shop reflects a well-settled pattern of establishing a shop that responds to the needs of Norway's diverse society. Furthermore, the shop is embedded physically and semantically in the local of Norway. It addresses the immigrant minorities of Drammen and facilitates the maintenance of their ethnic practices. Signs of Turkish ethnicity remain subtle, and the space attempts to be inclusive.

#### 4.2.1.2.2. *Semi-neutral Facilities*

Some facilities run by the Drammenians of Turkish origin do not bare references to ethnic or religious minorities through the products they sell or the name of the shop. I called these semi-neutral. Their neutrality is expressed through the types of products sold, which are



Photograph 11 Merinos Tepper sells kitchen equipment for preparing and serving traditional Turkish tea: Turkish teapots and tulip glasses.

widely used by the dominant population, such as basic furniture and carpets. However, their aesthetics differ significantly from that common in Norway.

A good example of this is Merinos Tepper, a shop selling furniture and carpets imported from Turkey. It also has a corner with kitchen equipment such as Turkish glasses and teapots (Photograph 11). The shop has a more modern interior design than other examples of vernacular Turkish facilities, reminiscent of contemporary furniture shops in urban centres in Turkey. However, most products on offer here are unlikely to be spotted in shops selling



Photograph 12 Richly decorated carpets are on offer at Merinos Tepper boutique.

home equipment in Norway, which target the dominant population. The appearance of the products reflects the tastes and patterns popular in Turkey, which are more decorative than the simpler Scandinavian style (Photograph 12). They provide an alternative to the ubiquitous Scandinavian design seen in popular furniture chains in Norway.



Photograph 13 Ottoman Coat of Arms displayed in Merinos Tepper boutique as a decoration.

The owner of the shop claimed that he had many 'Asian' customers, referring to people with a non-western background. He said that Norwegians visiting the shop were interested in carpets with a plain design, but not in the furniture. Seemingly, the shop lacked references to Turkish ethnicity. However, among the products sold were pictures of Istanbul and a child's bed shaped like a car with Turkish plates. In addition, kitchen products popular in Turkey such as specialised teapots and tulip glasses were sold. In addition, a relatively big Ottoman Coat of Arms hung on the wall (Photograph 13). I asked the owner if this was for sale and

laughing, he answered, 'No, this is mine. This is not for sale'. This demonstrates that the space was consciously marked with an expressive sign of Turkish identity, in a clear reference to collective Turkish heritage. As such, the shop was undoubtedly vernacular and as a place, it represented an arena of expression of belonging to Turkey informed by Turkish heritage. Furthermore, it served the tastes of the diverse population of Drammen.

Another shop, Oriental Atlantik Teppebutikk, which is located outside the vernacular neighbourhood, offered an assortment of housing goods similar to the previous shop. These products provided an alternative to the tastes common in Norway, but were not necessarily oriented to a specific minority group. The name of the shop referred to the Turkish carpet

manufacturer, Atlantic. However, the shop offered a wider variety of products in addition to carpets such as kitchen equipment, lamps, and pictures. Even though it lacked expressive signs of ethnic identity, the overall design of the space, the products on offer, and pictures of Istanbul and Arabic inscriptions of God and the names of the Prophet revealed its vernacular character. In addition, ethnic clientele including people of colour wearing Muslim clothing, and employees' limited command of Norwegian strengthened the vernacular character of the shop. However, an employee claimed that the shop had many Norwegian and 'international' clients, as the quality of the woollen carpets was good and the prices lower than elsewhere.

Merinos and Atlantic Tepper were *neutral* in terms of product assortment. These shops sold neither products suitable for Muslims, nor local products from other parts of the world, as did the facilities described earlier. Moreover, they did not seek ethnic recognition or local belonging through their names, and focused on selling imported and seemingly neutral products not marked by ethnicity or religion, such as carpets and furniture. However, these places reflected different tastes and prices than those common in similar popular shops in Norway such as Bauhaus or Ikea. The function of these was to cater to different tastes and people with lower budgets, often (but not exclusively) the non-native Norwegian population of the city. Consequently, economic factors and the specific tastes of those with lower budgets in Turkey influenced the motives for creating the space. The social and economic class of the clientele, and markers extending beyond the local in Drammen that appeal to clients' or their ancestors' pre-immigration backgrounds in remote homelands therefore play an important role in defining the identities of these places.

#### 4.2.1.3. *Non-vernacular Facilities*

Zebastian Merkeklær sells branded clothes for children. It is run by a first generation female Norwegian of Turkish origin and situated nearby the Bragernes Torg on the opposite side of the river than the quasi-vernacular district of Stromsø. When asked about other Turkish-run

facilities in this part of the city, the owner admitted, 'It is just me on this side of the river. I do not know any other places. Only I came to this side'. Bragernes Torg is a square with dining facilities targeting middle-class ethnic Norwegians. Zebastian aimed at a similar target and sold relatively expensive clothing. The shop was not at all vernacular, and had no expressions of Turkish identity. It looked like a middle-class clothing boutique with a special interior design. The owner elaborated, 'in the beginning, it was franchising, so I was given a certain pattern [for the décor of the space]. I had a professional who helped me to arrange the place'. Only one item in the shop could have been linked to Turkey, a decorative *nazar* (evil eye) in a corner, kept in accordance with the aesthetics of the space. It was not very visible, and I only noticed it at the end of my second visit to the shop. Therefore, despite being run by a Norwegian Turk, this shop was not vernacular, but an element of a broad Norwegian middle-class commercial space. The Zebastian example shows that people of Turkish background raised in Norway extend beyond the minority population, as they enter the general spaces addressing the needs of dominant Norwegian society.

#### 4.2.1.4. *Turkish-run Enterprises: Concluding Remarks*

All facilities described in this section referred to transnational spaces in which interactions were influenced by discourses, practices, or aesthetics from Turkey. All were arenas publicly displaying belonging to Turkey, even though the actual identities of these places varied according to the customers visiting them. Some expressions were phatic, articulated by the practices of people, language spoken, and characteristics of the products on offer. Some were more direct and expressive such as the presence of flags and other signs of Turkishness inscribed in the names of the shops, for example. These expressive signs of identity were easily recognisable to insiders, but subtle for outsiders, and they rarely overwhelmed the general organisation of the space. Based on this, the Turkish restaurant Cappadocia stood out, but as argued, its Turkishness was transformed into a brand, blurring the boundary between the expression of belonging and marketing strategy.



Ehrkamp (2005, p. 351) argued, 'The success of local businesses that sell such mundane goods as yarn or teapots demonstrates the close links between economic and cultural practices'. The facilities described above were established to fill a particular niche to principally earn money, not to express belonging. However, they contributed to the maintenance of various cultural practices by providing products and services facilitating or enabling them. Another important dimension of vernacular facilities in Drammen was the complexity of the economic class. Ethnic facilities are known for their affordable prices, which attract people with low incomes. Unfortunately, immigrants tend to be overrepresented in this group. For them, frequenting vernacular facilities is not merely a matter of maintaining the culture of origin, but a matter of financial capacity. Therefore, economic factors are equally important in the creation of these spaces, as they influence the interactions within them along with cultural and structural features.

Turkish entrepreneurship was embedded in the urban space of Drammen, which constitutes specific moments of this space and is characterised by processual and unfixed identities (Massey, 1994). The structural features of Norwegian society such as the equal access of people of different genders to all public places besides toilets and changing rooms influenced the general rules pertaining to using these facilities. There were no gender limitations regarding access, which previously was the case in rural places in Turkey (Delaney, 1991). Moreover, the lingua franca in the businesses was Norwegian and the products were advertised and described in Norwegian, although other options were available after mutual agreement between the customer and client.

Thus, I contend that these spaces with their transnational ties with Turkey were equally connected to Norway, and addressed particular aspects of the diverse Norwegian society. As public enterprises, they were regulated by Norwegian legislation on running particular types of businesses. Ehrkamp (2005, p. 346) observed that in Germany, 'transnational ties and practices enable immigrants to transform their current places of residence by "placing" their identities, that is, by inserting their belonging into neighbourhoods in Germany and creating local ties'. This phenomenon was also observed in Drammen. Local facilities, even if using

foreign aesthetics and expressive signs of Turkish identity, were established in response to niches in Norwegian society. They supported diverse target groups, responding to the complexities and heterogeneity of the receiving country. Besides the obvious clientele of minority backgrounds, they addressed other groups such as people with low incomes and those searching for exotic products. This diverse clientele bestowed different meanings on the services provided and created the different identities of these places (Massey, 1994), which ranged from the exotic and ethnic to the familiar and ancestral.

Public expressions of belonging inscribed in the spaces of vernacular facilities were in a form acceptable by Norwegian *de-facto* multicultural (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007, pp. 197–198) integration policies. Turkish flags, if displayed, were accompanied by double Norwegian flags, while other symbols such as the Ottoman Coat of Arms were subtle and small. Often, Turkish landscapes were included in the place's décor, and many places took advantage of Istanbul's tourist spots. Despite that belonging to Turkey was presented with pride, the links to Turkishness represented a safe folklore, assumed by some researchers as the only acceptable way of cultural expression in so-called multicultural societies (Ahmed, 2000, p. 110).

Having discussed commercial facilities in Drammen run by people of Turkish origin, I now move to the section, which details public expressions of belonging in the Fjell district, which is highly populated by minority groups.

#### *4.2.1.5. Fjell District*

Once a working class district, Fjell is currently renowned for its diverse population, of which 44% are of foreign background (Høydahl, 2014). However, the neighbourhood had no expressions of any ethnic identity in public, and when flags dominated the area, they were those of Norway. Nevertheless, there were some phatic signs of Turkish presence in the district. Women veiled and dressed in the Turkish way wearing a long coat and scarf were easily noticed. In addition, in a bus driving to Fjell, I often encountered a group of youths

speaking Turkish. Moreover, many satellite dishes dotted the landscape of Fjell (Photograph 14), which enabled watching foreign broadcasts. As Ehrkamp (2005, p. 356) noticed:

While the satellite dishes themselves have nothing obviously Turkish about them, they transform the façades in the neighbourhood and have become a defining characteristic of its urban landscape. They illustrate that the neighbourhood is subject to impacts that originate at different geographic scales. The satellite dishes thus gain significance in the neighbourhood as symbols of a Turkish diaspora or ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33) that transcends boundaries of the nation-state and intersects with Marxloh's local population and space.

In urban places in Norway, TV is usually provided by the housing association through cable; therefore, satellite dishes often signify the presence of an immigrant population in the area. Many dishes in Fjell were branded with the logo of the company Hadi Sat, which offered broadcasting in several languages including Turkish. As such, Fjell is an example of a



Photograph 14 The landscape of Fjell district is marked by the presence of satellite dishes.

residential area designated as ethnic by the phatic presence of minorities. However, in contrast to similar places in Germany, it lacks expressive signs of that identity such as flags.

An interesting spot in Fjell district was a local school, which may be an example of an institutionalised way of expressing ethnic identity. The school intentionally displays the flags of its pupils' origins on its front façade (Photograph 15). I also spotted a group of hand-made national flags including the Turkish one in a classroom window. As my Norwegian-Turkish respondents who previously attended the school stated, the school celebrates the national



Photograph 15 Front facade of Fjell school with flags of pupils' ancestral homelands displayed.

days of pupils' ancestral homelands. This indicates that the foreign background of the pupils was recognised and highlights institutionalised ways to mark it. A consciousness of ethnic differentiation was also widespread among pupils. One respondent elaborated that he used to participate in 'school gangs', where one's membership depended on ancestral ethnic/national origin.

The social space of Fjell was strongly marked by the foreign ancestral background of inhabitants, and it reflected a new quality described by my Norwegian-born respondents as ‘a unique culture of foreigners’. By this, they meant the social space within which people of minority background (inter)act and feel comfortable. This alternative space extends beyond the locality of Fjell, and is materialised in vernacular places situated in downtown Strømso and described earlier in this chapter. Furthermore, the creation of this ‘space of foreigners’ was influenced by social class and economic and structural features of Norwegian society. Regarding this as ordered exclusively by ‘foreignness’ would be simplistic. I postulate that the ‘space of foreigners’ is entered temporarily or permanently by ethnic Norwegians as well. However, distinguishing it from the spaces of dominant society is that people of minority background feel at home there with their foreign background and regard it as a space of their own.

Having discussed public expressions of belonging in the spaces and places of Drammen, in the second part of the chapter, I focus on the private spaces and places in which Turkishness is expressed.

#### **4.2.2. Private Expressions of Belonging**

In Drammen, several semi-private transnational spaces have become arenas for expressions of Turkishness. Among them, two categories can be distinguished, namely ethnic clubs and places of worship. Here, belonging to Turkey and Turkish Islam is widely expressed through direct symbols, cultural practices, and the discourses inscribed in space. These private arenas differ from the public ones described above in many ways, but the main distinguishing character is that they target exclusively people of Turkish origin. This does not mean that outsiders are not let in. They may be, but the space is designed by and for people of Turkish origin, who are the main users, which makes outsiders feel not at home here.

#### 4.2.2.1. *Places of Worship*

In Drammen, four places of worship are designed for Muslims with a Turkish ethnic background. One is the Alevi *cemevi* (Photograph 16), a house of religious ritual located in



Photograph 16 This building hosts the Alevi Cultural Centre.

the Alevi Cultural Centre. Another three are the Sunni Turk mosques, two of which are linked to the Turkish government. Here, the Diyanet assigns the Imams, pays their salary, and coordinates the functioning of the places. The third mosque is ‘private’, as members described it, and serves the Turkish religious sect of the Sūlaymanites<sup>31</sup>. Their leader was selected from the community of Drammen’s Norwegian Turks. Generally, Imams did not speak Norwegian, including the one settled in Norway, who serves in a private mosque.

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<sup>31</sup> I discuss this in chapter 1.

The mosques and *cemevi* are located in ordinary buildings that do not stand out from the architecture of the neighbourhood (Photographs 16, 17, 19). They are difficult to spot and their outer design differ significantly from the mosques in Turkey, as they do not have domes or minarets. Therefore, the mosques are not visible in the city landscape, in contrast to the churches in Drammen with their distinct architecture. At the government mosques, signboards are displayed next to the entrance, either in Norwegian and Turkish or in Turkish.



Photograph 17 Norwegian-Turkish Mosque located in a former Adventist Church. The mosque is located nearby Bragernes Torg.

The private mosque and *cemevi* (which is also private) are difficult to find, even if one knows the approximate location, since the buildings lack signage. This observation is partly consistent with Kuppinger (2010) from Stuttgart, Germany. She claims that in Stuttgart, no mosques were constructed as mosques, and all those existing are located in post-industrial buildings located in unpopular areas of the city. She argues that the invisibility of the mosques enhances their exclusion, pointing out how this visual non-presence contrasts with the vibrant life of mosque communities. Kuppinger's findings are partially true

for the Turkish mosques in Drammen as well. In Drammen, the mosques are located in relatively favourable, central areas of the city. This does not necessarily make them visible, nor give them a voice in urban space as perceived by passers by, despite the vibrant life inside them.



Photograph 18 Interior design of a Norwegian-Turkish Mosque located nearby Bragernes Torg. The balcony is designed for women, while the space downstairs is for men.

One of the governmental mosques is located in a former church (Photograph 17). The façade has not changed much, but the cross was removed from the roof. The interior space of the place was transformed into a mosque in the Turkish style, and is characterised by wooden decorations on the walls, soft carpets adorned with ornaments, and a *mimbar*, a pulpit from where the sermon is delivered (Photograph 18). The space was designed similar to many mosques in Turkey, including a balcony exclusively for women and a large space downstairs for men. The dividing wall between the male and female spheres is glass, not opaque, as in Turkey. The interior space bore obvious traces of Turkish sacral aesthetics, while the exterior retained clear traces of the previous use of space as Christian centre in the local Norwegian form.





Photograph 19 Facade of a government Mosque in Strømsø district with an inscription in Turkish: 'Strømsø Yeni Camii' (Strømsø New Mosque).

Religious discourse and practices were inscribed in the space of all the mosques discussed here. The Turkish-style organisation of the interior created an opportunity for particular practices such as prayer and reading the Quran, in a way they are done in Turkey. Soft carpets completely covering the floor encouraged the practice of removing the shoes before entering the mosque and enabled prayers without the use of a praying carpet. The discourses inscribed in the space recalled a particular hierarchy and gender segregation not present in different contexts in Norway. For example, the Imams' position as leaders of the mosques was replaced by their vulnerable position in Norwegian society, because of limited skills in Norwegian or English. This example reveals how the meaning of the mosque's space influences the switch in roles. The separate space between men and women recreated the traditional division in Turkey between males and females, which is not acceptable in most public places in Norway. An attempt to provide such division was taken seriously. In the private mosque, the community rented an additional floor for this purpose. As such, men

gathered on the fourth floor while women stayed on the ground floor in a separate place. The private mosque was interesting in this regard, as information inside the building stated that the particular floors hosted the Islamic Cultural Centre and Association of Young Turkish Workers and Students, while in reality, they constituted one institution: the mosque. This is consistent with Kuppinger's (2010, p. 83) observations in Stuttgart, where one mosque was marked as a 'Turkish Parents' Association'. This indicates that the reality may differ from that publicly stated.

Also observed was an interesting dissonance between the conceived and perceived (Lefebvre, 1991) realm of the spaces of the mosques. The general design of the buildings (the conceived) was originally meant for different activities than those currently performed. However, the communities adjusted the interior space to respond to the ways the space is used (perceived). Consequently, the interior design enables and encourages particular practices linked to Islamic worship. The example of a governmental mosque hosted in a former church proves that the identities of places change over time, as they are processual and unfixed (Massey, 1994).



Photograph 203 Cemevi in a village in Central Anatolia. Portraits of Imams, Turkish flags, and a portrait of Atatürk were displayed on the walls.

The Alevi worship house *Cemevi* was founded by the community originating from a small village in Turkey. Its interior design reflected the *cemevi* in the village (Photograph 20), and comprised low-seat Turkish sofas, carpets, and portraits of Imams. However, in line with Alevi rules, the space did not promote gender segregation. Besides ideological differences, the *cemevi* demonstrated the same tendency as the mosques to repeat the space organisation of similar places in Turkey. Both the mosques and *cemevi* had signs of belonging inscribed in their spaces. However, these were limited to religious belonging, and comprised portraits of Imams important for the Alevi identity and symbols of Sunni Islam in the case of the mosques.

Krase (2012) argues that immigrants carry the design and living forms, adjusting them to the new environment. I suggest that the Turkish community *recreates* forms of design from Turkey in Norway, adjusting it to their needs and local circumstances, thereby establishing *Norwegian-Turkish vernacular* places. By changing the interior design of a former church, but also of other buildings that currently host Turkish places of worship, the Turkish community changed the meaning of these places, tying them to a religious system traditionally foreign to Norway. The interior design supported Muslim worship practices and the culture of division between male and female spaces. At the same time, traces of the former use of the space remained. The Turkish-Islamic places of worship in Drammen remained generally invisible and did not influence the general landscape of the city. The architecture demonstrated references to either a Christian church typical of Norway or regular houses and buildings common in Norwegian urban spaces. All these characterise these transnational spaces as Norwegian-Turkish, not Turkish.

#### 4.2.2.2. *Ethnic Clubs*

Ethnic clubs are known as teahouses in the literature on Turkish vernacular space (Blommaert et al., 2005; Ehrkamp, 2005; Kesteloot & Mistiaen, 1997). However, I refer to them as ethnic clubs to underline their private and non-profit character, as well as the features of some that extend beyond the definition of a teahouse. Teahouses (*çayhane*) were

originally small businesses that sold tea and provided a space for men to meet, watch TV, and play board games. In Drammen, places with similar functions and meanings were mostly co-founded by members whose ancestral origin was a similar area in Turkey. Members referred to these places as associations. I suggest that the issue of funding requires they be regarded as a private place, as an extension of private living rooms, where access is limited to invited guests and insiders.



Photograph 214 Alevi village in Central Anatolia from which the pioneers of the Alevi migration to Drammen originate.

I visited three Turkish ethnic clubs in the city. One was frequented by people of Alevi background originating from one village in Turkey (Photograph 21). It consisted of one facility together with the *cemevi* described above. Members referred to it as a cultural association. It was located in the cafeteria of a former Church City Mission. The interior of the club was designed as follows: A meeting hall was arranged with a big table on one side of the room and small square tables on the other side. The square tables provided a space to play various

board games and cards, while the big table was used for general member meetings. Next to the meeting hall was a place of worship, the *cemevi* described above, where religious celebrations and social activities took place. The grey façade of the building and its large windows did not stand out visually from the neighbouring buildings. In 2014, it still displayed the signboard of the Church City Mission. The space was adjusted to the needs of the community in terms of utility and aesthetics, with visible influences from Turkey most probably brought by first generation members who presided over the association. Although facilities such as the kitchen and bathroom were maintained in accordance with the popular black-white-grey Scandinavian design spotted in many ethnic Norwegians' private houses, the rest of the space had been redecorated. As mentioned above, the *cemevi* was filled with colourful, soft carpets and low-seated Ottoman sofas lined the walls. Portraits of Imams and traditional Turkish guitars hung on the walls. The windows in the meeting halls were covered with curtains. A large portrait of Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, dominated the central place on the wall of the hall. Every time I visited the place, many people of different ages were visiting, and the atmosphere appeared vibrant and welcoming. It seemed that the first generation immigrants from Turkey were mainly involved in organising the association's events, although younger members were also present and active. Some first generation members had limited skills in Norwegian, while others were fluent.

Furthermore, there was a lack of scepticism in the contact between the researcher and community, which contradicted the first contact with other Turkish communities and people of Turkish origin in Drammen. Women and men were equally represented, and there was no division between them inscribed in the space. Interestingly, the signs of belonging referred to two consistent areas of identification, namely Alevism and Kemalism. This can be explained by the hopes of the Alevi people in Atatürk in terms of freedom of religion, which is reported in research on Alevism in Turkey (Shankland, 2007; Özyürek, 2009). On the other hand, Atatürk personifies the Turkish Republic and is an important reference for modern Turkish identity. I was told that the association organised traditional dancing and Turkish guitar workshops, contributing to the maintenance of Turkish heritage. These cultural

practices were connected to Alevism, and the overall expressions of belonging including symbols and practices were oriented towards Turkish Alevism. As learned in a group interview with the members, around 400 people in Drammen and Oslo originated from Alevi village in Central Anatolia. The village itself currently houses less than 100 inhabitants, most of who are elderly. The others immigrated to various places in Turkey and abroad. The village did not constitute a holiday destination for most villagers living in Norway or their families, but emphasised the idea of a common ancestral origin. The lives of the Alevi in Drammen were rooted in the new homeland. This was especially true for the children and grandchildren of the immigrants.



Photograph 225 Ethnic club for people originating from a village in Central Anatolia situated on the edges of Strømsø district in Drammen.

The second ethnic club was frequented by people with a Sunni background originating from another village in Turkey. The association was located in a rented yellow wooden house, which also did not stand out from other buildings in the neighbourhood (Photograph 22).

The building was an example of typical Norwegian residential architecture. Similar to the previous association, the old name of the place remained written on the windows, although the association had a different name. The interior design was adjusted to the needs of users, and square tables were covered with colourful tablecloths. Sofas were arranged in a quadrangle where members could sit and talk. Tea in traditional Turkish tulip glasses was served by a man with limited Norwegian skills, probably a newcomer, and a traditional tea machine was spotted. On the walls, T-shirts of Turkish football clubs were displayed along with old pictures of Istanbul and a map of Turkey (Photograph 23). Some months later, the football T-shirts were removed following arguments between members when discussing football and linking it to politics. A shelf with books in Turkish replaced the T-shirts. In addition, a PlayStation room was added to attract the attention of young males from the community. Ahmed explained the purpose:

‘There are many bad things on the streets, so we prefer to have our youths coming here and spending time with us instead of doing stupid things on the streets’ (Ahmed).



Photograph 236 Square tables, T-shirts of Istanbul football teams, pictures of old Istanbul, and the Turkish flag comprise the interior design elements of the ethnic club.

The club was only for men. Nevertheless, I was allowed in several times in the afternoon, before the club filled with many members. This can be attributed to the temporary nature of my stay and my outsider position with regard to the rules within the community. As one of the members said, the main goal of the meetings was to:

sit, relax, talk with each other (...), and play cards. [We launched this place because] we thought we could have a place where we can come and talk, where we can meet each other and talk (Ibrahim).

The square tables provided a space for playing cards and board games. The interior design of the place was similar to that of the Cultural Centre in the village of members' origin (Photographs 24, 25). Furthermore, its functions as a place where men could gather, drink tea, and play board games were the same. A belonging to Turkey was mostly expressed by references to sports, this revealing the main interest of members. However, the display of T-shirts of four of Istanbul's biggest clubs in one place is uncommon in Turkey, as one supports just one team. I saw an announcement about a match for Drammen's football team, which



Photograph 247 Kitchen corner in the ethnic club in Drammen.



demonstrated members' interest in the local. Thus, while the club is transnational, it is also rooted in Norwegian reality physically and through the interests of its members.



Photograph 258 Kitchen corner in the Cultural Centre in the Anatolian village of the ancestral origin of the Drammenian Turks.

As demonstrated above, belonging embedded in this ethnic club had references to Norwegian society and the village of members' origin. Once I visited this village, I realised that it worked the other way too. The village itself bore many signs of the presence of the Norwegian Turks and was an important holiday destination for them. The holiday houses of Norwegian Turks were located there, and the design was often in accordance with Scandinavian aesthetics. The Turkish identity of the Norwegians originating there was not only based on a vague idea of origin, but also deepened by the transnational belonging to it, making the experience of the ancestral homeland real and palpable. On the other hand, despite the tight connection, people still inhabiting the village were conscious of the differences between them and their Norwegian compatriots. Furthermore, the villagers



Photograph 26 Ethnic club located in the heart of Strømsø. The windows are decorated with the Norwegian and Turkish flags.

classified the behaviour of Norwegian Turks as Norwegian, not Turkish. This indicates the ambiguity of what is considered Turkish and where. While activities popular in the ethnic club in Norway are locally regarded as Turkish, the overall behaviour of Norwegian Turks is considered as foreign and too modern by villagers.

My interviewees referred to the third place I visited as a cultural centre. It was only for members and frequented by Sunni Norwegian Turks. The association was located in a wooden building that like the other two clubs, blended into the Norwegian urban landscape (Photograph 26). The windows were decorated with the name of the club and Norwegian and Turkish flags. The main hall was equipped with sofas, a TV next to the front door, square tables, and a kitchenette. Pictures of Istanbul and other global cities including New York were present. A portrait of Atatürk was displayed alongside a portrait of the Norwegian King

(Photograph 27). These signs referred to two important elements upon which the Norwegian-Turkish identity was constructed, namely belonging to both Norway and Turkey. As in the other ethnic club frequented by Sunnis, one of the men who served tea had limited Norwegian language skills and was most likely a newcomer. Men sat around the tables, drank tea from Turkish tulip glasses, and played board games. This behaviour is similar to that among visitors to teahouses in Turkey, but might be considered culturally foreign in relation to Norwegian society.



**Photograph 279** The late king Olav, Atatürk, and landscapes of New York City on an antique wooden wall constituting the decor of the ethnic club.

Overall, the interior design of the ethnic clubs adopted patterns from Turkey. Many practices and discourses inscribed in their spaces were the same, such as the popularity of board games (Photograph 28) and the gender division in Sunni clubs. However, each place revealed different aspects of Turkishness. The Alevi centre focused on belonging to the Turkish Alevi transnational community, while the first Sunni ethnic club expressed belonging to a

particular village and demonstrated a strong interest in sports, which was inscribed in the space. The third cultural centre represented Turkishness through institutionalised symbols of Turkish heritage such as Atatürk's portrait and Turkish flags. However, these elements were complemented by similar references to Norwegian society—the Norwegian flag and a portrait of King Olav—revealing double belonging to Norway and Turkey.

Having described the activities of Norwegian-Turkish ethnic clubs, in the next section, I analyse them through the lenses of the concept of heterotopia (Foucault, 1984).



Photograph 108 Games displayed on a square table reveal the type of activities popular among members of the ethnic club situated on the edges of Strømsø.

4.2.2.2.1. *Ethnic Clubs as Heterotopias of Norwegian Society*

Belonging to Turkey was embedded in the spaces of all three ethnic clubs described above. They provided an arena in which to exercise particular practices common in Turkey, but unfamiliar in Norway. Therefore, I analyse them through the lens of the Foucauldian (1984) notion of heterotopia.

Heterotopia is defined as a spatial alternative to the dominant reality. Heterotopias are spaces characterised by the otherness inscribed in them, and represent a parallel to the dominant society. They are real and existing, but at the same time, not ordinary in a given socio-cultural environment. Heterotopias last as long as the social relations that created them are present (Cenzatti, 2008, p. 82).

Foucault (1984) distinguished six core characteristics of heterotopias. First, he states that each culture produces its own heterotopias. In the past, they were primarily heterotopias of crises, providing the space for people in a liminal period such as menstruating or pregnant women. Today, heterotopias of crises have been replaced by heterotopias of deviation (Foucault, 1984, p. 6), which are spaces for people whose behaviour deviates in some way from the dominant. Ethnic clubs represent the place within which the order of practices breaks with the dominant norm. The difference is reflected through unfamiliar habits and belonging to alternative places inscribed in their space.

Second, a heterotopia may have different functions over time, depending on the changing circumstances of the dominant society (Foucault, 1984). Even though my research covered less than three years of activities of the ethnic clubs, I observed the dynamic décor of the spaces in response to the changing needs of visitors. An example is the creation of a PlayStation room in response to the needs of the community's youths, and removing the T-shirts of football clubs when their presence created conflict between members. I also noticed differences between the functions of the ethnic clubs for newly arriving immigrants and well-settled Norwegian Turks. The latter group visited clubs mainly for entertainment purposes, which they mentioned in our conversations. For newcomers, ethnic clubs might provide

functions for adaptation during the first stages of migration, facilitating integration into Norwegian society, and only later become an arena of entertainment aimed at alleviating homesickness.

Third, a 'heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (Foucault, 1984, p. 7). Here, Foucault gives examples of the cinema and theatre, which recreate various spaces in a regular room. In a single space, ethnic clubs juxtapose spaces that are inconsistent. They incorporate patterns of rural Turkey, and combine them with a modern, urban life. Meetings in the facilities take place according to the working hours typical of Norway and are frequented by modern, urban people, while the activities are those typical of unemployed males in the rural areas of Turkey. In addition, ethnic clubs incorporate symbols referencing the vibrant space of urban Istanbul, including its passion for football. They effectively bring both Turkish rural areas and the Turkish city into the single place of an ethnic club. Moreover, the Alevi ethnic club combined the space of religious rituals—the *cemevi*—with the space of secular entertainment.

Furthermore, a 'heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time' (Foucault, 1984, p. 8). Ethnic clubs function according to a modern sense of time and satisfy the present needs of modern people. They also involve strong references to the past in their daily activities, which are twofold. First, they refer to the personal past of ethnic club members or their ancestors, reflecting patterns familiar from their lives in Turkey. Second, they embrace the collective past of Turks, including sentiments towards the Ottoman Empire and Atatürk, which constitute Turkish heritage. Furthermore, ethnic clubs introduce alternative interpretations of time by marking celebrations not part of the Norwegian calendar, such as Turkish National Days and Islamic religious celebrations. As such, they break with the traditional understanding of time, as their festival activity is governed by both Norwegian and Turkish holidays.

Moreover, access to heterotopias is limited. There is 'a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable' (Foucault, 1984, p. 9). Access to ethnic clubs

is limited to members and in the case of the Sunnis, to males. Their semi-private character and the necessity of insider knowledge about the activities inside unmarked buildings contribute to maintaining this exclusiveness, reflecting another feature of heterotopias. When entering the Sunni ethnic clubs, I was allowed into the building, but not into the heterotopic space, often being spatially placed on the side of the room. My respondents used to leave the heterotopic space for the duration of our conversations. In contrast, in the Alevi centre, after several visits, I could participate in activities and move freely between members, asking questions and having private conversations. There, I became part of the heterotopic practice.

Finally, heterotopias exist in reference to other spaces, and their functions relate to them. Here, Foucault distinguishes between two types of heterotopias, namely heterotopias of illusion, which attempt to create 'perfect other spaces' (Foucault, 1984, p. 10), and heterotopias of compensation, which aim to create a real space that overcomes the defects of the existing space. Following Foucault's statement that heterotopias 'have a function in relation to all the space that remains', I argue that Norwegian-Turkish ethnic clubs in Drammen constitute heterotopias of compensation as a 'perfect' space that is missing in Norway. This is confirmed by the statements of my Norwegian-born respondents, who noted that interpersonal relationships in Norway were cold, inhuman, and deprived of selflessness. Can and Elif recall a few negative experiences with ethnic Norwegians:

When I was hanging out with Norwegians, every time I was going to eat something, for example, I was taught by my parents: Ask if the one next to you is hungry and do not eat in front of him [if he is hungry]. Therefore, I would ask: 'Do you want to eat something?' (...) They would always say 'yes', and I would buy them food. However, the day I did not have money, he sat in front of me and ate in front of me (Can).

If they [Norwegians] are in a group and you are alone, this is like: 'Okay, we have a group, we can ignore you'. (...) However, with those of a foreign background, it is much easier to enter the [existing] group (Elif).

Ethnic clubs constituted an alternative to these and other alleged flaws in Norwegian society. The idea of perfection was informed by the idealised concept of home—Turkey—and idealised relationships between people in Turkey that were viewed as embracing brotherhood. Similar to the Jesuit colonies in South Africa, which Foucault uses as an example of the heterotopias of compensation, the space of the ethnic clubs was supersaturated with symbols referring to the idea of perfection: pictures of Atatürk, the Turkish flag, pictures of Ottoman Istanbul, and other symbols reflecting Turkishness. Simultaneously, the Norwegian-Turkish ethnic clubs constitute heterotopias of illusion, reflecting spatially the space organisation of teahouses, cultural centres, and *cemevis* of Turkey. Since the sources of illusion extend beyond national borders, the dimension of transnationalism is imposed on them. However, this transnational relation does not make these heterotopias Turkish. The ethnic clubs are heterotopias of Norwegian society, addressing its conditions and serving as an other space. Consequently, the otherness of these places is situated within Norwegian reality, of which the clubs constitute a part of.

### 4.3. Concluding Remarks and Discussion

In this chapter, I discussed the multiple aspects and multi-layered identities of Turkish vernacular spaces and places in Drammen. I focused on various social interactions in vernacular places to identify the dynamics motivating the creation these places. I was also interested in the expression of belonging to various places and communities through the décor of the space. Regarding Lefebvre's realms of space, I analysed perceptions of space, that is, how people use vernacular facilities in Drammen. Moreover, I investigated the social, structural, and economic factors influencing these places as well as the design of the facilities and traces of their former use. As such, I focused on perceived and conceived realms of space (Lefebvre, 1991). The findings verified that Turkish vernacular facilities in Drammen are not foreign, but influenced and ordered by conditions in Norwegian society. Their interior design encourages and enables particular ethnic or religious practices, reflects the hierarchies of Turkish communities in Drammen, and makes references to national Turkish identity and



longing for the ancestral homeland. On the other hand, the primary language of communication in public facilities is Norwegian, and the architecture of the buildings reflects Norwegian and Christian design. Furthermore, Norwegian law regulates the overall functioning of associations and entrepreneurship. Ethnic activities held at the facilities are adjusted to the working hours common in Norway, and ethnic businesses target particular niches of the diverse Norwegian society. I observed basic differences between the private and public expressions of belonging. Unlike private expressions, public expressions were usually less expressive and often balanced by Norwegian references.

In Drammen, expressions of belonging to Turkey were often shaped as references to urban sites in the country, rather than to the general concept of Turkey and Turkishness. The most important reference was to Istanbul, which was expressed by symbols of Istanbul's football teams and pictures of the city. This reflects the urban turn in identity formation, which was described by Çağlar (2001) in relation to young German Turks. Traditional Turkish places sporting an unfamiliar ethnic design and references to Turkish history—the Ottoman Empire and Atatürk—are still present and popular, especially in places dominated by first generation immigrants. However, a new, timid pattern is emerging, transforming identifications with historical and rural Turkey into references to modern urban sites of the ancestral homeland. This trend is especially followed by younger people raised in Norway. It seems that Norwegian-Turkish communities in Drammen are taking a similar direction to German Turks, positioning their identities in the local urban space of the cities they inhabit and conceptualising Turkishness through references to urban Istanbul. While still providing the base for identity, expressions of belonging are gradually detaching from traditional Turkishness and being refined in a new way according to global trends.

Ehrkamp argues (2005, 349):

As immigrants are negotiating their belonging, they engage in creating places, transforming the urban landscape of contemporary cities. Urban space therefore becomes 'a negotiated reality' (Anderson, 1991, 28) that involves both symbolic and

material expressions of local and translocal connections that immigrants create, as well as their engagement with the receiving society.

The functioning of the vernacular facilities in Drammen and expressions of belonging in the space of the city are contextual, embedded in the urban space of Drammen and shaped by Norwegian structural factors and design. Furthermore, vernacular businesses are a matter of economy, rather than an expression of ethnicity, even though the latter is evident. Local design, which dominates the vernacular as much as foreign or exotic influences, is usually treated as neutral and ignored, while traces of the former use of the space are evident and comprise aspects such as former names, the architecture, and reminisces of the former interior design. Furthermore, influences from Norwegian legislation and urban planning of space integrate the local (Norwegian) into the vernacular, making the facilities unique and rooting them in the receiving society. Therefore, the Turkish vernacular in Norway should be regarded as Norwegian-Turkish vernacular. Consequently, while Drammen is assumed one of the most diverse cities in Norway, its landscape is shaped by Norwegian influences including wooden architecture and traits of Christianity inscribed in the space. These traits include sacral buildings and cross-shaped signs of pharmacies and hospitals. This framing of vernacular space, founded on the Christian heritage of Europe, is too often undermined, which creates an inaccurate image of entire districts becoming ethnic while, as demonstrated in this chapter, their relationships with structural, economic and socio-cultural features of the dominant society are evident.



## 5. Conceptualising Home

In a previous chapter, I discussed how belonging is expressed in the private, semi-private, and public spaces and places of Drammen and what constitutes the conceived and perceived (Lefebvre, 1991) aspects of the investigated places. Here, I focus on how real people experience spaces, and how they place belonging and conceptualise home. As such, the focus is on the third realm of space distinguished by Lefebvre (*ibid.*), that of the lived. I discuss the notion of home as a process and sensory experience that extends beyond a mere locality. Then, I present examples of the positioning of belonging and conceptualising the idea of home by Norwegians of Turkish descent. I exemplify respondents' attachment to Norway and demonstrate that the meaning of home as an experience of familiarity and belonging refers to the places and social spaces present in Drammen. However, I do not undermine respondents' nostalgia for their ancestral home in Turkey. Since the findings presented in this chapter are based on interviews with Norwegians of Turkish origin born or raised in Norway, who have never lived in Turkey, this nostalgia is usually shaped as an idealised and inherited idea of longing to Turkey.

Furthermore, this chapter discusses the idea of in-betweenness popular in migration studies and the common discourse on public migration debates in Europe. Migrants and their children have been described as being in-between cultures and localities. Based on my findings, I do not consider this idea appropriate in describing the actual situation of minority members. Rather, I lean towards the opinion that forcing people into in-betweenness not only ignores the fact that human daily routines are defined spatially and assumes the existence of homogeneous cultures between which one may be stuck, but also limits knowledge on the situation of people with immigrant ancestry settled in new homelands. Saying that someone is in-between indicates whom one is not (or only partly is), leaving behind the subject's complex positioning. Thus, I suggest focusing on how this apparent in-

betweenness materialises in the actions of people and their individual interpretations of cultural systems within the concrete localities they occupy. In so doing, I do not undermine the transnational and trans-local relationships people maintain. While acknowledging them, I highlight the importance of the relationship between body, mind, and the physical locality the body is situated within, which is a starting point for possible transnational and trans-local actions.

Finally, I discuss power relationships in the context of conceptualising home. I clarify the othering process of immigrants in their new homelands and denial of their belonging by autochthonous ideas of origin (Geschiere, 2009). I raise the question of whether one can call home a place located within the soil of the nation, which the common discourse denies the right to belong to. The chapter begins with a theoretical introduction to the concept of home, and then the empirical data concerning individual expressions of belong are described. I conclude the chapter by linking the feeling of belonging expressed by respondents to the broader discourse in Norwegian society.

## 5.1. Home Making

In the introduction to the book 'Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration', Ahmed, Castañeda, Fortier, and Sheller (2003) analyse the meaning of home in the context of migratory movements. They propose breaking with the non-processual notion of home as a fixed location left behind. Furthermore, they suggest rethinking home by breaking with 'the naturalization of homes as origins' and the 'romanticization of mobility as travel, transcendence, and transformation' (ibid., p. 1). They claim that 'being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed; being mobile is not necessarily being detached' (ibid.). Consequently, there is a complex relationship between home and away and migration does not 'stand against any form of "rooted belonging"' (ibid., p. 3). Some authors contend that home is not only an origin, but also a destination (Fortier, 2003, pp. 116–117). Probyn (1996, p. 114, cited in Fortier, 2003, p. 123) even claimed that one 'can never go home. Or rather,

once returned [one] realize[s] the cliché that home is never what it was'. As such, home is not a readymade product, it is a process constantly transforming according to changing circumstances. Understood in this way, home is 'never fully achieved, never fully arrived-at, even if we are in it' (Fortier, 2003, p. 131; see also Ahmed, 2000, p. 101).

Ahmed defines home in terms of sensory experiences. After Brah (1996, p. 192, quoted in Ahmed, 1999, p. 341), she calls it 'the lived experience of locality'. Ahmed (1999, p. 341) continues:

The immersion of a self in a locality is hence not simply about inhabiting an already constituted space (from which one can simply depart and remain the same). Rather, the locality intrudes into the senses: it defines what one smells, hears, touches, feels, remembers. The lived experience of being-at-home hence involves the enveloping of subjects in a space which is not simply outside them: being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, inhabit each other. To some extent, we can think of the lived experience of being at home in terms of inhabiting a second skin, a skin which does not simply contain the homely subject, but which allows the subject to be touched and touch the world that is neither simply in the home or away from the home. The home as skin suggests the boundary between self and home is permeable, but also that the boundary between home and away is permeable as well. Here, movement away is also movement within the constitution of home as such. That is, movement away is always affective: it affects how 'homely' one might feel and fail to feel.

Home is a lived experience that enables recognising particular sensory stimuli as home-like or foreign in any location. Besides sensory experiences, home also involves some form of spatiality. Home is about 'how (...) bodies reinhabit space' (ibid., p. 342), but as Ahmed suggests, the relationship between the subject and the space of home is more complex than the mere act of 'entering' the space. In the common discourse, the dichotomy between home and away is often linked to the idea of being present and absent (for criticism, see Ahmed et al., 2003). Some scholars (Giddens, 1990) maintain a similar dichotomy to describe

the relationship between place (present) and space (absent). Massey (1994, p. 168) claims that place is a moment in space ‘formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location’. Space and place, absent and present, are therefore interconnected. Drawing from this, I suggest that home involves references to both space and place, overcoming the dichotomy between the absent and present. Home is definitely a place, a moment in space in which particular interactions materialise. However, home is also a space, with all the sets of ideas and relationships connected to it. This means that home is more than a mere locality (Fortier, 2003, p. 121). It constitutes an abstract idea and palpable experience, a network of social relationships and actual interactions in real time. Home is not singular. It involves both presence and absence and extends beyond location. Finally, home is a continuum, rather than a closed entity. ‘Making home is about creating both pasts and futures through inhabiting the grounds of the present’ (Ahmed et al., 2003, p. 9). Regarding Ecuadorian migrants settled in Trento, Italy, Boccagni (2014) suggests that the absence of migrants in their villages of origin in Ecuador is contradicted by the *feeling* of their presence through the existence of their newly built houses. Thus, the interplay between presence and absence defines the home, and the absence of a person does not necessarily exclude her from home.

In the context of spatial mobility, Ahmed (1999, p. 343) claims: ‘[t]he journeys of migration involve a splitting of home as place of origin and home as the sensory world of everyday experience’. So-called diaspora communities materialise the former dimension of home in the idealised concept of a homeland. It has been argued that these diasporic communities are characterised by the shared idea of an imagined homeland (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992), an idealised place of autochthonic origin dating back several generations. Galip (2015, pp. 120–121) describes this tendency as follows: ‘Because of a geographical existence away from “home”, coupled with idealised longing to return there, diasporas are frequently characterised as having an “imagined” or “mythical” home’. Gupta and Ferguson (1992, p. 11) continue, ‘Remembered places have often served as symbolic anchors of community for dispersed people. (...) “Homeland” in this way remains one of the most powerful unifying

symbols for mobile and displaced people'. This remote homeland often lacks the sensory stimuli recognised and remembered as home. However, for those to whom it matters, the idealised idea of the ancestral homeland finds its place on the complex continuum of home. Having defined the theoretical assumptions of the analysis described in this chapter, I now provide the empirical data on individual expressions of belonging and conceptualisations of home.

## 5.2. Placing Belonging: The Idea of Home

The findings presented in this chapter are based on in-depth interviews with first- and second-generation Norwegians of Turkish origin living in Drammen. I analyse multiple meanings of home including respondents' attachment to Drammen and ancestral villages in Turkey. This chapter continues the previous one, in which I analysed two of the three dimensions of space formulated by Lefebvre (1991), namely the perceived and conceived. Since this chapter details the ways the urban space of Drammen is experienced by young Norwegians of immigrant ancestry, it focuses on the last dimension of space of Lefebvre's triad: the lived.

Respondents were asked to name the places that shaped them into who they are and are important to them. Most responses included a combination of localities in Norway and Turkey. Among the places named in Norway, the city of Drammen, where respondents lived, was always mentioned, often with specific reference to the districts respondents grew up in. Undoubtedly, respondents shared a local sense of belonging to Drammen, which incorporated the true idea of home as a lived experience (Ahmed, 1999):

The most important landscape for me is [the district in Drammen], because this is where I grew up. All my friends are from [there], and I feel at home there. For example, if I drive to Oslo, I feel like I am in a foreign place. However, when I start driving towards [the district in Drammen], I feel at home. When I am in [another city], I am bored. However, when I drive towards [the district in Drammen], even though



there is nothing to do here, I feel at home. Therefore, the most important area for me is [the district in Drammen]. Otherwise, it does not matter to me where I am (Kemal).

I have written Drammen since I was born and raised here. Drammen has formed me. I was born here; I grew up here (...). I have also written [the district in Drammen]. This is where I live. (...) I belong to Drammen (Elifcan).

Home was regarded as a social and sensory experience. The former was reflected in friendship and familial relationships within the home. The latter manifested in feeling the landscape is familiar (as in Kemal's statement) or in positive emotions and food. Cansu stated, 'Home is where you get food and love. (...) It is more the idea that you come home and you are safe, you have food, and you can eat it' (Cansu).

While all respondents expressed a strong local attachment to Norway, most simultaneously reported an attachment to localities in Turkey. This especially applied to the Norwegian Turks with a Sunni background, regardless of their generation. Many interviewees told me at the beginning of the conversation that they were from Turkey, ignoring that they were born and raised in Norway. They labelled home the city of Konya, where most Norwegian Turks settled in Drammen have their roots<sup>32</sup>: 'I was born and raised in Norway, but am originally from Turkey, of course. I come from Konya' (Fatma).

Identifying villages in Konya as home reflects the dimension of home as a place of origin. However, all but one respondent raised in Norway have never lived in Konya, visiting the place only during holidays. This implies that villages in Konya bear the characteristic of an idealised homeland (Galip, 2015).

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<sup>32</sup> In a further conversation, Konya often became a smaller city in the province and eventually the name of an exact village in the area from which their ancestors originated was provided. The city of Konya was commonly referred to in the community of Norwegian Turks based on the assumption that the interlocutor did not know Turkish geography well enough to be familiar with smaller cities and villages.

Local belonging to places in Turkey refers to the phenomenon of autochthony, which is understood as being ‘born from the soil’ (Geschiere 2009, p. ix). One of the respondents, Yusuf, expressed the idea of autochthony through an explicit reference to the Turkic people and Anatolian culture as ‘the real roots’ of the Turks with whom he identifies. These discourses of Anatolia as a cradle of Turkish culture and idea of brotherhood of the Turkic people also thrive in Turkey. A rural Anatolian origin is regarded in the Turkish national discourse as a metaphor for being honourable. Furthermore, the place was traditionally opposed to urban life, which was synonymous with losing one’s innocence because of modernisation and western influences. The discourse of the people of Anatolia as the real ancestors of the Turks is also revealed in Atatürk’s rhetoric, which played a role in nation-building processes in Turkey.

Having a home in Turkey often supports and legitimises belonging to the country. Some respondents or their families own houses in Turkey, often in the local area of their ancestors’ origin. These houses are holiday residences, and ownership mirrors the similar practices of many middle-class ethnic Norwegians, who for other reasons, buy houses in Southern Europe and Turkey. The annual journeys of Norwegian Turks to Turkey have become a tradition facilitated by home ownership, and while these trips signify a vacation, they have the symbolic meaning of returning home too. I visited a few of the ancestral villages of the Norwegian Turks, and in accordance with findings by Boccagni (2014), their houses, which stand out against local dwellings in terms of their large size and distinct design, mark the presence of those who are constantly absent.

I observed an interesting difference between the Sunni and Alevi respondents regarding belonging to Norway. Respondents of Alevi origin born and raised in Norway tended to express a strong sense of belonging primarily to Norway, and only secondary attachment to Turkey. A few people who did not articulate any attachment to Turkey were of Alevi origin. The rest labelled Izmir—one of the most modern cities in Turkey and where their families, who remained in Turkey, live—as home, rather than the village of their ancestors in Konya province:

I like Drammen very much. This is my city. (...) I feel at home here. However, I also wrote Turkey—Izmir. This is my second home. My mother and father are from Turkey, so I am part of that (Arzu).

Some Alevi respondents expressed no identification with Konya, explicitly marking the striking difference between the habits common in the province and those common in Izmir. 'Everyone in Konya is very religious. (...) Izmir is similar to Norway though. People are modern. (...) Izmir suits me better than does Konya' (Elifcan).

The relationship between the Sunni and Alevi Muslims in Turkey is saddled with a negative heritage. The Alevi pogroms in the past<sup>33</sup> and little government support<sup>34</sup> in contemporary Turkey might have influenced their strong attachment to Norway, where the Alevi community can freely follow its liberal version of Islam. This may also explain the rejection of conservative and predominantly Sunni Konya in favour of other modern Turkish cities.

Home consists of more than a physical place (Ahmed et al., 2003; Fortier, 2003). The localities in Turkey and Norway mentioned and where respondents positioned their belonging were strictly connected to social spaces and the people and communities acting within them, among which family was noted as the most important reference point. I suggest that the home in Turkey represents only one part on the continuum of home. Furthermore, what makes the ancestral villages home is temporal materialisation of the social spaces attached

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<sup>33</sup>Özyürek (2009, p. 237) mentions several Alevi pogroms in Turkey: '(...) hundreds of Alevis were killed by Sunni Muslim and Turkish nationalist fanatics in Sivas (1978 and 1993), Kahramanmaraş (1978), Çorum (1980), and Gazi in Istanbul in 1997' (See also Shankland 2007, p. 1).

<sup>34</sup> In Turkey, the government department Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı) oversees matters of religion in the country. Özdalga (2012, p. 213) argues that 'Its field of activity is more or less defined by five pillars of Islam—ritual prayer (namaz), fasting during Ramadan (oruç), pilgrimage (hac), and almsgiving (zekat)—as well as sacrifice (kurban). To this have been added education (Qur'an courses), seminars and conferences, and various publishing activities'. However, the directorate ignores in its activities the Alevis, the biggest religious minority in Turkey. Özdalga (ibid.) continues, 'The Diyanet has played a stabilizing role with respect to Sunni Islam, but in relation to the Alevi community it has failed to fulfil its mission as a secular—or neutral—institution. Alevi grievances are concentrated on the lack of representation within the Diyanet, the total silence on Alevism in public school education, and the unwillingness to allow special houses of worship (*cemevi*) for Alevis' (See also Shankland, 2012, p. 113).

to the home in Norway. Interactions with locals enrich the sensory experience of *Turkish* homes, but they fall short of forming these places into homes upon arrival. I substantiate this statement by the fact that many respondents admitted that they started considering localities in Turkey home, especially when their parents migrated there upon retirement. For some, such migration diminished the feeling of home in Norway.

### 5.2.1. Dual (Non)Belonging?

During our first meeting, all respondents declared being from Turkey, but later in the conversation, withdrew from this determining identity in favour of a more complex description of their multiple positioning. I contend that the declaration of being from Turkey reflected the gradually common discourses of autochthony in Europe observed by Geschiere (2009). Such discourses seek to approach identity as deeply rooted in the local, and has the effect of making foreign immigrants and their offspring born in the new homeland. The problem described by Geschiere also exists in Norway, where Norwegian-born members of immigrant minorities are sometimes asked where they *really* come from. The quest for autochthony forces minorities to create an idea of 'the real home' in the remote localities they or their ancestors left many years ago. Such strategies provide an alternative story to build one's self-definition and limit the risk of feeling 'being from nowhere'. In some cases, this 'remote' belonging is shared with enthusiasm. In others, it elicits the feeling of foreignness often interpreted as being in-between localities and cultures while being unable to be fully accepted in any. Ayşe describes the problem of dual non-belonging well. She arrived in Norway aged seven years old. In her statement, Ayşe relates to the different levels of discourse, namely her 'official' belonging to Turkey and her feeling of home on a private level:

Turkey is my homeland. When I arrive there, I am undoubtedly at home. However, when I arrive in Norway, I am of course foreign (...). When I am in Oslo, I am foreign, but not in Turkey. Nevertheless, I feel at home here [in Norway], because here I have

my life, my friends, my relatives, my family is here. (...) I could not think about moving back to Turkey. I have more here [in Norway] than there (Ayşe).

Ayşe's statement indicates that home is more than a mere location and comprises meaningful people, or as Fortier explains, it 'is grounded in the sense of "family" and belonging' (Fortier, 2003, p. 121). Later in the conversation, Ayşe admitted to being treated as a foreigner in both Turkey and Norway:

I do not feel at home in Turkey, because (...) they say there that you are from abroad in a way. (...) [In Norway, on the other hand,] even if one forgets that one is foreign, the others will never forget it (Ayşe).

Ayşe's story shows that others—both Turks and Norwegians—create and enforce a sense of non-belonging, although she knows where she feels at home. Therefore, I argue that regarding people whose position is similar to Ayşe's as in-between is a simplification. It says little about their actual situation. I claim that no human life is lived in-between (localities or cultures). Every person is located in a particular physical location within which a living space is created and adjusted according to needs. Even if these spaces and places of a new life bear various influences from different localities, cultures, identifications, and value systems, and even if individuals do not voluntarily live in these places, they are not in-between. They live their lives in the here and now, using past and current resources, and placing them within the localities they occupy. They materialise their complex positioning in concrete practices, creating unique qualities and placing them within their current locations, rather than producing a mixture of cultures suspended in abstract interspace. By denying in-betweenness, I do not suggest that all new places of settlement become homes. Surely not, especially if they are spaces of limbo. However, in cases where people are born or raised in the new homeland, such as Ayşe, I argue that they acquire sensory experiences from the localities they occupy and make them their homes. In addition, for most, these are their childhood homes. Even if essentialist discourses deny the legitimacy of these homes,

confusing the subjects in the way Ayşe was confused, they cannot deny the feeling of home represented by migrants and their children for their places of settlement.

The process of exclusion from ancestral homes of the children of immigrants born in a new homeland is not rare. Fatma, who declared a strong attachment to Turkey, admitted further in the narrative that she was excluded from Turkish society and marked there as foreign:

I feel at home more in Norway than in Turkey. I feel foreign once I am down there (in Turkey). If you (...) did not know that I was from Turkey, you would not guess I am foreign [in Norway], because you cannot hear it from my language. However, when I am in Turkey, then immediately, 'Do you come from abroad?' (Fatma).

The use of the Turkish language by the children of immigrants often becomes an excluding factor in the ancestral homeland, even though it constitutes an important element of the heritage of Norwegian Turks. Turkish is widely spoken in Turkish communities in Norway. All respondents speak Turkish at home and consider it their mother tongue. Language marks a clear boundary of ethnicity (Barth, 1969, 1994) and strengthens the sense of belonging to the Turkish community in Norway. Nevertheless, the language used by the Turks abroad has not undergone the same changes as the Turkish spoken in Turkey. Therefore, in Turkey, it may sound old-fashioned or foreign. As such, speaking Turkish in Turkey becomes an excluding factor, because of the different accent, such as in the case of Fatma. On the other hand, being fluent in Norwegian enables crossing the group's boundary into Norwegian society. This explains the attempts of many respondents to ensure their children's fluency in the Norwegian language. Respondents adapted to Norwegian society through their fluency in Norwegian. This is considered valuable; therefore, the respondents provide their children with the best opportunities to develop Norwegian language skills.

The necessity of constant negotiations of belonging blurs respondents' self-definition. They claim that in Norway they are treated as Turks, while in Turkey, they become Norwegians. Elifcan states:

I feel that I am 50/50. I am not fully Turkish. (...) I cannot say I am fully Turkish or fully Norwegian (Elifcan).

This apparent in-betweenness stems from the inappropriate categorisations people must relate to, which is based on the assumption that ethnic belonging determines identity. Respondents' strategies to overcome vague self-definition is development of the sense of belonging to the local in Norway. This is achieved through participation in various social spaces that refer to 'Norwegian Turkishness' or are linked to Drammen's diverse society. Belonging of Norwegian Turks to social networks, which are strengthened and maintained based on a shared heritage, ensures that respondents are comfortable in the local environment in Norway. Consequently, it provides them with the foundation to renegotiate traditional practices and values, bringing them closer to those common among ethnic Norwegians, without losing the sense of attachment to Turkey.

Norway, which my respondents consider home, is interpreted as 'the sensory world of everyday experience' (Ahmed, 1999, p. 343). Turkey remains an ancestral, idealised homeland, a holiday destination to which significant social spaces that make home are linked. However, even if respondents' in-betweenness is a fact from the ethno-national perspective of Turkey and Norway, they are not between localities or cultures. They develop a unique identification with Norway under the umbrella of Turkishness, and enforce practices and values bearing Turkish, Norwegian, and global influences. This unique belonging is exercised within the social spaces of Norwegians with minority backgrounds, either within the broad community of 'foreigners', as respondents refer to people settled in Norway with immigrant ancestral background, or within Norwegian-Turkish families and associations. In Norwegian society in general, there is little room to express this unique quality. Therefore, the respondents either take the position within existing clear-cut ethnic dichotomies, calling themselves Turks, or depending on the context, their other social roles and positions emerge.

Having discussed the empirical data on the conceptualisation of home by Norwegian Turks, in the next section, I link the described process to the broader context of current discussions

and attitudes towards immigrant minorities in Norwegian society. To this end, I draw on Ahmed's (2000, 2014) analysis of multiculturalism as a system of managing diversity enforced by countries such as Australia and Canada and as a de facto dimension (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007) in Norway.

### 5.3. Discussion

Ahmed (2014) explains that social moods in society influence governmental immigration policies, which then shape particular attitudes. In the UK, a social mood of fear was assigned the face of an immigrant and the policy of the Prime Minister, David Cameron, was shaped as the rhetoric of protecting British values and workplaces from immigrants (ibid., p. 25). Based on Ahmed's reasoning, I maintain that in Norway, the social mood of pride was materialised in an essentialist, ethno-national identification with the country<sup>35</sup>, which is shared by many (although not everyone), influencing further policies and attitudes towards immigrants and contributing to the common discourses in the country that position Norwegianness as superior to the practices of minorities<sup>36</sup>. Furthermore, Eriksen (1993) claims that the presence of immigrants gives rise to the question of who should be included in the nation. In the public discourse, the dichotomist view of *us*—native Norwegians—and *them*—immigrant minorities, especially Muslims (Andersson, 2012; Bangstad, 2011), confirms that the inclusion of immigrants in the Norwegian nation is not taken for granted by everyone in the country. This, combined with the idea of Norwegian autochthonous belonging in which the place of *real origin* is an important marker of identity, leads to the exclusion of immigrant minorities by many native Norwegians from the right to belong to

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<sup>35</sup> For an example of operating on the mood of pride by politicians, see the input of Linda Hofstad Helleland, an Høyre (Conservative) Party politician, on her Facebook page before Christmas 2016, which appeals to the public to be proud of Norwegianness. While many supported the input, it also raised critical voices, which indicated the heterogeneity of Norwegian society. The post is available here: <https://www.facebook.com/LindaHHelleland/posts/1150794248367135:0> (accessed: 18.07.2017).

<sup>36</sup> See the research of Dahle and Seeberg (2013) and Johannesen and Appoh (2016) for more detail on the relationship between fluency in the Norwegian language and culture and success in Norwegian society in various contexts.



Norway. While the immigration policy ensures the equal participation of immigrants in society (*Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013)*, 2012), rights given to immigrants are interpreted by many as a gift reflecting the goodwill of the Norwegians and confirming their generosity. Immigrants must repay this gift by contributing to the growth of Norwegian society. Ahmed (2014, p. 24) explains:

Multiculturalism becomes an injunction that the ‘would be’ or ‘could be’ citizens must love the nation and its values (law, liberty, tolerance, democracy, modernity, diversity, and equality—all these terms are presented as if they are attributes of a national body). It seems in such rhetoric that anyone can love these values: shared belief becomes how a nation bonds (...) For these beliefs become ‘ours’ and if this ‘ours’ seems open (to others who might share our beliefs), it is only possible as a gift, as what we already have and ‘they’ must acquire, often through force or compulsion.

In Norway, this giver-receiver relationship is reflected in the discourse of ‘them’ (immigrants) using ‘our’ social benefits (see Slettholm, 2016), which overlooks the fact that the beneficiaries of Norwegian social services often earned this right by contributing to society through legal work and by paying taxes. Another example from outside the economic rhetoric is the idea of sharing ‘civilised’ values, which materialises in training for immigrants on Norwegian culture. These include widely criticised workshops for immigrant men on how to treat women (Higgins, 2015) and information in the Norwegian course books on detailed rules for clothing, eating, and behaving<sup>37</sup>.

Regarding Australian multiculturalism, Ahmed (2000, p. 96) claims that nations viewed as multicultural, in other words, those open to ethnic heterogeneity, incorporate immigrants into their societies and use their differences to legitimate diversity. However, this does not mean that immigrants fit the standard. They fit the nation by being different and therefore contribute to the produced discourse on multiculturalism, but they do not become part of the norm. Norway does not implement the same multicultural system as Australia, because

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<sup>37</sup> I discuss this more broadly in chapter 3 when referring to my experiences in the Norwegian courses.

modern Norway has never dealt with a colonial past. Nevertheless, today's official discourse on Norway presents it as a multicultural society<sup>38</sup>. The differences of immigrants are incorporated into the diversity image and assumed as a resource (*Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013)*, 2012). These difference, however, are strictly limited to neutral aspects such as folklore, and aspects not involved in the agreement are outlawed (Ahmed, 2000, pp. 109–110).

The celebration of difference is thus limited, rather than *real*, and important practices such as raising children, rules of law, and the organisation of work are expected to be performed the Norwegian way. Researchers in various contexts (Dahle & Seeberg, 2013; Johannesen & Appoh, 2016) confirm that failure to adapt to the Norwegian patterns of performing some activities causes exclusion or the intervention of Norwegian Child Care Services. Ahmed (2000, p. 110) continues, 'Multiculturalism can only allow those differences that can be neutralized and accommodated within "one" culture'. Differences that cannot be assimilated are considered a betrayal of the nation (*ibid.*). Therefore, while immigrants and their offspring were invited to participate in Norwegian society with equal rights and by fulfilling equal duties (*Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013)*, 2012), they were not recognised as creators contributing to this order. Even if they do participate in Norwegian society, they are constantly asked where they *really* come from. Relating this to the findings presented in this chapter, I tend to conclude that Norwegian Turks refrain from calling Norway home, because it is risky and may be rejected by others including ethnic Norwegians and members of minority groups.

Ahmed (2014, p. 15) explains, 'A mood is thus rather like an atmosphere: it is not that we catch a feeling from another person, but that we are caught up in feelings that are not our own'. Imposing foreignness by minority members on non-Norwegians might signify being affected by the social mood of pride materialised in the exclusive and superior ethno-nationalism of Norway, and may occur in inter-group relations between minorities.

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<sup>38</sup> This discourse refers to how diversity management is adopted by the country and reflects the idea that (immigrant) minorities are welcome to participate in Norwegian society and have the right to maintain their culture of origin. Further in the chapter, I discuss the nuances of this discourse.

Regarding intra-group relationships, minorities' reference to their ancestral homeland as their *official* home can be attributed to the influence of another mood, namely the mood of longing of first generation immigrants for the place of emigration. My findings indicate that these two moods and discourses pertaining to the othering of immigrant minorities incorporated in multiculturalism may have influenced the situation of Norwegians of Turkish descent. Imposing foreignness on them by both ethnic Norwegians and minority members combined with the atmosphere of longing to Turkey in the families and communities they belong to, make them identify 'officially' with the ancestral homeland, despite that their actual identifications go beyond Turkishness and have strong links to Norway, as demonstrated in my research.

Respondents' narrative of belonging revealed a strong identification with Drammen as the city of origin, which was supported by the feeling of home and sensory experience of familiarity (ibid. 1999) there. This was not declared in relation to the localities in Turkey labelled as home. As such, I regard my respondents as locals in Drammen. Such primary identification with the city is consistent with the attitudes shared by people of Turkish origin in Germany. Çağlar (2001, p. 608) notes:

Among the second generation of Turkish immigrants (...), efforts are made to identify a ground other than ethnicised culture to position oneself in society at large. In this search for other identity bases, one alternative has become to define belongingness in relation to one's city of residence rather than to Germanness, Turkishness, or a mixture of the two. In the journal *Kauderzanca*, published by second-generation immigrants (mainly of Turkish origin), the concept 'German Turk' is criticised on the grounds that it still designates and discriminates people as 'Turks'. In order to overcome this stigmatisation, *Kauderzanca's* publishers explicitly stress that they want to identify themselves as simply belonging to Berlin, 'We are all Berliners' (Schmidt, 1993). The publishers express a desire to be treated and accepted like, and in no way different from, German youth (Çağlar citing from Bilgi, 1995).

The articulation of being local to Drammen by my respondents was not as explicit as in the case described by Çağlar. Nevertheless, their relationship to Drammen revealed similar features of belonging to the city and constituted an important part of their identity. Drammen and its landscapes and districts were top positions in the pre-interview form, named as places that shaped the respondents into who they are. The habit of calling places in Turkey home and the discourses of the foreignness of Norwegian Turks in Norway tend to obscure this message; however, based on my research, I argue that the sensory experience of home of first and second generation Norwegians of Turkish origin refers to Norway. Their relationship to Turkey is important, but it is positioned on the continuum of home only as a place of ancestral origin.

Having discussed the complexity of Norwegian Turks' belonging and demonstrating their strong attachment to Drammen despite the othering discourse faced daily, I describe in the next chapter the analysis of the self-identification of respondents born and/or raised in Norway through a translocational positionality framework (Anthias, 2002, 2008).



## 6. Practices of Drammenian Turks Through a Translocational Positionality Framework

The previous two chapters described the analysis of Norwegian Turks in the spaces of Drammen and the conceptualisation and expression of belonging within them. I demonstrated that Turkish-run facilities in Drammen bear local influences and therefore cannot be regarded as merely 'Turkish'. I also problematised respondents' conceptualisation of home, presenting it as a continuum on which attachment to the ancestral homeland occurs alongside strong links to Norway. I explained that the respondents felt at home mainly in Drammen, while their local places of origin in Turkey represented an idealised idea of origin and served as a holiday destination.

In the following chapter, I shift focus from belonging to physical spaces and places to belonging to groups. By analysing respondents' self-portraits without self<sup>39</sup> and their everyday routines, I elaborate on their identity by paying attention to its multi-layered, processual, and situational character. As such, in this chapter, the everyday practices and values of respondents born and/or raised in Norway are described by applying a translocational positionality framework (Anthias, 2002, 2008, 2013, 2016). In so doing, respondents' identification with multiple collectivities is revealed, as is the mutual influence of various and often-contradictory social positions that differentiate their practices and experiences within changing contexts. A translocational positionality framework enables a better understanding of the meaning of particular practices according to context and respondents' fluency in mastering switching between their contradictory identifications. However, contrary to common belief, these contradictory identifications do not position the respondents in-between or dislocate them. Anthias (2008, p. 15) claims that humans'

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<sup>39</sup> This method of data collection is described in more detail in the chapter on methodology.

locations are multiple and span a number of terrains such as those of gender and class as well as ethnicity and nation, political and value systems. To be dislocated at the level of nation is not necessarily a dislocation in other terms, if we find we still exist within the boundaries of our social class and our gender.

The chapter begins with an outline of the theoretical framework of analysis, namely translocational positionality (Anthias, 2002, 2008, 2013, 2016). Furthermore, the theoretical and ontological implications of the concept of ethnicity, an element of respondents' identification, are discussed. In the second part of the chapter, I provide a thick description of the broad context of the situation of Norwegian Turks including their everyday practices, values, and people meaningful to them presenting them through the lenses of a translocational positionality framework.

### **6.1. Researching Identity: Translocational Positionality**

Various scholars point out the notion of identity as a problematic analytical concept. Brubaker (2004, pp. 28–29) claimed that identity has become a 'too present' concept in the social sciences. Anthias (2002, 2008) argued that identity is simultaneously a too broad and narrow notion. The concept asks too much, because it assumes that individuals possess fixed and stable identities, 'a ready-made story to tell about who they are and where they feel they "belong"' (ibid. 2002, p. 494). At the same time, it asks too little, as it does not focus on the creation of these stories in relation to an individual's multiple roles (ibid. 2008, p. 7). Furthermore, identity is too often regarded 'a possessive attribute of individuals or groups, rather than a process' (ibid.). To analyse identity and overcome the problems it bears as an analytical concept, Anthias (2002, p. 493) proposes a theoretical framework based on intersectionality, namely translocational positionality:

I will argue that identity has a tendency to function as a disabling concept that limits the focus and moves the analyst away from context, meaning and practice. The

notion of narratives of location and positionality appears to be a more useful analytical device for what is produced in the texts than the notion of 'identity'.

Translocational positionality refers to mapping individuals' multiple and often contradictory positions in socio-spatial locations. It 'addresses issues of identity in terms of locations which are not fixed but are context, meaning and time related and which therefore involve shifts and contradictions' (ibid. 2008, p. 9). The core concept is location, understood 'as a social space which is produced within contextual, spatial, temporal and hierarchical relations around the "intersections" of social divisions and identities of class, ethnicity and gender (amongst others)' (ibid.). Positionality

refers to placement within a set of relations and practices that implicate identification and 'performativity' or action. It combines a reference to social position (as a set of effectivities; as outcome) and social positioning (as a set of practices, actions and meanings; as process). As such, it is an intermediate concept between objectivism and subjectivism, inhabiting a space between social constructionism and approaches that stress agency. Positionality relates to the space at the intersection of structure (as social position/social effects) and agency (as social positioning/ meaning and practice). The concept involves processes of identification but is not reducible to these, for what is also signalled are the lived practices in which identification is practised/performed as well as the intersubjective, organizational and representational conditions for their existence (ibid. 2002, pp. 501–502).

Individuals' translocational positionality is acquired through the narrative of self, regarded by Anthias (ibid., p. 493) as 'narratives of location and positionality'. She claims that the narrative provides the researcher an opportunity to understand the sense made out of social locations 'at a specific point in time and space' (ibid., p. 501). Individual narratives usually focus on 'denial', reflecting 'what one is not', rather than providing a clear definition of self (ibid.). Furthermore, they are always linked to and dependent on, but not fully determined by, social structures (see Anthias, 2013, p. 130):



[N]arratives are never innocent of social structure and social place, simultaneously reflecting and making sense of our social position in the order of things while never being merely representational of this order (ibid., 2002, p. 500; 2013).

Regarding narratives on social locations, Anthias (ibid., pp. 498–499) argues:

A narrative is an account that tells a story, and a narrative of location, as it is used here, is an account that tells a story about how we place ourselves in terms of social categories such as those of gender, ethnicity and class at a specific point in time and space. Such accounts often mirror as well as produce social ontologies. However, the narrative is more than a place where accounts of social ontologies are given and goes beyond reproducing and at times remaking these. The narrative is also both a story about who and what we identify with (a story about identification) and is also a story about our practices and the practices of others, including wider social practices and how we experience them. These stories do not necessarily have a beginning, plot or ending; they are composed of fragments whose place in the whole text is emergent and at times contradictory.

Consequently, the notion of translocational positionality refers to the multiple roles of an individual within the social hierarchies of various collectivities as well as the interplay between them in a particular time-space setting. It provides the broad context of one's situation, and enables an analysis of the multiple and complex ways of performing these roles. In addition, the approach recognises that some identifications may be contradictory (see also Anthias, 2016, p. 14). Translocational positionality aims to analyse both the self-identifications of individuals and the set of shared (or denied) practices and values linked to them. Therefore, identity is viewed as processual and performed, and dependent on (but not fully determined by) social structures. Consequently, it underlines the individual agency of actors while acknowledging structural premises in the creation of the narrative of self.

Location refers to the social spaces constructed around social division and identities such as class, gender, and ethnicity. Translocations reflect the constant movement of individuals

between these multiple socio-cultural spaces, indicating simultaneously ‘the increasing fragmentation of social life and the crisscrossing of borders and boundaries involved’ (Anthias, 2008, p. 9). Positionality designates the placement of an individual influenced by the structural features produced by the localities one is linked to with the ways they are answered through individual agency. Positionality includes the positions one has (an outcome) and positioning (practices, meanings, and actions). I conclude this section by quoting the definition of translocational positionality by Anthias (*ibid.*, pp. 15–16):

A translocational positionality is one structured by the interplay of different locations relating to gender, ethnicity, race and class (amongst others), and their at times contradictory effects. Positionality combines a reference to social position (as a set of effectivities: as outcome) and social positioning (as a set of practices, actions and meanings: as process). That is, positionality is the space at the intersection of structure (social position/social effects) and agency (social positioning/meaning and practice). The notion of ‘location’ recognises the importance of context, the situated nature of claims and attributions and their production in complex and shifting locales. It also recognises variability with some processes leading to more complex, contradictory and at times dialogical positionalities than others. The term ‘translocational’ references the complex nature of positionality faced by those who are at the interplay of a range of locations and dislocations in relation to gender, ethnicity, national belonging, class and racialisation. Positionality takes place in the context of the lived practices in which identification is practised/performed as well as the intersubjective, organisational and representational conditions for their existence.

### **6.1.1. Ethnicity**

As argued, individuals occupy various social locations that refer to different collectivities. Research on immigrant minorities highlights ethnic belonging as one type of identification.

I discussed the ontological status of ethnicity and its characteristics and links to nationalism in chapter 2. Here, I clarify the connection between ethnicity and translocational positionality.

Earlier, I proposed considering ethnicity as an organisational principle (Barth, 1994), an effect of social interactions (Baumann, 1999; Eriksen, 2013), and as individuals' self-consciousness (Cohen, 1994) constructed and negotiated within the limits of hegemonic discourse and social structures (Alonso, 1994).

Regarding translocational positionality, ethnic identification refers to only one role of an individual. Ethnic identification is experienced differently depending on individuals' position and positioning within the hierarchies linked to ethnicity. Ethnicity and other social positions such as gender, class, and occupation are interdependent and mutually influenced. In other words, ethnicity is dependent on an individual's other social roles and vice versa. Thus, ethnicity is not considered here as a determining identification, but as one of several individual poses. Moreover, the focus here is on the processual character of ethnicity and the heterogeneous experiences between people with different social positions within various locations.

In this chapter, the micro level of individual understandings of ethnicity is analysed with a focus on the dimension of a symbolic community. However, the contextual background of the analysis includes collective ethnic rhetoric, local leaders, and the macro policies organising ethnicity. These aspects were detailed in previous chapters, especially in chapter 1.

Having described the theoretical framework of this chapter, I discuss the empirical findings next.

## 6.2. Towards the Translocational Positionality of Drammenian Turks

This chapter provides a thick description of the declared practices of Norwegian Turks presented through a translocational positionality framework. The description is based on in-depth interviews with respondents born and/or raised in Norway. In the interviews, we discussed their self-portraits without self and daily routines. First, I describe the habits and relationships around the most important areas of their identification, namely family, Turkishness, religion, and friendship circles, emphasising the ‘spaces of foreigners’ within which youths of minority backgrounds act. I problematise respondents’ positionality within these areas of identification, indicating the influence of gender, age, and socialisation in Norway. Second, I discuss significant values, activities, belongings, and routines alongside aspects of daily life such as language, food, music, marriage practices, and gender relationships. By analysing respondents’ narratives on these issues, I identify the various social locations they relate to in their stories and the complex relationships between them. I focus on the meaningful collectivities respondents talk about, and indicate which values and practices are linked to these groups and how they are influenced by other social positions of the respondents.

### 6.2.1. Family Bonds

The most important identification for my respondents was family, including the closest relatives such as a spouse, children, parents, and siblings, as well as members of the extended family such as uncles and cousins. The meaning of family was often linked to mutual support:

To me, family means supporting each other and backing each other if one needs help.  
I have received much from my family (Can).

Deniz highlighted the importance of the members of the extended family. Striking in his statement is that only males from outside the closest family were considered important. He mentions uncles and grandfathers, but not aunts or grandmothers:

Yeah (...), my mom and dad and my grandfather, who lives in Norway, and the Turkish [grandfather]. He has died, but also had an influence on me. My uncles as well (Deniz).

The involvement of uncles and grandfathers, as stated by Deniz and other respondents, demonstrates extended family relationships in Turkish communities in Norway. As confirmed by the fieldwork, the extended families of all respondents lived in Norway, sometimes more than 50 people. These family members constituted respondents' most important social network. The involvement of uncles in the life of some respondents typified complex relationships based on the patriarchal dominance of older men over younger (or female) members of the family. As indicated by the fieldwork, uncles felt responsible for younger family members and had a strong capacity to influence their behaviour. The position of uncles in the family is supported by the idea of respect discussed later in this chapter, which stipulates that younger members should obey elders, who are obliged to help those younger. Deniz elaborated his uncle's influence on his life as follows:

They [my uncles] always imparted wise words on me. (...) I hated my uncles when I was 15, because they were sceptical of my life, what I did, what I did with my friends. One of my uncles is a policeman (...). He took me aside one day because the police were ringing. One day he arrived, took me aside, and said, 'What are you doing?' As such, they influenced me (Deniz).

Some respondents viewed the extended family as being of great value. My study confirmed that the social spaces of an extended family were arenas of daily activity and respondents' first important reference in terms of identification with Turkey. Family visits were considered a natural part of the weekly routine and took place often: 'On Saturdays, we mostly visit family. Either we have guests or we visit someone' (Elifcan). Furthermore, respondents' social functioning in Norwegian society was influenced by the values and practices shared

within extended families. Strong belonging to that group, confirmed by most respondents, formed the foundation to develop the feeling of home in Norway. Some respondents admitted that moving to Turkey was not an option for them, because their relatives lived in Norway. Understanding the ties in extended families is crucial for understanding the mechanism of integration in Norwegian society by Norwegian Turks. Having settled over the years in Norway and experiencing the family reunification process, Norwegian Turks created networks of support and socialisation within the kin group. Their lives are dominated by family contact, while remaining attuned to other Norwegian Turks, maintaining friendships outside the ethnic group, and participating in the Norwegian education system and labour market. This shift towards family should not be regarded as ethnic isolation, but as a consequence of influences from Turkey, where family life and family collectivism is prioritised.

Respondents reported that their family provided them with extensive support. Many emphasised their family as a source of help, both financial and organisational, including childcare and economic support. Financial support was highlighted, and according to respondents, is an important distinguishing feature of Turks (compared to ethnic Norwegians) and considered a marker of Turkish ethnicity:

Everyone says I am spoiled. Yes, I am spoiled. I am very spoiled, because they [my parents] have supported me financially, everything. I will tell you something: I have lived here [at my parents' house] for three years without paying rent. This is all thanks to my parents (Fatma).

Even though the practice of supporting children financially is not rare among ethnic Norwegians, according to Fatma, the financial help she received from her parents was a marker of Turkishness. Fatma, along with many other respondents, assumed that the financial help offered by parents is not the case in the families of ethnic Norwegians. For Norwegian Turks, the fieldwork proved that financial support within the family was mutual. Some respondents admitted to supporting or planning to support their siblings to repay their parents for the help received from them:

I had to give [my future wife] money [before the marriage in case] we separated. This is the only thing needed according to religion, but then culture enters the picture. For example, her family wants 20 gold bracelets [as the price] for the bride, or chains, or jewellery. Therefore, we bought 15 bracelets in gold, 15 pieces, and small chains and jewellery. We spent some money on it. I did not have permanent work at the time, and had no money. My family then helped me, and it was very important to me. I feel like I owe them a bit as well. I think that when my brother marries, then I will help mom and dad, because the system will be the same. As such, being family is very important: Having a good family (Can).

Such mutual help created mutual commitments. Consequently, this strengthened the ties within the family, as the dependence between relatives was both emotional and economic.

While all the respondents pointed out the importance of their identification with family, their actual position within the family's hierarchy differed according to age, gender, and the settings in which family contact occurred. Young fathers' independence as 'rule-makers' within their households transformed into interdependence or obedience when in contact with older male family members. The position of young women still living with their parents was subordinated, and they expressed little agency in setting the rules of the family. Later in the text, while discussing respect and gender inequality, I elaborate how younger and female family members reflected upon their unequal position within families and highlight the differences between men and women in their attitudes towards subordination.

### 6.2.2. Self-definition

The majority of respondents mentioned the issue of self-definition at some point in the narrative without being prompted. They tended to problematise the complex relationship between Turkish ancestry and Norwegian society, and tried to describe themselves in terms of traditional concepts of ethnicity. Their struggle to do so revealed the incompatibility of traditional ethno-nationalist terminology:

Am I Turkish or Norwegian? I concluded that the culture inside me is neither Norwegian nor Turkish. There is a new culture inside me, and it is a blend of Norwegian and Turkish. I cannot say that Norwegian or Turkish culture is innate. It is simply a blend (Elifcan).

I think I am more Turkish than Norwegian. I think so. However, much ties me to the Norwegian too. For example, I like to have privacy. I cannot say that I am completely Turkish either, because Turks (...) are very relaxed in most areas. I cannot say I am entirely Turkish, because I feel quite Norwegian in many aspects (Hatice).

Hatice's statement illustrates the phenomenon described by Kaufert (1977, p. 126) that 'every individual's definition of "in"- and "out" groups, and even his (sic!) primary response to the question "Who am I?" changes from situation to situation'. This is demonstrated by my respondents, who at the beginning of our interaction admitted being Turks and later confronted or confirmed this identification according to the circumstances we were discussing. This reveals respondents' translocational positionality and indicates that their changing self-definition according to different social contexts and particular identifications is influenced by their other positions.

Some respondents admitted that different circumstances in Norway and their ancestors' places of origin forced them to adapt and change their behaviour according to the situation:

It is difficult to position oneself in two different places. I cannot behave in Turkey as I do in Norway. I have to show more respect for others in Turkey. I have to be more helpful. When I am there, it is a completely different system. It is slightly difficult to explain, but if you know what I mean...There are many differences between Drammen and the [ancestral] village. It is slightly difficult to react to the two different places (Can).

Respondents' discussion on self-definition was usually followed by them explaining the differences between various groups and the places they related to. They problematised the



heterogeneity of Turks in general, as well as the differences between Norwegians and Turks and between Norwegian Turks and Turks. Heterogeneity within the Turkish community included the Sunni-Alevi division, and the alleged differences between people originating from different areas or villages in Turkey. The differences between the Norwegians and Turks, which were often addressed by respondents in an essentialising manner, focused on the tensions between Norwegian individualism and Turkish collectivism with its broad consequences, among other aspects:

For example, if you are Turkish, you do not need to call [someone to say that you will pay a visit]. You can just knock on the door and say, 'Hello, here I am, let us have coffee'. However, if you are Norwegian, you like some privacy, and you like people to call in advance so that you can plan. On the other hand, if you are Turkish, you are spontaneous, but I do not like it. I think that here I am a little more Norwegian. (...) Other things ... I think I am more relaxed in many things I relate to, for example, I think I am not as traditional as I seem. I think that I am very individualistic. Turks are not as individualistic (Hatice).

One respondent, while describing the tensions between the Norwegian and Turkish culture, reflected on the differences of being a woman in the two settings:

It is more difficult if you are a girl [in Turkey]. If you are a girl and walk alone in a forest [in Turkey], this becomes difficult. You will quickly encounter problems. (...) You should not greet [people you do not know] in Turkey, as it can be misunderstood, because of Islam and culture ... If you greet a man, they believe that you are not a good girl. This is specifically for girls, as boys are free. Girls though are more [controlled] (Arzu).

The statements above demonstrate that the respondents cannot be classified as either Turkish or Norwegian, and that their self-definition is context dependent. Furthermore, their experiences of acting in various settings are influenced by their various social positions and locations, for example, by gender.

While Arzu noted the differences between Norwegianness and Turkishness from a gendered perspective, Can offered the perspective from the position of a child, reflecting his memories of being raised in a Turkish family in Norway:

There are differences in how we were raised (...). I feel that we were not raised like other Norwegians. If this is anonymous, we were sometimes spanked, occasionally by dad: 'Now you have to do things properly'. This never happens in Norwegian families (Can).

Can's statement and other quotations presented in this section and further in the chapter indicate how respondents essentialise Norwegian society and Norwegianness. Can stated that spanking 'never happens in Norwegian families', which is certainly not true, even though it is illegal in Norway. Fatma assumed that Norwegian parents never help their children. Hatice regarded Norwegianness in terms of individualism, which may not be the case for all ethnic Norwegians. As such, respondents presented a homogeneous view of Norwegian society and Norwegianness, overlooking its complex and heterogeneous character, even if in other contexts, they may have reflected on the heterogeneity of Norwegianness. This mirrors the way in which Turks and Turkishness, or more broadly, Islam and Muslims, are regarded in the common discourse in Norway. However, as I try to confirm in this thesis, ethnicity (and religion) is just one characteristic of individuals' identification, and its character is processual, unfixed, and situational.

### 6.2.3. Religion

Along with family and Turkishness, Islam formed a significant identification and was mentioned *explicitly* by respondents. Respondents' attitudes towards religion varied from an intense relationship with God exercised daily in the form of ritual or regular prayer, to moderate religiosity:

I mention God every day, all the time. Before I go to bed. When I get up. Before I eat. (...) I ask him to look after me, look after my family, and to not let bad things happen. I thank God that I exist. (...) Mostly, I thank him. It is important to me (Cansu).

When it comes to faith, I am not super religious. I believe in God, and I know he is somewhere. However, I am not overly religious. I am in-between (Elifcan).

No respondents admitted to being an atheist. Some recognised Islam as an important axis of their identification that took precedence over Turkishness. They constructed their self-definition in relation to religion, and for them, participating in religious communities and the private exercise of prayer were important:

My religion describes me. As I said at the beginning, this is the most important thing in my life. This made me who I am. I pray five times per day. Sometimes at home, and sometimes at the mosque (Fatma).

The practice of *namaz*—a Muslim ritual prayer—was common among Sunni respondents, although only women admitted to the daily practice thereof. Male respondents indicated that they sometimes prayed, and generally prioritised the Friday prayer<sup>40</sup>, in which they often participated. Knowledge and attachment to Islam were developed and supported by participating in the Quranic schools at Sunni mosques. Some respondents noted that they received such education, and some that they offer this opportunity to their children:

[W]hen I was six, I started Quranic School. [I attended it] for ten years. I [learned] how to read the Quran and [about] religion and prophets. I learned everything there. After that, I have increasingly developed (Fatma).

My son usually goes [to the Quranic school] on Saturdays and Sundays from 10:00 am. They learn a little there (Burak).

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<sup>40</sup> Traditionally, Friday has the biggest meaning for Muslims. Men gather in the mosque on Fridays to pray in the congregation. The prayer is preceded by a lecture.

Generally, respondents identifying with Islam shared the belief that religion shaped them into better people. Some respondents provided explicit examples of how Islam changed their lives:

I feel that Islam made me who I am now. I feel that I have become a better person than before. (...) [M]y wife saw the negative things in my life and changed them into positives. She has somehow corrected my mistakes (...) I used to drink a lot of alcohol when I was at school. Now, I do not drink at all. I have not touched alcohol in two years. She has brought me closer to my religion. After I got married, I started visiting the mosque and praying a little (Burak).

Islam has become a tool for solving people's personal problems. In Burak's case, Islam was used by his wife as a means to stop his alcohol consumption. Many male respondents participated in dubious activities during their school years, including the consumption of alcohol and drugs, fighting, and activity in local gangs. This perpetuates the stereotype of the 'criminal' activities of immigrant youths, which holds fast in the public discourse in Norway. However, respondents' narratives revealed the complexity of this stereotype, which highlighted their extended family's constant concerns about their actions and the active involvement of ethnic-Norwegian youths in illegal activities. While the common discourse in Norway blames the immigrant environment for depriving youths, my research showed the opposite. In minority circles, it was common to criticise bad influences from modern Norwegian society as a source of minority youths' run-ins with the law. My fieldwork confirmed that both families and the Norwegian-Turkish associations aimed to prevent youths from dubious activities by creating alternative activities such as sports events and PlayStation facilities at the associations.

Turkish and Islamic values were emphasised in the narratives as those that contributed to the respondent's transformation and 'saved' them. My respondents' private stories, which I do not cite in detail for ethical reasons, all had a happy ending. All stopped their dubious activities because of the support they received from their families. Often, this was

accomplished by severing all contact with the ethnic Norwegian friends whose alleged degradation was still progressing at the time of the interviews. The process of change included the same stages: 1. Deprivation accompanied by constant, but unsuccessful intervention from parents and uncles over the years. 2. Inner transformation and regret. 3. Rapprochement of Turkish or Islamic values or increased engagement in family life. 4. Articulated consciousness of possible traps for their children and attempts to prevent them. Interestingly, only male respondents noted this problem. Female respondents did not report inappropriate behaviour during their school years. This could be attributed to the control exercised over girls in immigrant families, which has been reported by other researchers in the Norwegian context (Prieur, 2002).

Some respondents interpreted Islam as one possible way to God, focusing on equality between (at least some) religions:

I have great faith in Allah. He is present in my daily life. (...) It all fits together. We all believe in the same God, despite that we are Christian, Muslim, or Jewish. I think everyone should believe in God (Ayşe).

Similar threads of one God and multiple religions were raised by Kemal:

I think there are several ways [to God], but we will all eventually gather in one place. If one is a Jew, Christian, Muslim, or whatever, there are several ways, but [they] accumulate in one God. There are not 100 different gods. Christians have a God, Muslims have a God: It is the same God, although there are slightly different ways (Kemal).

The positive picture of Islam presented by the respondents and advertising and explanatory rhetoric on it addressed negative stereotypes about Islam and contrasted with the media-produced view of Islam as a religion of violence.

Attempts to reconcile religion and science were also present in the narratives of some respondents. These reflected the premises of the Gülen movement, despite that links to

Gülenism were not explicitly articulated. As such, it cannot be confirmed that respondents were aware of Gülen's ideas:

Islam is open for people and knowledge. There is no contradiction between religion and science. These two are complementary. God is the creator, although he used the physical laws and mechanisms we know from science to create the world. Scientific theories are still valid [while perceiving the world as created by God] (Yusuf).

However, not all respondents were able to integrate science and religion:

I am not that religious. It is difficult to be both religious and scientific. I have a scientific background. You see how things work, but you also hear somebody talking about these things in the name of religion. After that, you compare. You know what is happening. Therefore, it is difficult to be both religious and scientific. It is a paradox (Deniz).

Deniz was generally sceptical towards the symbolism of religious ritual. He raised the problem of imagined religious communities. He explained that in his childhood, Alevi religious practices were conducted in Sunni mosques in Drammen in the same way as performed by the Sunni Muslims. However, today, a separate system for Alevism has been developed and the trend to separate them from the Sunni tradition has become popular among Drammenian Alevis. Deniz found this attitude illogical, and it informed part of his criticism of religion:

In my early days, I came to this place or the other one we had, or actually to the Sunni mosque during Ramadan to perform the Ramadan prayer. When I was young, we did not have 'Alevi things'. During Ramadan, you would go to the Sunni mosque and pray as they did. Some years later, this issue suddenly arose: We are Alevi; we have to perform our rituals at our place. I am confused, because I do not understand it. I grew up following the Sunni tradition. Suddenly now, it is all this way (Deniz).

This statement touches upon the complex problem of Alevism in Turkey and the activities of Alevi communities outside the country. For Deniz, the situation was illogical. It is evident that his generation was the one already detached from the rural traditions of the ancestral village, as they were born and raised in Norway, but during childhood, had not yet experienced the Alevi's revival, growing up in the Sunni tradition. From the bigger perspective, however, the separate religious rituals may be considered as an expression of freedom of religion and identification of the Alevis. This may be so especially for first generation Alevi Norwegian Turks, who experienced the disadvantaged situation of Alevis in Turkey (Özdalga, 2012). Alevis in Drammen positioned themselves as separate from the Sunni Turks, and developed their own religious traditions by adapting patterns from their Alevi village of origin in Konya province. They also incorporated modern influences from the global Alevi movement. Apart from Deniz's case, discrimination against the Alevis in Turkey was generally acknowledged by Alevi respondents. The conversation with three Alevi respondents substantiates this idea:

**Arzu:** For example, Alevi inhabitants [of a village in Konya] could not say [in Konya] that they were Alevi, because there are many Sunnis who do not like Alevism. Therefore, we could not profess to being Alevi.

**Cansu:** The [Sunnis] then ask questions to test you.

**Arzu:** While all Alevis have a *cemevi* (a religious house), they ask: 'Do you go to the mosque?' 'Do you not cover your hair?'

**Ilke:** They notice if you do not cover your head. It says in the Quran that one should cover the hair. If you do not, you are not a Muslim. We receive many such comments.

Discrimination against the Alevis indicated in the conversation above and confirmed by other researchers in the context of Turkey (Özdalga, 2012; Özyürek, 2009) might explain the strength and unity of the Alevi community I visited in Drammen. I now focus on the identification of Alevi respondents with the Alevi Association in Drammen.

### 6.2.3.1. *Alevi Community as an Important Collective Identification*

Group identification differed significantly between the Alevi and Sunni respondents. While an important reference for most Sunni people was their extended families, not formal Turkish communities, the members of the Alevi Association identified strongly with the group, recognising its real impact on their personal lives. They were proud of their declared lack of conservatism and gender division in religious practices, which comprised the elements of their group boundary.

Most Alevi respondents pointed out the significance of the Alevi community they belonged to:

**Karolina:** Why is the community here important to you?

**Deniz:** Because they are good people who support you. The environment is relaxed, and there is no pressure. You see people playing games, and I usually drop in and join them. I do not actually attend the religious activities on Fridays, because I have football training.

The community was an important reference point not only in the self-identification process, but also in individual projection of the future:

It does not matter, but maybe I feel it will be easier if [my future wife] was Turkish. This is not because of me, but because of my community and friends. It would be easier. But just that, nothing else. It will be easier if she was Turkish, because she would be able to interact with my friends' wives. Not that they do not speak Norwegian. I do not know. They do speak Norwegian. I am open. I have had both Norwegian and Turkish girlfriends (Deniz).

Thus, identification with Alevism was important for the Alevi respondents, and it reflected the heterogeneity of the Turks in Drammen in terms of the dimension of Islam (Sunnism-Alevism) and the local place of their ancestors' origin.



Deniz mentioned having Norwegian girlfriends. In this context, I shift focus to the impact of gender on individuals' position in the hierarchies of particular communities. Both Sunni and Alevi male respondents admitted having Norwegian girlfriends in the past, although no female respondents claimed having a Norwegian boyfriend. While interethnic marriages are not particularly welcomed in the Drammenian Turks' more conservative circles, there is evidence that boys having Norwegian girlfriends before marriage is tolerated. This opportunity does not seem to be provided for Drammenian Turkish girls. Therefore, gender influences the position of an individual in the social hierarchies of different collectivities, from the family to formal Turkish communities. Experiencing Turkishness is thus gender dependent, and differs for boys and girls<sup>41</sup>.

#### 6.2.4. Friends

My respondents' friendship circles were dominated by people with diverse ethnic backgrounds. Generally, Norwegian Turks dominated, while ethnic Norwegians were underrepresented. This was consistent with the research conducted on minority youths in contexts other than Norway. These studies showed that while inter-racial and inter-ethnic friendships existed, they were less intensive and more challenging than those with members of the same ethnic group (see Kao & Joyner, 2004; Lee, 2015).

Fatma elaborated, 'I have several friends, but they are Turkish'. Elifcan added:

My friends are quite international. They are from Turkey and Norway. There are people who come from abroad but were born and raised here, like me. Otherwise, some people are from other countries, but came to Norway a few years ago.

Contact with ethnic Norwegians was usually not as intense as with 'international' people, the term used by respondents to refer to non-ethnic Norwegians. Kemal pointed out the paradox

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<sup>41</sup> Here, I refer to the polarised idea of gender as shared by respondents. However, I acknowledge the non-traditional and processual character of gender identification as a continuum.

of being from Norway and not having Norwegian friends: 'I have no Norwegian [friends]. I was born and raised in Norway, but have no Norwegian [friends]' (Kemal).

Cansu emphasised the differences in values between people with minority backgrounds and Norwegians:

When I am with Norwegians, when I am friends with them ... I cannot talk to them [about everything]. It is not the same, because I feel more at home with foreigners. Our values are more similar (...), and we share the same background. We are foreign. Although I was born in Norway, I am in a way not an ethnic Norwegian. It is easier to share ideas and thoughts [with foreigners] (Cansu).

Similar distance towards ethnic Norwegians was often repeated in the narratives. Many respondents shared Cansu's view that they got on better with non-Norwegians than with ethnic Norwegians. Can summarised the division between the Norwegians and people with minority backgrounds living in Norway:

I feel that us foreigners here could be from anywhere: from Poland, Serbia, Albania, and every possible country. We have our own culture here. Although we come from different places, we have something in common here. We consider each other family. Although I do not know or have never seen [him] before, I can quickly get to know him and befriend him over the course of two to three hours. However, I find this more difficult with Norwegians (Can).

Can's statement refers to the collectivity of 'foreigners' in Norway, in other words, youths raised in the country but with immigrant ancestry. He claims that they have created their own separate culture. This indicates that they are not in-between the dominant and majority culture, but have their own space that incorporates and makes sense of influences from the various social locations they relate to. These processes are similar to those observed by Çağlar (1997, 2001) among German-Turkish youths in Berlin, who contest the space of the city and through music, produce their own identity beyond ethnic boundaries. The 'space of foreigners' in Drammen is where respondents feel at home, as Cansu noted. Within this

space, respondents' unique positionality, which combines various social locations linked to different cultural traditions and their minority status, becomes the norm. Thus, numerous respondents identified the imagined community of minority youths in Drammen as an important collectivity they identify with.

### 6.2.5. Values

Norwegian Turks recalled the range of values they reportedly follow in their lives. They mentioned general moral values such as being helpful, honest, fair, faithful, tolerant, and loyal. As discussed earlier, some respondents mentioned Islam as the source of the values they followed in life. Kemal explained his 'triangle of values', which include the Turkish flag, Quran, and family. This triad can be regarded as the symbolic content of Turkish ethnicity, with which Kemal strongly identifies. Two respondents explicitly labelled the values they shared as Norwegian by referring to either *janteloven*<sup>42</sup>, a symbolic element of Scandinavian culture, or by criticising Turkish values:

Be honest, do honest things, do the right thing, be humble, be polite, do not consider yourself better than someone else, and similar things. The typical Norwegian things. (...) This might not be the topic of your questions, but *Janteloven* is always a good thing. It is always good to remain neutral towards everything. Maybe people can make some progress by standing up and saying, 'Let us do it like this, I know how', and to be sure about things (...). However, I am humble. Do your own thing and do not consider yourself better than others, even if you are and this is obvious. Take it easy and work with people in a relaxed way (Deniz).

I feel 50/50. I am not quite Turkish. I mostly realise this when I travel to Turkey and see the values in the country. Turkish and Norwegian values are completely different, and when my Turkish friends or family in Turkey adopt those values, I say that it is

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<sup>42</sup>The Law of Jante: A traditionally Scandinavian pattern of collective behaviour that does not prioritise individual success, but rather collective achievements.

wrong for me. I think like a Norwegian, which causes conflict. (...) I have discovered that I have a problem with them. In recent years, I have noticed it and [I have noticed that Turkish and Norwegian] values are different (Elifcan).

Despite a wide range of values shared by individuals, respondents repeatedly recalled some in various contexts. The most common was the broadly understood concept of respect. In the respondents' narratives, the concept of respect comprised several features. One interpretation involved demonstrating respect and obedience to older people as well as helping and supporting younger people. According to the respondents, this idea originated from Islam and is one marker of Turkishness:

In Islam, one is supposed to respect the elderly, while the elderly should show love to the younger (Cansu).

This Islamic idea was extended to the broader situation of modern society, including relations in the context of age, the professional context of leadership in the work environment, and the hierarchy in society:

I feel respecting one another should be prioritised. One should respect the other, regardless of one's position [in the hierarchy]. If one is higher in the hierarchy, one should be ready to help those lower down. Unless you help those below you, they will perhaps think about nonsense such as stealing. (...) However, if you helped those below you and helped them stand on their own feet, just help them a little (...), then I feel that society will be much better (Can).

The idea of respect was stated as being common in Turkish society:

In Turkey, people are closer to each other and one meets many older people. In Turkey, we are concerned with politeness in a different tone. When we speak of politeness, a different dimension emerges in terms of the elderly. I feel I have to look after that [when in Turkey] (Ayşe).

For example, the Norwegians say, 'One's name, come here'. However, it would not be good if I did this in Turkey. You should always say 'brother' (...) to show respect for him. *Abi* and *Abla*. You cannot merely ask someone to come using his or her name, as this is considered very disrespectful (Kemal).

Here, Kemal and Ayşe refer to vocabulary reflecting the hierarchies in Turkish society for age as well as social class or job position. This vocabulary includes the words *Abla* and *Abi*, which can be translated as 'older sister' and 'older brother' respectively. The use of these words extends the family circle, is present in the public space, and widely used in streets, shops, and work places. Usually, the terms are supplemented by other expressions adjusted to the circumstances, status, and intentions of the person speaking. Respondents stated that they followed these patterns of politeness in their Turkish circles in and outside Turkey, and that they incorporated these cultural habits into the markers of the boundary between the Turks and Norwegians. However, they did not expect (or perform) such behaviours from non-Turkish interlocutors. These patterns of politeness are exercised while acting within particular social spaces, but are regarded as unimportant or ignored in others, revealing respondents' complex positionality (Anthias, 2002, pp. 501–502).

Not all respondents agree with positioning within the hierarchies of respect, which depend on age, gender, social, and economic status. Some emphasised that respect towards older people should be mutual, and some openly criticised the expectation that the younger should respect the older without receiving the same reciprocated behaviour:

In Islamic culture, you should demonstrate respect to the elderly. However, it cannot be that the elderly show no respect to you. It must be equal (Ilke).

In Norway, you should do things by yourself. Do you want water? Go and fill your glass yourself. (...). In Turkey, children are expected to [do] different things, and when I reply. 'Do it yourself, you cannot expect me to do it for you', this is very rude. They respond, 'What are you saying?' To which I respond, 'Sure, it is you who should do it

if you want it. If I wanted it, I would do it myself. I do not ask you to do my things'.  
This sounds strange when you say it in Turkey. It is rude (Elifcan).

As Elifcan's statement confirms, her criticism of the Turkish value of respect stems from the influences of another social location she relates to, namely membership in Norwegian society. Furthermore, her position as young and female determines her unprivileged place in the social space within which the concept of respect is significant. Therefore, she does not benefit from it as much as older people or males. Several female respondents mainly of Alevi background expressed similar criticism concerning the lack of mutual respect. Male respondents, even if recognising the problem, tended to accept the inconvenience. Despite being treated in a way they disapproved of, they continued to show their respect for older people:

You must follow the everyday life of your family. In Turkey, you must respect those who are older, even if they are sometimes [wrong]. You have to say, 'Okay, that is my brother. He is probably right'. This is the way in most cases (Burak).

In the family, if they do not respect me, I respect them anyway. (...) I respect [my family] whether they respect me or not, because they are my family. I grew up with them and they are older than me anyway (Kemal).

The difference between the attitudes of men and women can be attributed to the consequences of occupying different positions in terms of gender. Generally, there is a link between respect and obedience towards older people and patriarchal ideology, in which women's position is always lower than men's. Females' criticism of disrespect towards younger people and women is perhaps an act demonstrating the fight for women's rights, influenced by the dissonance of their position as women in Turkish and Norwegian social spaces. In the traditional Turkish discourse, aging men will finally attain the point when respect will be paid back to them, although this is not necessarily true for women. Therefore, an early fight for their rights is crucial in attaining the expected life quality in all social

locations female respondents are linked to, especially those ordered by the patriarchal discourse.

Discussions on the concept of respect raised multiple ideas on the general organisation of society. The respondents voiced numerous values they connected to the functioning of society, as described below. Most praised freedom of speech and religion, human rights, and democracy in Norway:

**Fatma:** What I really appreciate in Norway is human rights, as they are very good at it. There is also freedom in Norway.

**Karolina:** What do you mean by freedom?

**Fatma:** Religion for example. No one cares what religion you follow or what you wear. In Drammen, they are familiar with foreign people, so they [are tolerant].

Often raised in the context of important values for society in general was having a job rather than using welfare services for the unemployed. However, this sentiment demonstrated an essentialising mood that assumed the homogeneity of Norwegian society:

I like democracy in Norway, as it functions properly. I like that if you ask a Norwegian 'What are you doing?', they will respond, 'I work'. They are proud of this. Usually, if someone uses NAV<sup>43</sup>, they are ashamed (Burak).

The idea of the necessity that immigrants contribute to Norwegian society within the rhetoric of a multicultural society, described in the final section of the previous chapter, was also voiced:

My uncle, my mother's brother, always says: 'You were raised here. You have received much from Norwegian society; therefore, you must give something back. You must contribute something to society'. Therefore, it is very important to me that

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<sup>43</sup> NAV provides welfare support to the unemployed.

I have so much here. I was born here, and I grew up here. I have so many things. I need to be grateful and give something back to society. This is very important to me (Hatice).

Moreover, the inklings of racism present in Norway and simultaneous necessity of immigrants' integration also emerged in respondents' narratives:

This is democracy. This is equality [which is important]. For example, work. When applying for a job, [there should be no prejudices towards us] because we do not have Norwegian names. Foreigners should also be provided with an opportunity in Norwegian society. They have to work, for example. They must integrate, because they live in Norway. (...) Everyone can live together without racism (Cansu).

Generally, appreciation of the democratic system in Norway was common and clearly articulated by respondents. They liked the organisation of Norwegian society and saw the advantages of freedom of speech and religion in relation to maintaining their religious and cultural practices. Some highlighted the current problems with democracy in Turkey. In addition, respondents supported the idea of integrating immigrants into society in terms of work, language, education, and obeying the law. This reflects the attitudes towards immigrants' participation in society expressed in the Norwegian Integration Policy (*Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013)*, 2012). In other words, respondents truly 'love the nation and its values' (Ahmed, 2014, p. 24), sharing the general discourse on democracy and immigrants' presence in Norway. This substantiates the significance of another collectivity respondents identified with, namely Norwegian society. This social location was important and as demonstrated, influenced their actions and reasoning within various socio-cultural settings.

The narrative on respect revealed the multiple interpretive contexts this value applied to. The first arena was family, within which the understanding of respect was connected to the discourses on and practices of interpersonal relationships based on age and patriarchal dominance. However, this understanding of respect was not only a source of obedience towards males and older people, but explained the support—financial included—received



by Norwegian Turks from their families. Other contexts in which the value of respect emerged were the work environment and the broadly understood society. These multiple meanings, divided here for analytical reasons, were treated by respondents as compatible and presented as dimensions of the same value of respect.

In addition to the concept of respect, another less popular and not widely articulated value was honour. The idea of honour is present in Turkish society, and somewhat infamous for its connection to so-called 'honour killings'. This term refers to patriarchal violence, which manifests in murdering the women in one's family as a 'punishment' for their 'inappropriate' behaviour. Through the murder, the family's good reputation is 'regained'. These patriarchal killings have attracted the attention of novel writers (see for example, Shafak, 2013) and the western media (for an overview, see Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009). The idea of honour comprises *şeref* and *namus* (van Eck, 2002). *Namus* is related to the purity of girls and women, while *şeref* encompasses general wealth. One dimension of the concept of honour is the power relationship at work. It is assumed more honourable to employ people than to be employed and work for someone. It was argued (ibid.) that those lacking *şeref* focus strongly on *namus* as the only available way to reach honour. Even though the role of the ideology of honour in oppressing women in and outside Turkey should not be underestimated, honour killings are an extreme consequence of this ideology, and while the female body still represents the main arena of a family's reputation, men can destroy the family's prominence too through behaviours such as constantly being drunk. The idea of honour as an important value was raised by three female respondents, who recreated it in its original version, which is common in rural Turkish areas:

The most important thing is honour, family honour. It is a bit about one's private life. Regarding family honour, you should be careful so that your name is not mentioned [in a bad context] in public, [so that it is not said] that you are not a good girl that no boy would want to marry (Cansu).

For example, if a family member drinks alcohol or is a gambler, he destroys the honour of your family and ruins the family's name. However, mostly girls are under pressure in Islam (Arzu).

The idea of honour was not directly articulated by the rest of the respondents. This does not imply that it was not an influencing factor in their lives.

### 6.2.6. Activities

My respondents were asked to name the activities that defined them and which they liked doing. Interestingly, most named sports activities including working out, playing football, and swimming, which reflected the passion for sports in Norway. Playing or watching football was especially common among male respondents, among which were supporters of the Istanbul clubs:

[I like] playing football and practicing football with my mates. We have an 'old boys' team with members aged 34 years and older (Burak).

I support a Turkish team too, Galatasaray (Can).

Despite differences in the types of sports, men and women were equally represented in terms of participation, and it constituted an important part of their daily or weekly routines. I did not notice limited participation in sports activities among females, although this was observed among young Norwegian-Pakistani girls by other researchers (Walseth & Strandbu, 2014). Thus, the underrepresentation of women in sports activities was not an issue in my research.

A popular activity related to outdoor life and sports was going on trips. This was done by many respondents and their families, and reflected a popular way of spending free time in Norway.

I like to hike. It is nice. I like nature and observing [things], and go out with my daughter (Hatice).

I like to hike in the forest. We have regular routines while we hike. We walk up there and look around. It takes around an hour and a half. We do it every day, as I like getting fresh air. I can ventilate my thoughts (Cansu).

Cansu explained why she enjoyed going on trips in Norway, but not in Turkey.

In Turkey, the many people there create a different effect. In Turkey, you cannot go for a quiet walk without anyone saying anything. The tradition and culture differ in Norway, where you can walk quietly. People are friendly and say 'Hello' to you. You say 'Hi' back. Here it is quiet, and you can think clearly. In Turkey, this is not possible. [If] you greet someone, they may misunderstand: 'Why do you say hello to me? Are you provoking me?' There are cultural differences (Cansu).

Cansu's experience of practicing the same activity in Turkey and Norway confirms that different social spaces linked to various physical localities influence the way the activities performed within them are regarded by actors and how their meanings are changed. Clearly, her status as a young woman contributes to the differences experienced, likely increasing their significance.

A passion for hiking was reflected as a formal club founded within the Alevi Association:

We have a club in the association. Every Sunday and Saturday, if the weather is fine, we go out with the association. This is nice, [because] there are many different age groups, so you can find someone, not necessarily your age, but with a similar personality who you can walk with. I have one a year younger than me, so we go along. My mom walks with some other people (Elifcan).

Respondents' engagement in sports activities reflected a popular way of spending free time in Norway. Commitment to sports likely signifies adaptation to popular lifestyles in Norway.

### 6.2.7. Belongings and Routines

The respondents mentioned a range of meaningful items. Among the most popular were the electronic devices used widely in modern urban areas globally, such as computers and mobile phones. In addition, bankcards and cars were mentioned. Their importance was based on practical reasons. One respondent mentioned a computer in a more symbolic way, connecting it to his career and passion: programming. The importance and universality of the modern items testified to the modern lives of their owners.

Besides practical objects, some Sunni female respondents mentioned praying carpets and Islamic books, thereby referring to their Muslim identification. Their statements confirmed the presence of Islam in their daily routines:

A prayer rug is [important for me, because] I am a Muslim. I think it is very special for me. [The prayer] is a moment in which I can worship God and in which I establish a direct relation with him. I can concentrate and thank God (Hatice).

Fatma presented a mix of modern, religious, and private things, revealing important areas of her life including her relationship with her husband, Islam, and a modern lifestyle:

The Quran, my phone, gifts and flowers from my beloved, and a prayer rug, which I bought in Saudi Arabia (Fatma).

Some respondents marked the importance of various types of books including religious and scientific books, as well as the biographies of learned men. One respondent mentioned his boat and the other his guitar. Both items referred to preferred activities to perform during free time.

Quite a few respondents mentioned their house as an important thing to own:

The most important thing is that you own a place to live. Instead of paying rent, you pay your own loan. Instead of throwing money out the window, one can save on a housing loan (Kemal).

Even though respondents' motivation to own a house was practical, as demonstrated in Kemal's statement, this trend may have been influenced by Norwegian policy, in which house ownership has been important since the 1940s. It is estimated that 77% of Norwegian households own a house, and between 90 and 95% of Norwegians have owned a house during their lifetime (Sørvoll, 2011, p. 22). Renting is not especially popular, and some scholars claim that ethnic discrimination is evident in the rental market (ibid.). These structural factors influence the popularity of home ownership among respondents.

The range of items respondents highlighted as significant revealed the areas they identified with and the dimensions of their daily routines. The importance assigned to modern devices portrayed respondents as members of a modern society who are attached to new technologies. Items referring to Islam clarified the religiosity of some female respondents, while the priority assigned to owning a house reflected common trends in Norwegian society, in which it is rather preferred to own a place to live than to rent one. That important items were linked to different identifications of the respondents proves that they refer to multiple and sometimes contradictory social locations, while mastering shifting between them.

Regarding respondents' daily routines, a regular day reflected the modern lifestyles of people in Norway, including going to work, driving children to school and extracurricular activities, and eating dinner at home. Some respondents' daily routines included family visits or meeting friends. An ordinary day was regulated by the rules organising Norwegian society, and work and education were understood as the common duties of people of a particular age. Furthermore, respondents' clothing reflected modern fashions including the brands and styles popular in Norway. Some Sunni women adapted the hijab to the modern clothing style. Daily practices also revealed the popularity of 'Norwegian food' such as potatoes, fish, frozen pizzas, and semi-ready meals. While Turkish cuisine was incorporated into the boundary of Turkish ethnicity and eaten during celebrations, the easy-to-make meals popular in Norway were eagerly consumed by young respondents who did not live with their parents.

Respondents' routines did not stand out from the ordinary practices of people with similar family and class situations in Norway, regardless of ethnic background. This is an overlooked sign of adaptation to Norwegian society in major areas such as the labour market, education system, and ways to spend free time. Respondents' routines were ordered structurally and dependent on social, cultural, political, and economic influences linked to the particular social and economic classes respondents belonged to. Economic resources determined where they tended to settle and the activities they could afford to participate in during their free time. As part of a routine, these structurally shaped, non-ethnic activities governed my respondents' daily lives. Alongside distinctive cultural features such as celebrating Turkish traditions, sharing Islamic ideologies and discourses, and speaking Turkish, they completed the image of respondents' translocational positionality.

#### 6.2.8. Language

Language constitutes an important cultural practice, marking the boundaries of Turkish ethnicity in Norway. Depending on socio-cultural settings, language may serve as a factor of both inclusion and exclusion. All my respondents are bilingual, and communicate in both Turkish and Norwegian in their everyday lives. Turkish is mainly spoken to parents and older family members, and according to respondents' statements, with friends of Turkish origin. Many respondents admitted that during conversations with their siblings and Norwegian-Turkish spouses, Turkish and Norwegian were often unconsciously mixed. This confirms that respondents experienced codeswitching between the two languages. Due to practices of importing spouses and the limited skills in Norwegian among first generation immigrants from Turkey, mainly women, Turkish remains an important means of communication within the family. Some respondents admitted to not being as fluent in Turkish as in Norwegian: 'I talk a bit in my native language, because I do not speak Turkish very well. I grew up in Norway, and have forgotten Turkish' (Arzu). Some respondents were able to name the areas in which it was easier for them to use a particular language:

For example, it is easier to speak about religion in Turkish than in Norwegian. We have many Arabic words [in Islam], and Turkish is similar to Arabic in a way. Regarding religion, it is easier to speak in Turkish. However, it is otherwise the same (Fatma).

Yes really, it is easier for me to talk about academic things in Norwegian and about emotions in Turkish (Hatice).

Two respondents admitted feeling more comfortable speaking Turkish: '[Turkish] is the language I use at home. My mom spoke to me [in Turkish] when I was a child. I think in Turkish. As such, I do not know, but I will probably speak Turkish with my [future] children' (Deniz). Norwegian Turks usually pass Turkish on to their children, many for practical reasons such as enabling them to communicate with their Turkish-speaking family. Some regard it as an element of heritage. However, respondents, especially women with small children, also acknowledge the necessity of fluency in Norwegian. One respondent chose a remote kindergarten so that her children could obtain a proper education in Norwegian:

[My children] receive good aspects from both cultures. They are not raised as [pure Norwegians]. They are not. I have a Turkish background, but they were born here. They speak Norwegian. I want them to be fluent in Norwegian to be well integrated. There are four kindergartens where we live, but we drive slightly further to a Norwegian kindergarten so that they learn Norwegian well. They do not attend a Turkish school. We drive far, (...) so that they can learn Norwegian while they are small (Ayşe).

Thus, fluency in Norwegian is considered an important goal in raising children. As clarified in a previous chapter, fluency in Turkish, declared by many respondents, was not the case in some circumstances. Many respondents noted experiences in Turkey in which their Turkish became an excluding factor and marker of foreignness<sup>44</sup>. While the Turkish spoken by respondents in the Norwegian-Turkish community was a marker of a group boundary, it

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<sup>44</sup> Compare this to the German-Turkish context in Grasmuck and Hinze (2016).

imposed outsider characteristics on the respondents in Turkey, because of the specific accent and lower level of fluency than that among native Turks from Turkey. This demonstrates how the same practice determines the different positions of respondents in the various social locations they act within. The Turkish language constituted a symbolic element of Turkish identity in Norway, and was shared by respondents. All defined themselves with reference to this language. In turn, the Norwegian language was equally widely spoken by respondents, but was not symbolically referred to. Rather, it was provided with a practical character and provided opportunities to succeed in Norwegian society. Fluency in both Turkish and Norwegian was considered necessary to operate smoothly in the different social locations respondents related to.

### 6.2.9. Food

Food culture is important in Turkey and constitutes an important and articulated boundary of Turkishness:

We have very good food in Turkey compared to Norwegian food. Here, it is simpler. I do not like it. I prefer Turkish cuisine, as do the Norwegians if they [have an opportunity to] try it. They say: 'Oh! That is tasty' (Fatma).

For example, on 17 May, we grill the food. During the summer, we eat meatballs, chicken, and fish—anything that can be grilled. *Bayrams* are changeable holidays, so there are different seasons. We then eat more traditional [Turkish] food (Hatice).

As indicated by Hatice, Turkish food has a festive character for Norwegian Turks. Furthermore, my respondents often linked it to the food received at home from their mothers: 'Food from my mother is beans and potatoes...Turkish dishes. If I do not get anything, I eat what I find in Kiwi, *mikromat* [food from microwave], or a sandwich. Nothing special' (Kemal). While Turkish food traditions were still present in the Norwegian-Turkish



community, most respondents adopted meals popular in Norway in their daily routines, which they found easier to make than Turkish food:

On an everyday basis, we eat mostly Norwegian food. However, when I have time during the weekend I prepare dinner with some Turkish food. [Norwegian food] is spaghetti, sausages, fish, or just potatoes or rice. Norwegian food is simple and easy to prepare (Ayşe).

Ayşe's statement shows how the Norwegian mixes with the global, contributing to the assumption that internationalised food such as spaghetti, which is offered in urban Turkey too, is Norwegian. Ayşe admitted that she learned how to prepare Norwegian food at school:

My mom could not make Norwegian food, so I became interested in learning how to make it at school. (...) I would then prepare it at home, for example, cakes. I can make many Norwegian cakes that are not in our culture (Ayşe).

Many respondents admitted eating exclusively halal meat. Therefore, Norwegian and international dishes were prepared using only meat obtained through ritual slaughter: 'I like to eat everything: meals made from all types of meat. The only criterion is that the meat is halal. I am very picky about it' (Burak). Pork is also excluded from the menus of most respondents: '[We eat] mainly Turkish and typical Norwegian food such as potatoes, fish balls, and sausages. This is everything. We do not cook pork, as we do not eat it. We eat everything else, yes' (Deniz). However, in a further discussion, Deniz admitted that while eating in public, he does not pay attention to whether the meat is pork or not. Generally, the attitudes expressed towards halal meat and pork were twofold. The view was either orthodox, which meant avoiding non-halal meat including pork, or more relaxed, where the halal rule was followed at home, but not outside.

The Norwegian Turks incorporated eating habits from outside the Turkish culture, including international and Norwegian dishes, into their daily routines. While Turkish cuisine still comprised an important reference point, especially during celebrations, meals popular in

Norway dominated the daily tables of most respondents. Turkish cuisine, in turn, was consciously made into a group boundary. The examples of language and food represents the changeable character of the cultural stuff involved in ethnicity, as proposed by Barth (1969, 1994). While Turkish food and language were incorporated into the boundary of Turkish ethnicity, respondents communicated in the Norwegian language and ate food assumed Norwegian daily, but without assigning these activities a symbolic meaning. This also reveals how complex translocational positionality influences respondents' practices, the character and meaning of which changes according to circumstances. Practices connected to various social locations emerge on particular occasions and not on others.

#### 6.2.10. Music

The Norwegian Turks in Drammen actively listened to Turkish music:

[I listen to] alternative music. Many people are very good in Turkey, producing music better than most famous international bands. However, many groups are not famous. I listen to both Turkish music and the same type if I find other groups. Spotify has the 'related artists' feature through which you can discover other groups (Deniz).

[I really like music.] Turkish folk music. Maybe also rock and Turkish folk-rock music (Kemal).

I only listen to Turkish music (Arzu).

Turkish dance was also popular among respondents: 'I like Turkish dance very much. I am the first to start dancing [when they play the music]' (Kemal). Turkish music and Turkish dance, popular among most respondents, were especially important for members of the Alevi community. The community offered Turkish dance classes and Saz, a Turkish guitar, lessons. This contributed to maintaining Turkey's musical heritage. In Alevism, music and dance play an important role. One respondent described the spiritual feeling he shared while playing music. 'I mainly express myself by playing music. (...) The words you sing and notes you play

show how you feel' (Kemal). Turkish music emerged as an important part of respondents' daily routines, especially the Alevi, for whom music was a means of religious expression as well. Turkish music constituted part of Alevi respondents' social positioning (Anthias, 2002, pp. 501–502) within locations connected to Alevism.

### 6.2.11. Marriage Practices

Marriage practices are a good example of respondents' strong ties with Turkishness. The fact that the patterns of marriage were similar among respondents spotlights the structural influences they are exposed to from Turkish communities in and outside Norway.

Norwegian Turks tended to marry partners within the Turkish ethnic group, and as such, they tended to take heteronormative marriages for granted. A strong tendency for exclusion was observed, manifesting as expectations to marry a person originating from the same village and religious background. Marriages were especially exclusive in the Alevi community, and the phenomenon of imported spouses was common. The spouse was usually brought to Norway either from Turkey or from Alevi communities in European countries. A marriage on paper preceding the religious ceremony was also common, because of visa regulations in Norway. The wait time between submitting the visa application, which must include proof of marriage, and granting the visa is approximately nine months according to respondents<sup>45</sup>. Furthermore, the spouse based in Norway has to submit proof of income to support the partner's visa application. For the community, the wedding that matters is a religious ceremony. Consequently, respondents happen to be married on paper, but still live with their parents and are waiting for their spouses to be granted a visa. After that, the ritual marriage is performed, and the couple is allowed to live together.

**Cansu:** [I am married] on paper, but not in a ceremony. There has been no wedding yet, and it will take place next year. (...). We do not live together. We cannot live

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<sup>45</sup> However, according to the information obtained in an email conversation with the Norwegian Embassy in Turkey, the waiting time for family reunification can be as long as 18 months.

together before getting married. We are married on paper, but we must also have the wedding ceremony.

**Karolina:** Why did you not organise both ceremonies together?

**Cansu:** We could have, but I preferred to wait. We were not ready yet, so I preferred to wait until next year.

**Karolina:** Why did you not wait with the paper wedding until next year as well?

**Cansu:** Because I wanted to start working on [my husband's visa] application and apply for a visa right away.

The story of Cansu was not unique among Alevi respondents. Kemal was waiting until his wife from an Alevi community in Europe arrives in Norway to start living together. He met her through Facebook, likely after prompting from the parents, who are relatives:

My mother and her mother are cousins. (...) I got to know her on Facebook. We have never met in person. In Turkey, our homes are relatively close. (...) However, we did not know each other, and never saw each other for 25 years. Suddenly, we met on Facebook, and ... that is how it was (Kemal).

The exclusive Alevi marriages are not unique in relation to the patterns common among Sunni Norwegian Turks. However, importing spouses and restricting oneself to people from one's ancestral village was typical, especially for the Alevis, among whom the practice was more commonly observed than among the Sunni respondents. This can be explained by the fact that the Alevi community is relatively small, making finding a spouse in Norway outside the closest family difficult. In addition, the Alevi village in Konya is the only one in the area. One respondent noted the traditional reluctance of Alevis regarding marriages with Sunnis and vice versa in both groups. This reluctance, accompanied by the common will in Norwegian-Turkish families in Drammen to marry children to a person whose family one knows, made Alevis rely on transnational relations with Alevi communities in and outside

Turkey to arrange marriages. Most marriages in the Norwegian-Turkish community in Drammen were arranged or at least accepted by the family, and relationships between the two families influenced the marriage arrangement. In other words, one cannot simply marry a person. Rather, the marriage is considered a mutual agreement between the families of the spouses, whose good morals and origin must be mutually recognised. These exclusive marriage practices of the Alevi reflect the division between the Sunnis and Alevi in both Norway and Turkey, rather than greater conservatism in relation to marriages among the Sunnis. As such, we deal here with an example of the influence of the geographic location of the Alevi village in Sunni-dominated Konya province and of cultural and political tensions between the Sunnis and Alevi in Turkey on the lives of Alevi Drammenian Turks.

Respondents generally acknowledge the problems accompanying the importation of spouses. Those who were already married to people from Turkey mentioned the difficulties their spouses had with language, loneliness, and adapting to the culture and climate of Norway. Female respondents mentioned the traditional attitudes of their imported husbands and their lack of understanding the rules in Norway. Among other things, Turkish husbands could not accept that their wives greeted male friends:

He [my husband] has been living in Norway for almost two years. Yet, he does not know anyone but my family and me. He is also without his mother and father. As I said, there were language and social problems, and he had no friends (...). He was very depressed, because he arrived in winter and it was dark here in Norway. Here, the winters are long and dark. He was alone until he began to attend a Norwegian course. It improved a little after this. There were some problems with culture, he considered the things I did as wrong (...) For example, my male friends. He did not accept that I greeted my male friends, because this is not done in Turkey. In Turkey, it is completely wrong (Arzu).

Tensions between spouses raised in Norway and Turkey clarifies that what is considered Turkish in Norway has undergone major changes, and that the general attitudes and

behaviours regarded as neutral and adopted by Norwegian Turks are viewed as inappropriate by some in Turkey. This was also confirmed during my fieldwork in the villages of Konya province, where a local respondent asked about marriages between the villagers and people who grew up in Norway, noted:

Of course, there are differences. They grow up in a different place. (...) Because of these differences, the number of marriages [between villagers and those living in Norway] decreased. [If they separate], they do not really say why. It is against our Islamic values [to] walk around with your spouse [holding hands]. A friend from university greets, and they cannot take it (Bayazid, translation: an interpreter).

Neutral acts in Norway such as holding hands and greeting friends of the opposite gender were provided as examples of cultural differences. These observable differences were accompanied by more serious tensions, which Ayşe reported. She complained about her husband's—who is Turkish born—lack of housework:

The worst is that he [my husband] is at home now. He does not work and he is used to me doing all the housework. He does not do anything. I have to manage everything myself. After the weekend, I am completely burnt out. On Monday, when I go [to work], I am like that 'uffff'. Generally, I [should] relax during the weekends, but it is not like that. I am quite tired over weekends (Ayşe).

In some cases, as mentioned by Bayazid from a village in Konya, differences between spouses born in Turkey and Norway end in divorce. In other cases, marriages last as a form of frustration or as a constant attempt to reconcile contradicting values. Bringing spouses who grew up in other European countries seemed easier; however, problems with language and adaptation to the labour market were the major concerns of respondents:

[My wife] is also born and raised in (...) Europe. [This European country] and Norway has the same climate, the same type. However, there are some problems, because she [has to] learn Norwegian. She worked as [a job type]. She has resigned from her

job now to get here. She says, 'I am bored at home, I have nothing to do'. For this reason, I think that when she gets here, it will be slightly depressive until she learns Norwegian and starts working, because when I am at work, she will be at home alone, bored. Therefore, it will be stressful for me to finish a bit earlier at work and not leave her alone (Kemal).

Besides marriages with imported spouses, which were common among the Alevi and female Sunni respondents, marriages with fellow Norwegian Turks comprised the second dimension of exclusive marriage practices and prevailed among male Sunni respondents. Some male respondents searched for wives through the rhetoric of hunting:

**Burak:** I was in [a Norwegian city] and then I saw her on the street and I terrorised her via phone (laughs), and I said that I wanted to meet her. After that, we met and chatted.

**Karolina:** How did you know that she was Turkish?

**Burak:** She was with other Turks in [the city]. I asked around who she was. She was from the same village as me. [I thought] 'Okay, I need to get her phone number'.

**Karolina:** Were you attracted to her because of your village of origin [in Turkey] or because of her?

**Burak:** It was both her and [the village]. (...) I would write messages to her and she would not answer. I would call, and there would be no answer either (laughs). Suddenly, one day she replied. We can meet, no, yes, no, yes. We finally met, and continued to chat. It became longer [It took time], maybe two to three years, because she was going to school at the time. Finally, it went well.

This humorous story of 'terrorising' a girl with phone calls and messages reveals the fear among Norwegian-Turkish males articulated by Can:

You should find a proper girl who is right for you, for example, who has not been with other guys before. It was very difficult to find a good girl in Drammen, because if you want to find a girl from Turkey, she must learn Norwegian, which takes a long time. Therefore, it is easier to find her here. I met her [my wife] because my mother and her mother know each other quite well, but we are not family. We met her at a wedding, and got to know each other. I thought that if I found a good, decent girl, I cannot take the risk of waiting [to marry her], because if I wait [I may fail to eventually marry her]. The Turks marry very early here. It is very important to search [for a spouse] early to find a decent girl (Can).

The fear expressed by Can included the 'risk' of not finding a 'proper' girl in Norway, which would lead to dealing with the integration of a spouse imported from Turkey. His statement highlights issues connected to *namus* (van Eck, 2002), which were discussed earlier in this chapter. A girl's respectability depends on whether she 'has been with boys' before or not. Another aspect of Can's statement is linked to issues of adaptation. My research confirmed that respondents regarded the issue of a spouse's integration into Norwegian society as problematic and inconvenient. This demonstrates their awareness of the differences between them and the Turks from Turkey. Can's statement discretely revealed the participation of female family members in arranging a marriage. Traditionally in Turkey, women search for appropriate spouses for their children and introduce the couple. Usually, approval from both sides is required before the marriage can be performed. Elifcan explains how this process is usually conducted by Norwegian Turks:

Some [weddings] are arranged. What happens often during Turkish weddings [in Drammen] is that mothers hunt for girls. They see a girl and show her to their son. If the son likes the girl, they start talking and the case then goes further to the family. It has sometimes happened that a girl is not interested in a particular spouse. In that case, the marriage arrangement is not completed (Elifcan).



While Elifcan touches upon the problem of reluctance towards the wedding from the future bride or groom's side, Yusuf reported his own story of experiencing problems in terms of gaining approval for the wedding from his wife's family for various reasons including a different village of ancestral origin. The marriage was eventually concluded, and as the respondent stated, he became his wife's parents' favourite son-in-law after a few years.

The marriage practices of Drammen's Norwegian Turks are based on a strong exclusive pattern that includes importing spouses from Turkey, marriages within the group of Norwegian Turks, separation between the Alevi and Sunni, and a preference to marry people originating from a similar area in Turkey. The weddings are organised either in Norway or Turkey, and the Turkish-style ceremony is retained. A large number of guests are invited, and sometimes more than 300 people attend. In some cases, the tradition of 'paying for the bride' was followed.

The spouses of female respondents tended to be imported from Turkey, while male respondents married females of Turkish origin born and raised in Norway or other European countries. Most weddings were arranged, although this process differed from the stereotypes regarding the forced marriages of Muslims in Europe. Spouses often got to know each other through family networks. Most male respondents strongly articulated the will to marry a particular person. The personal will of female respondents concerning the choice of a spouse was absent in the narratives, except for one Sunni respondent who dedicated a substantial portion of the interview describing her positive feelings for her husband. Given that, I argue that the families strongly influenced the marriages of women. Female respondents' consent to marriage was in many cases an attempt to meet the requirements of the family and a consequence of the particular patterns of girls' upbringing common in rural Turkey, rather than the personal will of a woman to marry a particular person, as for male respondents. However, my research did not confirm that forced marriages occurred in the Turkish community. It seemed that the strong opposition of a woman against marriage ended in cancelling the ceremony. Unfortunately, this cannot be substantiated by data, as

no one reported such a case. The difference between the active role of males and passive roles of females in the process of marriage arrangement shows how gender shapes the positions of people within Turkish families in Norway. I problematise this more broadly in the next section.

Marriage practices, which are similarly organised throughout the Norwegian-Turkish community in Drammen, were not considered as markers of group boundaries and not included by respondents within the scope of important cultural practices. Neither was gender separation observed in the Sunni context. This is discussed in the next section.

### 6.2.12. Gendered Relationships

The following section presents the role of gender in the experience of individuals' positions in various social locations and vice versa, and how experiences of gender differ in the context of age and within different social spaces.

The reflection on traditional division of male and female roles was present in respondents' statements, either as expectations of the wife's future duties or, as in a statement by Elifcan, as *explicit*, highlighting the differences between Norwegian and minority males. However, this was from an essentialising perspective to Norwegians and people with a foreign background:

When my wife comes, I obviously cannot watch TV all the time. When we will be together, (...) I will have to adjust to the new situation. We will have to go shopping, and my wife will prepare food and help out. Everything will change (Kemal).

Norwegian boys are more like ... they contribute to the things at home: in the kitchen, cooking, and helping at home. Norwegian boys are better at it than those with a foreign background, because for boys with a foreign background, their mothers always do these tasks. Thinking that way, maybe I should get engaged to a Norwegian (Elifcan).

Generally, women were more conscious of the inequalities between genders, while men tended to take the situation for granted, having no reflections about the inequitable distribution of rights and duties. Certainly, this is based on the more inconvenient experiences of being a young woman in the context of Turkish families and communities. Nevertheless, even if traditional gender roles were still followed in Norwegian-Turkish families, the consciousness of women of gender equality provides palpable evidence of changing attitudes in the Norwegian-Turkish community, and has been affected by the Scandinavian discourse on equality. This confirms the findings of Prieur (2002) on gender construction among immigrant youths in Norway. She argues:

Feelings of obligations and debt toward the parents are strong, as well as adherence to traditional family values. Still, there is clearly a tendency that ideas about individual rights such as women's and children's rights to decide over their lives are gaining influence (Prieur, 2002, p. 53).

This influence is also reflected in the gradually changing attitudes of some men towards sharing household chores:

I cook if she [my wife] comes late. (...) [My] kids like the food I make very much. I have heard this not only from my children, but from the others too. (...) [The children] go to school now, and because we have to be at school at eight, I have to get up early to take them to kindergarten and school. (...) I must [share the household chores with my wife], otherwise it will not work (Burak).

Furthermore, all the female respondents participated in the labour market, which signifies a change towards the modern compared to the average in Turkey where in 2016, only 30% of women aged more than 15 years participated in the labour market according to the World Bank. One female respondent admitted having double employment to earn enough money to satisfy her husband's visa requirements: 'I work in [a company] and as extra help in a kindergarten. I have to make enough income to bring my husband here' (Cansu). This is an example of gender equality in the dimension of participation in the labour market enforced

by the Norwegian immigration policy. The role of the main breadwinner was imposed on Cansu, who was expected to earn a predetermined income to bring her Turkish husband to Norway. This can be evaluated positively as encouraging women with minority backgrounds, who are planning on importing a spouse, to participate in the labour market. On the other hand, it forces people who study, for example, to begin their professional careers earlier than planned. Consequently, this can negatively influence their achievements at school. Postponing the process is not always possible, because of family expectations that women or men marry at a certain time such as directly after completing their education. Thus, the immigration policy imposes specific requirements on Norwegian citizens wanting to import foreign spouses, but does not protect them from the patriarchal influences of their families. Again, as Wikan (2002) emphasised, the Norwegian immigration policy betrays less privileged groups, in this case, youths and especially young women. To try to meet the expectations of conservative families to marry at a certain time and the income requirements of the Norwegian visa system stipulated to import a spouse to Norway, young respondents had to reconcile unnecessary employment with their studies, lowering the quality of their education. These disruptions are the price they pay for the right to education.

### 6.3. Conclusions

In this chapter, I discussed the everyday routines, identifications, and value system shared by respondents by adopting a translocational positionality framework. Through an analysis of their practices and elements of their self-portraits without self, I identified the multiple collectivities they referred to in their everyday actions, namely the family, a vague group of Turks and Muslims, community of 'foreigners' in Drammen, Norwegian society, and the work or school environment. Even though all respondents participated in all these areas, most constructed their narrative around the axis of the widely understood Turkishness that encompassed common practices and values in Turkish society and among ethnic Turks. The second important axis was Islam, which primarily included the religious traditions typical of

Turkish Sunni Muslims<sup>46</sup>. Narratives focusing on work and social life were rare and delivered only by young unmarried respondents. The identifications not mentioned explicitly by respondents could only be identified by analysing their narratives about their everyday practices. I argue that all the depicted social locations were equally important, as they mutually influenced each other. Respondents were able to shift between these locations, adapting their behaviour according to the social situation engaged with.

Besides those connected to identifications with groups, respondents' important social locations were linked to their age and gender, which strongly influenced their experiences of and performance within other social locations. This was especially visible for the relationship between gender and being Turkish and Muslim. Women were more critical than men of the patriarchal structures of power within Norwegian-Turkish families and in Turkey. They also pointed out the differences between experiencing womanhood in Norway and in Turkey, drawing attention to safety concerns and the necessity of changing their behaviour in Turkey. The youngest respondent was the most critical of Turkish values. This can be explained by the fact that of all respondents, her gender and age positioned her in the least privileged position in the Turkish context.

Besides gender and age, the position of being a member in the flat hierarchical and democratic Norwegian society tended to influence several respondents' experiences of Turkishness. They reported changing their standards of politeness within more Turkish contexts, and many criticised the limitations of democracy in Turkey. On the other hand, the position of being a member of a minority group strengthened their appreciation of Norwegian equality, which was referred as a value they identify with and are proud of. In addition, I observed that in relation to the general order of society and work, their opinions mainly reflected values common in Norwegian society. For example, they criticised

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<sup>46</sup> The practices common in Turkish Sunni Islam also emerged in the narratives constructed around Turkishness. However, those who constructed their narratives around the axis of Islam did not connect their discussions to the secular values and practices common in Turkey. Since the religious axis was chosen only by respondents with a Sunni background, I refer here to the practices of Turkish *Sunni* Islam.

immigrants who abuse the social help system, and insisted that all immigrants including their imported spouses learn Norwegian as soon as possible and find work. At work, they praised the flat hierarchy, mentioning Janteloven in this context.

Regarding interpersonal relationships and the values linked to them, respondents referred more often to patterns of behaviour common in Turkey. It seemed that in the private context of family and/or religious community, their positioning as Turks and Muslims emerged, while in the public context of school or work, values and practices common in Norwegian society prevailed. Interestingly, being young and female lowered respondents' position in the hierarchy in terms of social locations connected to Turkishness. This is in contrast to their privilege compared to the position of first generation immigrants in Norwegian society, mostly because of fluency in the Norwegian language and culture. It was possible to observe these and other nuanced relationships between respondents' positions within particular locations and their processual positionality by adopting Anthias' translocational positionality framework. Respondents' identities cannot be closed in narrow definitions of ethnic or national belonging. They also cannot be summarised based only on respondents' social class, gender, or job position. Only the complex combination of all the social locations respondents related to, the relationships between these locations, their mutual influence, and respondents' social positioning and positions could provide a complete picture of respondents' identity at a specific moment in time. This was the only way to explain the changeable, often contradictory ways of performing particular practices in various circumstances.

Respondents' orientation to Turkishness, which was reflected in how they constructed their narratives around this identification, may be attributed to the discourse on the othering of immigrants, especially Muslims, in Norway (Andersson, 2012; Bangstad, 2011). Since Drammenian Turks' 'natural' belonging to Norway has been questioned, this shift towards Turkishness was crucial for maintaining the compact self-definition and avoiding a feeling of being from nowhere. On the other hand, being born outside Turkey and a foreign accent in Turkish cast doubt on respondents' belonging to Turkey as well. Respondents pointed out

the differences between them and prospective or actual imported spouses, and noted that they adapted their clothing and behaviour while in Turkey. Indeed, the sources of practices and values assumed as Turkish but exercised in Norway date back to the 1960s and 1970s and refer to the rural origins of respondents' ancestors. The changes these practices have undergone over time proceeded differently than changes to similar practices in Turkey, leading to differences in their current meanings and interpretations. Consequently, I suggest that the orientation to Turkishness refers to something that can be assumed as 'Norwegian Turkishness', a specific way of performing Turkishness that has adapted to the circumstances of Norwegian society. The new, processual, and unfixed quality of individual practices as an effect of absorbing the influences of Turkish, Norwegian, and global cultures is rooted in Norway and constitutes a way of integrating in the new homeland. This process is invisible and slow, and hidden behind a strong identification with stereotypical Turkishness, but present and moving forward.

## 7. Engaging with Heritage

In the previous chapter, which discussed the everyday practices of Drammenian Turks through a translocational positionality framework, I illustrated among other things how particular sets of habits and value systems became more significant in some social locations, giving way to different patterns of behaviour in others. I also argued that the emergence of a new identity was observed among respondents. This identity is neither Turkish nor Norwegian, but a new quality that cannot be reduced to something in-between. Rather, it is shaped by negotiating the way everyday practices are performed in relation to the structural features of Norwegian society and ancestral influences.

Here, I continue the discussion on respondents' complex positionality by analysing their engagement with heritage in the context of the multiple social locations they act within. Furthermore, I elaborate the emergence of new elements of heritage that can be linked to this unique identity in becoming. The idea of cultural heritage often refers to the concept of the historicised identities of people. Essentialist approaches to ethnicity apply the rhetoric of inherited identities, the sets of cultural patterns of behaviour accompanying them, and a common past to legitimise its existence. As demonstrated in previous chapters, my respondents, motivated by the discourse on exclusion present in the dominant society and a longing to Turkey represented by Norwegian-Turkish communities, shared these common conceptualisations of fixed ethnic identity and employed the common past of Turks to create complex narratives of self. Later in the conversation, they often revealed a more nuanced character of their self-definition. Considering this, I probed how respondents used the past as something new in the present, focusing on their heritage performance. I believe that knowledge on the recreation and transformation of cultural heritage enhances understanding of respondents' complex situation. Furthermore, it clarifies the creation of



the new, processual identity emerging under the influence of Norwegian and Turkish value systems and patterns of behaviour.

As such, this chapter focuses on the interplay between the heritage linked to respondents' different social locations. I investigate how respondents' ancestral heritage has adjusted to the circumstances of the new homeland, and the engagement of Norwegian Turks with Norwegian heritage. Furthermore, I explore the ways in which minority heritage was incorporated into the official heritage of Norway.

The chapter comprises two main sections: theoretical and empirical. In the first section, heritage and its links with nationalism are conceptualised. Following this, the meaning of national heritage in the context of the discourse on a multicultural society is analysed<sup>47</sup>. In the second section, I criticise the concept of the diaspora, linking it to heritage studies. Drawing on the work of scholars such as Soysal (2000), Brubaker (2005), and Ingold and Kurtilla (2000), I propose a theoretical approach to analyse heritage that does not overlook its processual character. In the empirical section, the focus is on individual and institutionalised performances of heritage by Norwegian Turks in Drammen. I present the diasporic moments of respondents (Brubaker, 2005), wherein their orientations to Turkishness emerge, and their engagement with Norwegian heritage, namely the 17 May celebrations. I demonstrate the heterogeneous character of diasporic moments, which is reflected in incorporating elements of Norwegian and Christian heritage into ancestral traditions, for example. Furthermore, I show that individual interpretations of inherited practices are adapted to the local environment within which they are recreated (Ingold & Kurtilla, 2000).

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<sup>47</sup> In chapter 5, I defined the meaning of the discourse of a multicultural society, and discussed the nuances of this understanding of multiculturalism. In so doing, I demonstrated that the culture of origin is limited to safe folklore, while participation in society is in accordance with Norwegian rules. At the same time, immigrant minorities are not accepted as part of the dominant norm.

## 7.1. Conceptualising Heritage

Contemporary denotations of heritage comprise a range of tangible and intangible elements ranging from entire landscapes to small stones, and from broad value systems to institutionalised traditions (Harrison, 2013, p. 5). Heritage is a human product, and as Lowenthal (2005, p. 81) states:

Heritage denotes everything we suppose has been handed down to us from the past. Although not all heritage is uniformly desirable, it is widely viewed as a precious and irreplaceable resource, essential to personal and collective identity and necessary for self-respect. (...) What comprises heritage differs greatly among peoples and over time, but the attachments they reflect are universal.

Heritage involves an intentional 'production of the past in present' (Harrison, 2013, p. 5). It is not given, but made (Harvey, 2001, p. 336), and therefore should not be regarded as 'an objective entity out there waiting to be discovered or identified' (Wu & Hou, 2015, p. 39). Graham (2002, p. 1004) claims that 'heritage is as much about forgetting as remembering the past'. He contends that multiple heritages exist, the meanings of which change 'through time and across space' (ibid.). Heritage can be individual or 'state sponsored' (ibid.), and used as an educative apparatus of the nation state (Harrison, 2013). Harrison (2015, p. 306) regards heritage as a process. He elaborates in an optimistic way, underlining the opportunity to create our futures by controlling the creation of heritage:

Heritage is not a passive process of simply preserving things from the past that remain, but an active process of assembling a series of objects, places, and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future. Thinking of heritage as a creative engagement with the past in the present focuses our attention on our ability to take an active and informed role in the production of our 'tomorrow' (ibid., pp. 309–310).

Harrison's final point on controlling the future by controlling the creation of heritage is too simplistic; however, his idea of heritage as a process is noteworthy. I suggest that the production of heritage is a complex process involving various actors and institutions. Even if it can be regulated on an individual level, heritage as a collective and shared value will always remain a compromise based on the interaction of several powerful actors. Consequently, vulnerable individuals are excluded from the creation of collective heritage. As such, heritage involves power relations, and following the logic of Harrison, the projection of our future depends on powerful actors within families and small communities as well as those nationwide.

Building on the approaches to heritage described above, heritage is understood here as a constantly recreated representation of the past in the present, never objective, and based on the current needs of particular groups and the power relations within them. Heritage is created through the processes of remembering and forgetting, and can be represented in tangible and intangible elements or as some scholars propose, by anything (Harrison, 2013).

### 7.1.1. From National to Globalised Heritage

Several scholars maintain that heritage is tied to a nation-state, which influences its meaning (Gnecco, 2015; Graham, 2002; Hall, 1999; Olsen, 2004). Graham (2002, p. 1004) claims that 'heritage does not engage directly with the study of the past. Instead, it is concerned with the ways in which very selective material artefacts, mythologies, memories, and traditions become resources'. Gnecco (2015, p. 266) states that heritage is 'brutally taken out of history' to transform it into a national symbol. Olsen (2004, p. 39) adds that heritage has become part of institutional practices within nation-states, disconnecting from the experiences of the group to which it was originally attached. For nation-states, heritage has been de-historicised (Gnecco, 2015, p. 266), and its new meanings serve to maintain particular nationalist narratives. Thus, heritage is a discursive practice (Hall, 1999, p. 5), a tool with the help of which 'the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social

memory'. Hall (ibid.) calls the outcome of this process—a consistent 'national story'—'tradition'. For Hall, the process of creating national heritage through 'storying' is analogous to that occurring among individuals and families. Drawing on Hall's work, I propose that families create their own heritage that intermingles with the heritage of a nation(s). In the case of diasporic families—those that identify themselves with nations from outside the territories of their settlement—constant negotiations occur between the heritages of the diaspora and the heritages and circumstances of new homelands. The effects of these negotiations are reflected in the unique ways individuals and families perform heritage.

Naguib (2013, p. 83) argues that the stable idea of heritage was challenged at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by complex and often dissonant understandings of identity, or rather, identities and polyphonic collective memories. Certainly, the wave of post-war migration has contributed to that complexity. Naguib proposes extending the heritage discussion 'beyond the confines of national territorial connotations to incorporate migrants and diasporas' (Naguib, 2013, p. 83).

Some researchers (Arokiasamy, 2012; Prescott, 2013) advocate the necessity of including the heritages of migrants and diasporic communities in the ethnically homogeneous discourse on nation-states in Europe and acquiring the rights to European heritage for minorities. Canada has already incorporated the discourse of diversity into its heritage (Leung, 2006), and officially invites immigrants to contribute with their cultures to society. Besides Canada, multiculturalism in various forms, understood here as the system of managing diversity enforced by countries, has been adopted by the US, Western Europe, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2016, pp. 101–121)<sup>48</sup>. However, as demonstrated in the UK context by Arokiasamy, integrating the heritage of immigrants in the official channels of heritage preservation and celebration such as in museums and festivals is usually limited to 'superficial and safe topics like fashion, cooking,

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<sup>48</sup> For a more detailed discussion on heritage in multiculturalism, see Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge (2007).

hair care, and migration, and lacking in substance, creativity, and research' (Arokiasamy, 2012, p. 342).

Interconnections between heritage, nationalism, and ethnic diversity were succinctly summarised by Gnecco (2015, pp. 269–270):

Heritage in multicultural times is thus not linked to national identities as explicitly as it was before. In their absence, a multicultural identity has still to come forward, if that ever happens, unless, of course, we accept that the identity a multicultural society can exhibit is a sum of its parts. It cannot be linked to a historical consciousness, at least not in the way the nation conceived it.

Clearly, it is widely acknowledged that the processes of global mobility and changing character of European nation-states from (officially) homogeneous to (officially) diverse or multicultural has challenged traditional understanding of heritage and provoked discussions on minority heritage within the context of the nation(s). In the next section, I clarify the interconnections between the concept of heritage and diaspora, proposing an analytical framework for this chapter that unites heritage and diaspora studies.

## 7.2. Conceptualising the Diaspora

Diasporic communities are characterised by sharing transnational identifications that extend beyond the borders of their new homelands. These references are rooted in the (imagined) past, and employed to satisfy present needs in the same way as heritage. Therefore, I consider that the diaspora and heritage are connected, as both employ the past to satisfy the present needs of people and institutions. A diaspora cannot exist without heritage, as only through the maintenance of heritage, which comprises memories of the past, can diasporic identity be realised. Consequently, I incorporate the concept of diaspora into the analysis of Norwegian-Turkish heritage in this chapter. Next, I describe the characteristics of the concept of the diaspora as well as its theoretical implications and limitations.

Brubaker (2005) distinguishes three core characteristics of a diaspora: dispersion, orientation to the homeland, and boundary maintenance. Dispersion is the most widely accepted feature of a diaspora and can be regarded as any kind of dispersion, ranging from forced to voluntary (*ibid.*, p. 5). Orientation to homeland is the idea of an idealised and imagined place of origin and longing to return there. Clifford (1994, pp. 310–311) contends that '[t]he language of diaspora is increasingly invoked by displaced peoples who feel (maintain, revive, invent) a connection with a prior home'. He argues that the diasporic myth of return is not always true for members of a diaspora, and can be replaced by the will to recreate and maintain the homeland culture beyond the limitations of the borders of a nation-state. The concept of boundary maintenance relies on Barth's conceptualisation of ethnic groups and boundaries (Barth, 1969). In addition, Brubaker (2005, p. 7) notes that the crucial element of boundary maintenance is permanence, which aims to overcome '[t]he erosion of boundaries through assimilation' over generations.

Clifford (1994, p. 311) marks the difference between people of a diaspora and immigrants. He explains that immigrants are characterised by being from somewhere else, while people of a diaspora live in an 'alternative public space that cannot be reduced to national boundaries' (Daswani, 2013, p. 35). For Vertovec (2004, p. 282), 'diasporas arise from some form of migration, but not all migration involves diasporic consciousness'.

Furthermore, religion may serve as a facilitator in maintaining diasporic identity. The classic Jewish diaspora has been constructed around religious identifications. However, Cohen (1997, p. 189) argues:

[R]eligions can provide additional cement to bind a diasporic consciousness, but they do not constitute diasporas in and of themselves. Hinduism is professed by many in the Indian diaspora; Armenians are often followers of the Catholic Armenian Church or the Armenian Orthodox Church; many Irish and most Italians are Catholics; Judaism and Sikhdom unite many diasporic Jews and Sikhs. Such an overlap between faith and ethnicity is likely to enhance social cohesion. However, even secular members of those communities are part of their respective diasporas, while some

diasporas (the Lebanese, Africans, and Dutch, for example) have mixed ethnic backgrounds. The myth and idealization of a homeland and a return movement are also conspicuously absent in the case of world religions. Indeed, one might suggest that their programmes are extraterritorial rather than territorial.

As such, religion may play an important role in the diasporic discourse, although religion itself is not likely to be diasporic. This statement is consistent with Clifford (1994, p. 308), who considers religion a facilitator in the creation of a diaspora, and as an idea of nation and identification with a particular continent, as in the case of the African American descendants of slaves.

A common and important tool to maintain diasporic heritage is heritage journeys 'home'. These journeys can be classified into two categories. The first group comprises temporal, short-term visits that are technically a type of tourism. Researchers refer to this group as 'diasporic heritage trips' or 'pilgrimage tourism' (Reed, 2015) to 'symbolic homelands', the destinations of such trips (Chan & Cheng, 2016). Another type of travelling home is 'return migration'—albeit a misleading term—which involves settlement in the country of ancestors' origin. Some researchers refer to this as 'heritage migration' (Grasmuck & Hinze, 2016) or 'counter-diasporic migration' (King & Christou, 2010). Grasmuck and Hinze (2016, p. 1961) elaborate that there is

a range of possible motivations behind heritage migration, including 'reactive ethnicity' related to discriminatory experiences in host countries, job and lifestyle opportunities, inherited parental longings for the homeland, and desire for greater cultural belonging, as well as the pull of extended family ties.

Short-term trips are motivated by the desire to spatialise diasporic identity by experiencing the imagined home. According to Reed (2015), these travels have two dimensions. One is to encounter a physical meaningful place, and the other to confront the time understood as a particular narrative of the past. Thus, pilgrimage tourism becomes a secular ritual breaking with everyday routines, offering to actors a new perspective for the construction of identity.

Deep experience of the ancestral homeland may even elicit the desire to settle in it (Reed, 2015, pp. 387–388).

### 7.2.1. Criticism of the Diaspora

As elaborated above, the concept of a diaspora relates to a dispersed group of people, who maintain a memory of their collective past and feel attached to the places of their ancestors' origin, regarding them as homelands. Understanding a diaspora in this way overlooks its ties with new homelands and ignores the positionality of members of the diaspora. Consequently, the notion of a diaspora has been criticised by some scholars as inconsistent with the diverse global cities of Europe today. Soysal (2000, p. 2) reasons:

Diaspora is the location where (...) background finds meaning. Diaspora is a past invented for the present, and perpetually laboured into shapes and meanings consistent with the present. As such, it exists not as a lived reality but as part of a broader scheme to insert continuity and coherence into life stories that are presumably broken under the conditions of migrancy and exile. It is the reification of categorical homelands, traditions, collective memories, and formidable longings. It is a category of awareness, in which present tense practices lack capacity in and of themselves, but attain significance vis-à-vis the inventiveness of the past.

Soysal criticises the diaspora as an analytical concept, emphasising its heavy reliance on the model of the nation-state, and stating that it is not applicable to the current globalised processes of human mobility. She uses the example of first generation Europeans inhabiting 'the immigration capitals of Europe' who

negotiate and map collective identities which are dissociated from ethno-cultural citizenships (Bauman 1996; Soysal 1999). They appropriate their identity symbols as much from global cultural flows as host or home country cultural practices. As 'youth subcultures', they are increasingly part of the global (Soysal, 2000, p. 11).



Consequently, diaspora as an analytical concept ignores the reflexive practices of actors, implying that they reconstruct habits and create their identity based only on the past (ibid.). Other researchers have also debated the incompatibility and essentialising character of the concept of diaspora. Chan and Cheng (2016, p. 9) contend that

[i]n an era where mobility is the norm, the fixed and durable notion of home and diaspora is no longer applicable. Instead, multiple fluid and flexible relationships and meanings exist, depending on one's position and location.

To overcome the problem of the essentialised belonging associated with diaspora, Brubaker (2005) focuses on diasporic practices, rather than diasporic groups. He states:

I want to argue that we should think of diaspora not in substantialist terms as a bounded entity, but rather as an idiom, a stance, a claim. We should think of diaspora in the first instance as a category of practice, and only then ask whether, and how, it can fruitfully be used as a category of analysis. (...) [R]ather than speak of 'a diaspora' or 'the diaspora' as an entity, a bounded group, an ethnodemographic or ethnocultural fact, it may be more fruitful, and certainly more precise, to speak of diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices, and so on (ibid., p. 13).

Drawing on Brubaker's idea of diasporic stances as well as on the criticism of diaspora delivered by Soysal (2000), I do not consider the Turkish community in Drammen through a diasporic framework, as this limits the analysis to their orientation towards Turkish heritage. Instead, I assume that this group is characterised by diasporic moments understood as the practices, identifications, and narratives that refer to their ancestral homeland, Turkey. These emerge on particular occasions, but do not determine respondents' lives. The diasporic moments discussed here include identifications linked to the Turkic peoples of Anatolia, use of symbols referring to the Ottoman Empire, the commemoration of glorified events in Turkish history such as the Battle of Çanakkale<sup>49</sup>, and diasporic heritage trips.

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<sup>49</sup> Also known as the Dardanelles Campaign or Battle of Gallipoli.

I illustrate these diasporic moments by describing the engagement of Norwegian Turks with various heritages, by defining the situations and settings in which they occur, and by discussing their complex character. In so doing, I continue the discussion begun in the previous chapter on respondents' translocational positionality, which indicated how the various social locations of individuals provoke different sets of practices and how their different roles mutually influenced each other at all times.

Now that the relation between heritage and diaspora studies has been described, I explain the processual character of heritage recreation.

### 7.2.2. Heritage in Becoming

The processual character of heritage can be better explained using the theory of local traditional knowledge by Ingold and Kurttila (2000). This theory refers to engagement with the natural environment in small, rural communities. However, I consider it useful in understanding the socio-cultural conditions of peoples' everyday lives in urban settings as well.

Ingold and Kurttila analyse the concept of traditional knowledge, distinguishing between 'MTK (traditional knowledge enframed in the discourse of modernity) and LTK (traditional knowledge as generated in the practices of locality)' (ibid., p. 184). The authors associate MTK with the genealogical model represented by the state apparatus and 'based on the idea that the rudiments of make-up and identity that go together to constitute a person are received, along one or several lines of descent, from that person's ancestors, and will in turn be passed on to his descendants. (...) This assumption (...) isolates the intergenerational transmission of knowledge from environmentally situated experience' (ibid., p. 185). The authors associate MTK with 'cultural heritage' as it is understood in the genealogical model (ibid.). Meanwhile, local traditional knowledge refers to the knowledge of local people, and includes the skills they obtained through engaging with the environment by improvising and imitating their ancestors' practices. These practices gain individual variations and are

adapted to the current environment. As such, they undergo a constant process of change, rather than representing a stable pattern of traditions passed down from generation to generation. Local traditional knowledge ‘does not lie “inside people’s heads” (...). It is rather a process, one that is continually going on. This process is none other than that of people’s practical engagement with the environment’ (ibid., pp. 192–193). Even though the concept of LTK relates to the engagement with nature of members of small rural communities, I consider it useful in analysing the recreation of ‘inherited’ practices by people in urban contexts, as mentioned. Similar to the natural environment, individuals respond to urban settings through the technical, structural, cultural, and ideological opportunities and limitations inscribed in urban spaces and places. The LTK approach is especially relevant in the context of migrating practices or diasporic practices in the terminology introduced earlier (Brubaker, 2005). Diasporic practices are the practices of immigrant minorities popular in ancestral homelands and now performed in new homelands. Since the local circumstances of the new homeland often differ from those in the ancestral one in terms of the natural and man-made environment as well as structural and cultural factors, diasporic practices must be adapted to the different climate and shape of cities, as well as to different norms that limit that acceptable and that not, what is lawful, and that available and how to replace elements that are not. Thus, to maintain practices and traditions inherited from their ancestors, individuals adapt them to contemporary times and to the different circumstances of the new society they live in. The concept of LTK enables recognising local influences on inherited practices, regardless of whether this local represents the natural environment or the urban context including cultural, social, and structural influences.

Inspired by Ingold and Kurttila (2000), this chapter analyses the adaptation of cultural heritage—MTK—to new circumstances by individuals and therefore its transformation into LTK. MTK comprises the practices and knowledge passed down ‘*prior* to their retrieval and application in context of practice’ (ibid., p. 191). It regards traditions as a substance meant to remain unchanged. This is obviously not possible, so the transformation of traditions is explained by the imperfection of the process of transmission, while tradition itself remains a

fixed idea. In LTK, tradition is a process (ibid., p. 192) that reflects the performance of inherited practices here and now, without considering whether their recreation meets the ideals of MTK. Even if a person is aware that particular things should be done differently, this does not invalidate her way of recreating tradition. Engagement with heritage in real time reveals its processual character, which is stimulated by individuals' active engagement with their socio-cultural and material environment. Thus, heritage is not reproduced by 'acting out a script received from predecessors, but by literally negotiating a path through the world' (ibid., pp. 192–193). The performance of heritage is constantly in motion, reacting and adjusting the remembered and imagined past to the present circumstances. Understanding heritage in this way enables transcending the problems of the historicised and bounded concept of diaspora, and allows an analysis of individuals' fluid approaches to cultural heritage. However, one should remember that the current ways of recreating heritage by individuals in real time depend on the broader discourses in modern society and its structural features. While Ingold and Kurttila (2000) are concerned with how genealogical cultural heritage is recreated by local people within a particular environment and with the process of learning through active engagement with this environment, the focus of this chapter is on the former. As such, Ingold and Kurttila inspire the theoretical approach to heritage in this chapter, although their conceptualisation is not used in its complete form here.

According to the logic of MTK that identities and cultural practices are inherited from ancestors through separation from the local environment, Turkishness was imposed on my respondents because of their blood ties with Turkish ethnicity. The sources of this imposition were external—from the dominant Norwegian society—and internal, from Turkish families and communities in Norway and elsewhere. This essentialist identification was accompanied by a set of abstract values and practices assumed as Turkish and formed into a group boundary. While respondents acknowledged both identification and practices, confirming them at the beginning of our interaction, further investigation revealed that the ways they recreated inherited practices were the outcome of negotiations between the ideas of MTK passed to them and the local circumstances of Norway. These circumstances included the

natural environment; specific settings of the city they inhabited; and the social, cultural, and structural contexts they acted within. The new qualities occurring as the result of these negotiations constituted their LTK, which is processual and based on practice, not fixed and given.

This chapter aims to provide insight into the new practices that emerged during the active recreation of heritage through adapting Turkish heritage to the Norwegian reality and negotiating the performance of celebrations of Norwegian heritage within Turkish families. Besides the focus on individual engagement with inherited practices, the exercise of heritage on more collective levels is also elaborated. As such, the chapter focuses on the micro level of the individual and family, mezzo level of local communities, and macro level of celebrations of Norway's national heritage. The first part of the empirical section discusses heritage on the individual level, focusing on individuals' fluid approaches to various traditions and the past. The second section, while still interested in individuals' attitudes towards heritage, analyses heritage on the institutional level, as it is delivered by institutions and governments.



Photograph 29 Churches of Drammen (1).

### 7.3. Heritage on the Micro Level: Individual Engagement with Heritage

In previous chapters, I demonstrated how the everyday lives of Norwegian Turks are shaped by the multiple contradictory social locations they act within including the Islamic, Turkish, and Norwegian discourses. The same processes are evident for respondents' engagement with heritage. Islamic heritage intermingles with Turkish, strengthening their identification with Turkishness. On the other hand, I observed that Norwegian heritage, which is delivered



Photograph 3011 Churches of Drammen (2).

through the education system, and national discourse are combined with the Christian heritage around which the everyday lives of Norwegian Turks is organised (calendar of yearly holidays is driven by both Christian and national festivals) and which saturates the city landscape. (The architecture of churches dominates Norwegian cities (Photographs 29 and 30), and the cross is a universal symbol of medical help and pharmacy facilities.) This section is dedicated to analysing how these influences shape the individual ways of performing practices assumed as

heritage. I begin by elaborating on traditions, and then describe the trips to ancestral homelands, which are assumed crucial for 'reconnecting' with the 'real origin'. Finally, I clarify the values turned into heritage by respondents, who stated their wish to pass them down to their children.

### 7.3.1. Traditions

According to Hall (1999), traditions are carriers of heritage. The Norwegian Turks in Drammen have followed a wide range of traditions originating from Norwegian, Turkish, and global cultures, adapting each to their needs by responding to the socio-material circumstances of their everyday lives. For sure, Turkish traditions are important markers of the identity of Norwegian Turks, even though the way they are celebrated differs across individuals and families. The most celebrated traditions are festivities originating from Islam, namely *Kurban Bayramı* and *Ramazan Bayramı*. The former, known in English as the Sacrifice Feast, commemorates the sacrifice of Abraham, while the latter is a ceremony celebrated at the end of the fasting month Ramadan. Respondents indicated that they try to follow the traditions by recreating the way they are celebrated in Turkey. This involves a common meal and visiting family and friends:

We try to celebrate together as it is done in Turkey, but it is not the same. For example, in Turkey, everyone celebrates, neighbours ... walk around and visit others, and everyone enjoys the same pleasure, similar to Christmas here. Everyone shares the same joy (Ayşe).

Nevertheless, as Ayşe noted, the current character of the celebrations is not the same as in Turkey. Since the celebrations are not marked as official holidays in Norway, Norwegian Turks have to reconcile work with the festivities. Elifcan explained that Eid, as some interviewees referred to *Bayrams* in Arabic, is celebrated within the Alevi community. To participate, they must take a day off work:

We celebrate Eid with the association. Although it is a Saturday, people take the day off work and we meet early in the morning at the association. We congratulate each other and eat breakfast together. We then distribute the gifts (Elifcan).

While all the respondents celebrated Islamic holidays, their religious dimension was not discussed. For most, religious traditions seemed to play the role of a secular event. This reflected a 'deficit of meaning', as described by Olsen (2004). Here, traditional practices were separated from their initial religious and spiritual meaning, and adapted to the secular circumstances of the everyday lives of modern people, gaining new meaning and becoming new qualities.

One respondent admitted *explicitly* his lack of interest in the symbolic aspects of *Bayrams*:

I do not focus on symbolic things. However, I believe in something, I believe in what they call an intelligent design. Doing meaningless symbolic things does not mean anything to me. I am there [participating in religious ceremonies] because my grandfather is happy if he sees me, but they do not pressure me (Deniz).

Among the traditions from outside the Turkish cultural circle, attitudes towards Christmas are noteworthy. Most respondents do not celebrate Christmas, although they mark it in some way. For many, it is free time to spend at home enjoying the extra money they receive from work on the occasion thanks to the tax deduction in December. Children celebrate Christmas at school with fellow pupils by dancing around the Christmas tree and singing Christmas carols. Respondents recalled participating in this practice out of respect to Norwegian society. All female Alevi respondents reported that they decorated their houses with lights and stars, and exchanged Christmas gifts with friends or within the family: 'We decorate the windows of our house for Christmas and share gifts, mostly with friends' (Cansu). Furthermore, a few respondents celebrated Christmas in the same way as the *Bayrams* are celebrated:



For Christmas, the whole family gathers in one's house. (...) We do it for all celebrations. We celebrate *Bayram* in the same way, rotating between two to three houses. We have a [Christmas] party with dinner, food, and gifts. We are less crazy about the gifts. We buy small things (Hatice).

Thus, Christmas is celebrated or marked in terms of secularised aspects such as decorations and gifts. Its religious dimension is ignored by Drammenian Turks, mirroring the process of the loss of meaning and new meaning creation (Olsen, 2004) mentioned above.

Hatice highlighted that she buys Christmas gifts for her neighbours to improve interpersonal relations. She explained that she was inspired by her Norwegian-Turkish mother's habit of exchanging Christmas gifts between neighbours. She described her motivation as follows:

[T]here were three or four families who lived in the same building in apartments. I had neighbours living below me. I had no contact with them. (...) I felt like every time I greeted them, I never got a 'hello' in return, which I thought was odd. I thought, 'What can I do to break this barrier?' (...) Then, Christmas came, and I bought Christmas gifts for everyone in the building. I knew none of them. I managed to reach two families, while the third did not open the door. Both families were shocked when they saw gifts and they looked at me. I wear a religious veil as well, so they found it strange that a Muslim women had bought them Christmas gifts. They thanked me and suddenly, there was a change in tone [after that]. They were very shocked. The next time I greeted them, they replied, and even greeted me first. It was a completely different tone (Hatice).

Traditionally in Turkey, neighbours play an important role in one's life, even though in modern urban areas this relationship has changed after being influenced by more individual lifestyles. Hatice noted that she attempted to improve her relationship with the neighbours, because it was important in Islam:

Islam says that neighbours are important. You have a moral responsibility to your neighbours. For example, the Prophet Mohammed, may peace be with him, says: If your neighbour sleeps hungry, you should feel responsible for that. You must be able to observe your neighbour's situation so that you can help. When I think about it, it was also very important to me [to have contact with my neighbours]. I have a responsibility towards my neighbours as well (Hatice).

Interestingly, Hatice's idea of buying Christmas gifts was motivated by Islamic rules of coexisting in society. She used a practice popular in Norwegian society to fulfil the requirements of Islam, thereby materialising Islamic values through practices linked to Christian religious celebrations. This example indicates the fusion between a Muslim worldview and practices popular in Norwegian society, and demonstrates how inherited practices gained the dimension of LTK (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000), adapting to and being influenced by the circumstances of the new homeland.

Another striking sign of mixing traditionally Norwegian and Turkish practices was described by Ayşe. She admitted to using an advent calendar—small, sweet gifts delivered to children each day during the 24 days preceding Christmas—in celebrations during the fasting month of Ramadan:

We do not celebrate Christmas at home, but for example, my children go to Christmas parties. (...) They like it, and they wanted Christmas gifts. (...) They wanted to know 'Why do we not celebrate Christmas?' Since the gifts were important to them, we made 30 small gifts, which they received during Ramadan. This way, they were expecting the *Bayram*. (...) Although we do not celebrate Christmas, we do now (Ayşe).

In this way, Ayşe tried to make sense of the Christian tradition by adapting an advent calendar to Islamic celebrations to meet her children's expectations, who felt disadvantaged by the absence of Christmas gifts. The number of gifts—30—corresponded to the length of

Ramadan. This solution satisfied the children and increased their enthusiasm for *Bayram*, helping them maintain their identification with Islam.

Maintaining the traditions linked to Turkish and Islamic heritage may represent respondents' diasporic moments. Individuals consider it significant to celebrate traditions, and this practice is supported by median-level organisations such as mosques. However, as proved above, these diasporic moments do not have a stable or 'pure' character. They are changeable according to the surrounding circumstances and as the example of Ayşe's family demonstrated, they bear the influences of Norwegian and Christian heritage. On the other hand, the annual routines of Norwegian Turks involve celebrations of traditions from outside the Turkish cultural circle such as Christmas. Interestingly, these practices often also have diasporic moments. Christmas is celebrated by including Turkish patterns of feasting and traditional Turkish food, while 'Christmas habits' are employed to fulfil the duties of Muslims. This shows another side of LTK (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000). Norwegian heritage, learned through school and participation in Norwegian society, was recreated in local circumstances of Norwegian-Turkish families that included influences from patterns of behaviour common in Turkey. I contend that the religious holidays discussed in this section and celebrated by Norwegian Turks constitute a new quality of heritage, which is processual and cannot be classified as either Turkish or Norwegian. It is shaped by respondents' responses to the technical, structural, cultural, and ideological opportunities and limitations inscribed in the urban society of Drammen and the everyday life of Norwegian-Turkish families.

Religion has an important role in shaping Norwegian-Turkish heritage. As argued in earlier chapters, the characteristic of being Muslim was incorporated into the definition of a Turk (Içduygu et al., 1999, p. 114). Islam remains a significant identification for many respondents, and some prioritise it over Turkish cultural values. However, I argue that respondents' primary diasporic identification is Turkishness. As such, Islam only supports it. I conclude this based on the fact that the mosques frequented by respondents who identify primarily with Islam were exclusively Turkish, and the idea of transnational Islamic unity across ethnic or

national borders was not that strong. Thus, Islam should be regarded as a dimension of Turkishness, and respondents identifying with Islam should be viewed as identifying with Turkish Islam.

### 7.3.2. Travel

Another routine activity of Norwegian Turks, which can also be regarded as diasporic moments and aims to maintain heritage, is the annual visit to the Turkish villages of their ancestors' origin, where many respondents own holiday houses. The idea of these visits was inherited from their parents or grandparents who arrived in Norway as immigrants. However, as my study proved, there was a crucial difference between the homeland orientation of first generation immigrants and their descendants. The latter generally did not consider the option of return upon retirement, which was common among the former group. First generation immigrants of Turkish origin tended to partially settle in Turkey, spending their summers in the country and winters in Norway. However, this is not the case for their children and grandchildren. Among all respondents raised in Norway, only one expressed an interest in moving to Turkey in the future:

If someone told me that I could stay either in Turkey or in Norway, I would choose Turkey, because that is where my blood originates. I feel that I would manage in Turkey as well as I manage here, if I only had a job there (Can).

As such, the diasporic practice of 'travelling home' common among Drammenian Turks, with one mentioned exception, lacks the intention to settle down in Turkey. Some respondents treated holiday trips to Turkey as a way to teach heritage to their children. Can, when asked what was important to him in terms of the values he would like to pass down to his children, answered:

Travelling to Turkey plays a crucial role, because there one learns what it means to be Turkish. I wish that my son continues this [travelling to Turkey with his own children in the future] (Can).

For Norwegian-Turkish families, the meaning of heritage trips has a symbolic dimension and aims to refresh their identification with Turkishness.

It is widely acknowledged that heritage migration, which includes the intention to settle in the ancestral homeland, involves the processes of othering the newly arrived descendants of emigrants (Grasmuck & Hinze, 2016; King, Christou, & Teerling, 2011; King & Kılınc, 2014; Reed, 2015). People born and raised outside the ancestral homeland face different and apparently unfamiliar habits and value systems than those within which they grew up. I argue that this is also true for the short-term heritage trips of descendants of immigrants to their ancestral homelands, even though its effects are not that burdensome. In previous chapters, I discussed the othering role of the Turkish language used by Norwegians of Turkish origin in Turkey. Here, I briefly problematise respondents' strategies to minimise the impression of foreignness in the rural villages their ancestors originated in. These strategies include changing the style of clothing and behaviour:

For example, in Alanya and Antalya, I become so used to not covering my hair and do not cover it. However, if I am going to visit family in Konya, I feel better when I cover my hair, because others do so as well (Ayşe).

In Turkey, I wear rural clothes and my wife wears a hijab in her village. The place is bigger and not as rural as my place of origin [therefore, there is no need for men to wear rural clothes]. We decided to change our clothing in Turkey to show respect to the people there. [We avoid] showing off and letting them know that we are better because we have more money (Can).

The differences mentioned here pertain to clothing style and wealth, but as noted in previous chapters, both Drammenian Turks and villagers in the ancestral homeland acknowledge differences in their habits. The change in style of clothing should be therefore regarded as a symbolic attempt to overcome existing tensions between respondents' lifestyles and the lifestyles of villagers. Simultaneously, an attempt to avoid showing off by presenting oneself as better, as expressed by Can, may reveal the practice of *Janteloven* in Turkey,

demonstrating the complexity of the influences of respondents' various social locations on their acting within other contexts.

Some researchers suggested that identification with the ancestral homeland is not always localised in the rural villages of ancestral origin, but often aims at urban centres in the ancestors' homelands (Maruyama & Stronza, 2010; Reed, 2015; Tsuda, 2003). This was the case for all Alevi and a few Sunni respondents, who stated that they prefer to stay in Turkish cities, among which Istanbul and Izmir were often mentioned.

I like Izmir, because it is a free land. No one cares what you do. For example, during Ramadan, no one cares whether you fast or not, whether you eat or not. However, if you go to Konya or Beysehir, everyone will look at you in a bad way if you eat during the fasting time (Kemal).

I have been to Istanbul. I love this city. It is fantastic. Yes, it is completely different. It is just beautiful, because it integrates history and modernity (Fatma).

The motivations behind the statements by Kemal and Fatma differ. Kemal prefers Izmir, because this city provides him the similar freedom he enjoys in Norway. For him, Izmir was a place where he felt more at home than in the ancestral places situated in the conservative Konya province. Fatma, who did not mind either Konya or the rural ancestral homeland, admired Istanbul in a way similar to a tourist. From this emerges the discussion of an important phenomenon observed among the respondents raised in Norway, namely the interweaving of heritage trips and regular tourism. During annual trips to Turkey, respondents developed the practice of sharing time between family visits and regular holidays in touristic resorts. Considering this, I argue that the heritage trips by Norwegians of Turkish origin, the destinations of which have increasingly become holiday resorts and big urban centres, share the characteristics of regular tourism. The admiration of Istanbul expressed by numerous respondents along with advertising holiday opportunities in Turkish coastal areas brings to mind a tourist attraction in a newly discovered place, not an ancestral longing for home.

Bearing in mind the complex character of heritage journeys to Turkey, I suggest that the annual trips to the ancestral homeland by Norwegians of Turkish origin have become part of their cultural heritage. Respondents inherited it from their ancestors as a practice to alleviate longing for the ancestral homeland. However, the practice has adapted to respondents' current preferences that include spending free time similar to tourists. As such, while trips to the ancestral homeland constitute a part of Norwegian-Turkish heritage with diasporic moments that include family visits and teaching children the Turkish culture, they are also strongly influenced by touristic patterns of contemporary travel. Therefore, the ways of recreating this inherited practice responds to the structural circumstances of modern society (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000), providing that touristic and diasporic practices intermingle and the borderline between heritage journeys and tourism remains vague.

### 7.3.3. Transmittable Values

Since heritage incorporates the idea of passing things down, I asked respondents to define the most important things they wanted to pass down to their children. Respondents created a range of ideas and identifications significant to them, which they regarded as their heritage. Interestingly, this comprised mostly collective identifications with Turkishness and Islam, as well as practical skills facilitating managing belonging to multiple collectivities, including Norwegian society. The presented values did not constitute the official collective heritage of the Turks. Rather, they comprised individual preferences of the identifications and cultural skills children should gain.

One important collective identification respondents wanted to provide to their children was Islam:

Of course, to teach my children religion. Passing it to them is important. (...) If you manage to accommodate Islam in the right way, this is enough. The culture will come by itself. (...) Culture is not that important, I think. If one manages to follow religion, one will get involved in culture. Many things that culture proposes are completely

wrong. It is interpreted and used in the wrong way. (...) For example, they say other Norwegians or Muslims do this or that and Christians do that. Muslims do not do this. Religion does not do this. It is culture (Ayşe).

Here, Islam was viewed as a tool to successfully raise children and Islamic values were incorporated into respondents' heritage. In her statement, Ayşe referred to the stereotypes about religion, arguing that cultural influences distort religious beliefs. She strongly opposed the stereotypes imposed on whole groups of people and in her opinion, religious values are themselves good and worthy of being maintained.

The importance of identification with Islam was often presented along with identification with Turkishness:

I would like [my kids] to understand that they are Turkish and Muslim. That they received [these identities] from me. They cannot forget that they are from another country, although they should also follow Norwegian rules. As far as we can. We cannot do everything, but we must try to do as much as possible. [I want my children to] obtain language and aspects related to religion from me. This is important (Burak).

Burak's statement mirrors respondents' shared idea of continuity in terms of identity, which fits the definition of MTK well (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000). Children are expected to inherit Turkish and Muslim identity from their father/mother, maintain it, and possibly pass it down to their own children. As such, Turkish and Muslim identity are inheritable and related to blood ties. In addition, the Turkish language forms part of this identity, and as argued in a previous chapter, constitutes an important marker of the group's boundary. The idea of coming from another country expressed by Burak, a man born and raised in Norway, is the extension of first generation immigrants' longing for home, which is automatically repeated by first and second generation Norwegians of Turkish origin. On the other hand, the necessity to follow Norwegian rules and adapt to Norwegian society—as much as allowed by Islam and Turkishness—is also commonly underlined by respondents, as illustrated in the statement above. While Burak's idea of a fixed identity that should be passed to his descendants refers



clearly to the genealogical model of MTK (ibid.), his statements indicate that he wants his children to adjust this fixed identity to the local circumstances they grow up in, that is, Norwegian society. In other words, he wants his children to possess the skills of LTK (ibid.) while performing Turkish identity in Norway, exactly as the respondent himself did.

Kemal referred to the collective identity of the Alevi Association as the most important heritage he received and which he wanted to pass to his children. He also mentioned family heritage, which refers to the set of values he received from his parents and the Alevi community. The collectivist orientation is striking in his statement, and contrasts the individualism common in Norway:

It is actually very simple. The most important things in relation to my culture, everything discussed [is embodied] in this group [the Alevi Association]. I have a bond with a group. I belong to a group. Without the group, we are nothing. We have religious meetings here and we can play. There are not many places you can be with boys and girls in Turkey. You might know this, as you have been there. The most important heritage is that children, toddlers, older women, and women can be together and learn from each other. This is the main heritage I have. For example, the heritage that I received from my father and mother, from the group here, I will pass to my own children. They have to learn to respect each other. If we are a group, we must learn to respect each other. If everyone says it will be that way, it should be that way; otherwise, there is no society. It is the most important cultural heritage: respect (Kemal).

One respondent rejected the idea of passing Turkish values to her children:

Language is an important part of culture. Therefore, I think that if I get married and still live in Norway, my kids will mainly speak Norwegian, not Turkish. I would like them to learn Norwegian perfectly, as a native Norwegian (Elifcan).

The tendency of being concerned with the proper education of children and fluency in Norwegian was common, but only in the case of Elifcan was it accompanied with a direct rejection of Turkish values. What prevailed was an attempt to reconcile Turkish and Norwegian values to make children identify with Turkishness, while facilitating their participation in Norwegian society:

I think balance is important. Not just isolation, but also being a normal person. Maybe adapt to Norwegian culture, because it is difficult for us, as Norwegian culture is quite different from the Turkish culture. It is like two sides. However, at home with my own family I will likely blend some the Turkish and Norwegian. (...) It will be a blend, but one that filters out all unnecessary aspects such as all things symbolic and all the things people do just to do it, without considering why they do it (Deniz).

Generally, the Turkish and Norwegian languages were considered an important heritage and skills in Norwegian were recognised as crucial for the future success of children.

First and second generation Norwegians of Turkish origin knew exactly the set of values, skills, and identifications they wanted to pass down to their children. They approached it in a holistic way, rather than focusing on official elements of heritage such as particular traditions or history. For them, their heritage constituted a broadly understood identification with Turkishness and in some cases, with Islam. However, this identification was expected to be paired with a set of tools facilitating full membership in Norwegian society. Therefore, it was expected to be adjusted to the structural circumstances of the modern society respondents' children were growing up in. Therefore, it seemed that the vague idea of being Turkish while managing in Norwegian society became an element of Norwegian-Turkish heritage, shared by all respondents. Ways in which to attain it differed among individuals, but the goal seemed similar, namely to maintain inherited ethnic identity (MTK) while possessing organisational fluency in Norwegian society, which entails adapting to Norwegian rules, values, and habits, and mastering the Norwegian language (LTK) (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000).

Having discussed heritage on an individual level, I now focus on the mezzo and macro level of institutionalised heritage.

## 7.4. Institutionalised Heritage

Despite the various outcomes of individuals' engagement with heritage, it has always concerned collective identity and been governed by institutions of power. Traditions, discussed in earlier sections, such as Islamic *Bayrams*, are widely celebrated in Turkish mosques and the Alevi Association, taking a more traditional shape than private celebrations held by individuals. Furthermore, celebrations for other traditions in Turkey such as National Day, International Women's Day, and International Children's Day are organised by the Turkish associations in Drammen. These are accepted as part of Turkish heritage, but not necessarily shared on an individual level or celebrated privately in homes. In contrast, reported participation in the 17 May celebrations was almost as common as celebrating the Bayrams.

In this section, I provide two examples of institutionalised celebrations of heritage in which Norwegian Turks participate, namely Norwegian Constitution Day (17 May) and the Language and Culture Festival. Constitution Day is an event controlled by Norwegian apparatuses of power and refers strictly to Norwegian national heritage. The Language and Culture Festival is a worldwide event organised by the Turkish-Islamic cleric Fetullah Gülen, in which the folklore of the minority and majority population is showcased.

### 7.4.1. Celebrations on 17 May: Norwegian Constitution Day

Norwegian Constitution Day is celebrated by ethnic Norwegians and minorities. Some Turkish communities such as the Alevi association organise activities for the event, during which Turkish food is served. Individual Norwegian Turks celebrate by participating in the city's parade, dressing up, and waving the Norwegian flag.

I always participate in the 17 May celebrations and always join the parade. I go around with a Norwegian flag and I shout, 'hipp hipp hurra!' I am in the city. I have always wanted to buy a *bunad* (Fatma).

Some female respondents indicated that they would like to own a *bunad*, which is a traditional Norwegian folk costume worn by women during the celebrations. However, this wish is limited by respondents' financial capabilities, as they consider a *bunad* very expensive. While observing the parade over the study period of three years, I saw women wearing *bunads* and Turkish-Islamic veils<sup>50</sup> (Photograph 31). This practice mirrors interwoven



Photograph 3112 17 May celebration in 2014 in Drammen. Women wearing *Bunads* and Islamic veils take part in the parade.

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<sup>50</sup> The urban veil in the Turkish style differs from that of other major Muslim minorities in Norway. It comprises a headscarf with an inner bonnet, part of which is usually visible on the forehead. Furthermore, according to the recent fashion, the headscarf does not fall loosely on the back of the head, but a characteristic bun under the headscarf highlights the shape of the head. This style is not followed by all and only Turkish women; however, during my observations in Drammen, I rarely failed to confirm the Turkish origin of the veiled women seen on the street. The knowledge I used to attract women of Turkish origin was tacit and acquired through the experience of being among Turkish veiled women in Norway and Turkey for several years. For more on the current veiling fashion in Turkey, see Sandıkçı and Ger (2005).

Norwegian and Islamic influences on the performance of heritage on an individual level, and illustrates the process of transformation of the elements of Norwegian heritage adapted to the circumstances and needs of the people who use them. Hence, while minority heritage is adapted to the Norwegian reality, as explained in the previous section, this process is also valid the other way round. Transforming MTK or official Norwegian heritage into LTK (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000) by minorities involves addressing the circumstances around growing up in a transnational family and the effects of incorporating symbols traditionally foreign to Norway, for example, those that refer to Islam, into Norwegian national heritage.

Active participation in the 17 May celebrations—an important element of Norwegian heritage—and the will to do it in traditional folk dress, expresses Norwegian Turks' belonging to Norway and provides them with an opportunity to publicly demonstrate this stance. Repeating this practice every year indicates that they have permanently joined and found their place in Norwegian heritage. The permanent place of the Turkish minority in the 17 May celebrations is a given, even though the motivations behind it vary across the group. Some respondents participate voluntarily and to express gratitude to Norway, as in the case of Cansu, who repeated the rhetoric that immigrant minorities must repay the society that hosted them (Ahmed, 2014): '17 May is very important to me, because I live in Norway and feel that I must respect this country, which has given me bread. I have to be a part of them' (Cansu). Others only accompany their children, who must participate with their schools or see themselves as external observers of this festivity:

I know this is not my tradition. This is not my celebration. I was born and raised in Norway, so I need to show respect [and celebrate 17 May] of course, but this is not my celebration. I do not belong to it. I am an observer (Can).

Nevertheless, despite the meaning given to Norway's national day by individuals, 17 May has become a tradition celebrated by Norwegian Turks. It was mentioned in all the narratives alongside *Kurban Bayramı* and *Ramazan Bayramı*, religious holidays in Turkey as mentioned. Thus, I will risk saying that 17 May has become part of the heritage of Norwegian Turks. Its

celebrations constitute respondents' practices and skills 'none other than that of people's practical engagement with the environment' (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000, pp. 192–193), even if they were framed by the Norwegian discourse on a multicultural society.

Some scholars contend that a positive relationship exists between participation in national days by immigrants and their children and their belonging to a new homeland. In the Dutch context, Coopmans, Lubbers, and Meuleman (2015, p. 2048) state that 'the more frequently people participate [in national days], the stronger [are the] feelings of national belonging'. This is especially visible among first generation immigrants and non-Western minorities (ibid., pp. 2049–2050). Consequently, I argue that the 17 May celebrations are an occasion on which Norwegian Turks' belonging to Norwegian society emerges, even if its performance at home included Turkish habits such as sharing Turkish food and visiting family or friends.

Norwegian cities known for their diverse character have attempted to include immigrants and minorities in the Constitution Day celebrations, mirroring the de-facto multicultural



Photograph 313 Ethnic accents during Drammen's 17 May parade: 2014.

(Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007, pp. 197–198) integration policy of Norway. These attempts were visible during the traditional parade in Drammen, where people wearing various ethnic clothes and representing different ethnic minorities walked alongside ethnic Norwegians, waving Norwegian flags and sharing the joy (Photograph 32). Significantly, while ethnic markers were present and visible during the parade, there was a lack of national flags other than Norwegian: '[We do not use Turkish flags on 17 May]. We celebrate Norway, not anything else' (Cansu). This indicates a diverse nation united under the Norwegian flag, even though the reality may be more complex. Therefore, I argue that by including immigrants and minorities in the national day celebrations, Norway produces the heritage to substantiate the discourse on the multicultural society. This heritage is meant to function in a similar way to that of Canada (Leung, 2006). Essentially, minorities are viewed as a societal resource (*Meld. St. 6 (2012–2013)*, 2012). However, at the same time, their 'ethnic' contribution is limited to safe elements such as folklore. In this way, diversity is included in the heritage of Norway through the celebrations of 17 May, even though it is not necessarily accepted on the individual level. Many Norwegians still find it difficult to accept immigrants wearing *bunads*, as these folk dresses have a specific meaning involving autochthonic belonging to a particular place in Norway. On the other hand, members of minority groups accept the invitation to participate in Norwegian heritage, eagerly wearing their *bunads* and waving the Norwegian flag.

#### 7.4.2. The Language and Culture Festival

Another example of institutionalised heritage of diversity is the Language and Culture Festival, hosted since 2009 by Drammen's Bragernes Torg. The event is designed to provide a platform for cultural heritage exchange between participants in Norway. The festival takes the form of a competition in which local Drammenians of different ethnic backgrounds present a song, folk dance, text composition, drawing, or stage performance in a language other than the mother tongue. Even though the festival does not prioritise any ethnicity, in

Drammen, it is an exchange between Norwegian and predominantly Turkish heritage. In addition, in Norway, other versions of the festival are organised in Moss and Oslo, cities hosting significant Turkish communities. The orientation to Turkishness is not surprising when considering that the festival is the local edition of the International Festival of Language and Culture organised by the Gülen Movement, an educational organisation related to Islam and run by the Turkish-American cleric Fethullah Gülen, as mentioned. The international finale of the festival used to take place in Turkey, but because of the tension between the Gülen movement and Turkish government since 2014, the event is now organised elsewhere. After a failed military coup in July 2016, which was blamed on Gülen supporters, this situation will likely continue. In this section, I discuss the 2014 Drammen edition of the festival, which I attended. I focus on the presence of Turkishness at the festival, omitting references to other ethnic heritages, as this is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I emphasise that the festival has no official limitations regarding participation, and some performances are dedicated to heritages other than the Turkish and Norwegian.

In 2014, the tensions between Gülenists and the Turkish ruling party were reflected on only by officials from the mosque appointed by the Turkish government. The other respondents did not voice any criticism of the festival. However, the festival was not attended by all Drammenian Turks, and only two respondents mentioned it at all. One reflected on the various activities organised by the Gülen Movement aside from the festival, referring to the local branch of the organisation and not mentioning their affiliation with Gülenists:

There is an organisation [who supports the festival]. They have other events, for example, if there is something political in the country [Turkey]. They also host events such as the Turkish food market, where they sell Turkish things. We have visited Istanbul, Turkey, several times with Norwegian children to show them the country ... I participate in these events if they are interesting (Fatma).

Another respondent stated that as part of the preparatory work for the festival, she teaches Norwegian children Turkish so that they can participate in the event singing Turkish songs. The festival is not a single event. The activities accompanying it are organised year-round and



aim to represent the elements of Turkish culture and Turkish cities such as Istanbul to non-Turkish festival participants.



Photograph 3314 The festival opens with a performance by singers wearing Ottoman dress and the *Bunad*. Accompanying children hold ancestral and Norwegian flags.

I attended the festival in 2014 in Drammen. My first impression of the event was the ubiquity of Turkishness accompanied by many references to Norwegian heritage (Photograph 33). Other ethnic influences were less visible or present. The performances took place on a stage decorated with flowers and the Turkish and Norwegian flags. The audience was diverse, but many people of Turkish origin were present. This presence was visibly reflected by women veiled in the Turkish style in the first rows (Photograph 34). Ethnic Norwegians and inhabitants of and visitors to Drammen were also present. However, most watched the performances from a distance.



Photograph 3415 The audience at the festival. Phatic signs of Turkish Islamic identity are expressed through the clothing worn by females.

Except for the performances on stage, the festival included several stands located around the square. The stands represented the Sámi culture, Buskerud Innvandringsråd, and Montessori Barnehage og Skole. One stand was dedicated to Turkishness and filled with Turkish artefacts such as traditional low-seat sofas, Turkish clothes, and Turkish pottery (Photograph 35). In addition, two stands served food, both run by people of Turkish origin. The food tents showcased a strong gender division. The first stand was operated by women, among which all but one were covered. Women sat on the ground and prepared Turkish pancakes—*gözleme*—in the way it is prepared in Turkey. Besides *gözleme*, a mix of Norwegian and Turkish food was served, including Turkish stuffed peppers, waffles popular in Norway, and carrot cake, which may represent globalised cuisine (Photograph 36). The second stand sold grilled meat and was operated by men. This gender division was maintained throughout the festival. Women of Turkish origin from the audience entered the

female stand or chatted with those working there, while men of Turkish origin joined the grilling team.



Photograph 35 Tent with Turkish artefacts and Turkish flag.

Festival performances, although diverse, were influenced by the Turkish culture, and the festival culminated in a Turkish traditional dance, the *Halay*, which was initiated by performers (Photograph 37). People from the audience joined the dance, as common in Turkey. Norwegian was the spoken language of the festival; however, the audience mostly spoke Turkish. The festival lacked oral references to performers' ethnic backgrounds. Nevertheless, the opening started with a dance by a group of children. Each held a foreign flag in one hand and the Norwegian flag in the other. This practice reflected the common trend in the city's space of Drammen: foreign flags alongside the Norwegian flag. The lack of oral reference to ethnicity during the festival contrasted with the ubiquity of phatic and expressive signs of Turkishness.



Photograph 36 A food stand operated by women of Turkish descent served carrot cake, *gözleme*, waffles, and *künefe*.

References to Turkey at the festival included poems, songs, dance, food, and traditional dress. These elements all represented 'safe' aspects of culture. As such, the festival fits the global tendency of accepting diversity to a safe extent through an exchange of folklore between native residents and those of diverse ethnic backgrounds (Arokiasamy, 2012). Following this argument, the festival is an example of a performance of the institutionalised heritage of minorities in a form approved by local officials. Its focus on the exchange of heritage and the participation of minority youths in performing Norwegian heritage are accepted as tools of integration and may strengthen belonging to Norwegian society. This also applies to the adults engaged in the festival's organisation. The event created an institutionalised opportunity for Norwegian Turks to 'become' Norwegians, to wear the *bunad*, and promote Norwegian culture without being isolated as intruders. Furthermore, the engagement of Norwegian youths with Turkish heritage allowed the Drammenian Turks to represent their culture in a positive way and overcome negative stereotypes pertaining to

Turks and Muslims. The minority heritage was balanced during the festival by the presence of Norwegian heritage, both in the visual form of Norwegian folk dress and Norwegian national flags, and in a less tangible form through the performance of Norwegian music.



Photograph 37 Audience joins the Halay, a Turkish traditional dance initiated by the performers. Gender division is maintained as no men attempt to join the women dancing.

Consequently, the festival provided an interesting arena in which to cross and create ethnic boundaries. While ethnic influences were present and visible during the festival, they were not voiced in relation to individual participants. Participants crossed the boundaries of ethnicity by wearing their outfits and the language in which they performed. Nevertheless, despite this positive image of overcoming ethnic differences and celebrating diversity, the festival remained an institutionalised diasporic practice, designed by the US-based diasporic organisation of the Gülen movement. Norwegian Turks hosted the event, proudly presenting their culture to Norwegian society. As such, the festival provided people of Turkish origin in

Drammen an opportunity to publicly participate in Turkish heritage and define the boundary of their ethnicity.

## 7.5. Conclusions

The analysis of Norwegian Turks' engagement with heritage confirms the fluidity and positionality of their identifications. As illustrated above, the diasporic practices of Norwegian Turks were not pure, bearing various influences from Norwegian and global society and constituting only the moments in respondents' everyday lives, rather than determining them. While, thus, the daily practices of Drammenian Turks correspond to those of the majority population, especially in work and education, their everyday lives are marked by diasporic moments that link them to Turkishness and provide a frame for their self-definition. The respondents, by living in Drammen and relating to it 'through a mixture of imitation and improvisation in the settings of practice (...), develop[ed] their own ways of doing things, but in the environmental contexts structured by the presence and activities of (...) their predecessors' (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000, p. 193).

In a modern complex society, the impact of predecessors is inscribed in different structures as legislation, physical surroundings, and the temporal rhythms organising society. It is also inscribed in everyday encounters with people of various positions in the societal hierarchy. Thus, diasporic moments are adapted to the local reality of Drammen, and influenced by Norwegian and global factors. Consequently, new practices unique to Norwegian Turks emerged. The Turkish traditions celebrated by respondents include practices linked to Christmas and require adjusting to the Norwegian calendar, which does not mark Islamic or Turkish holidays. The values respondents stated they wanted to pass to their children include Turkish and Islamic identities accompanied by the skills required to reach fluency in Norwegian society, namely general values and rules as well as mastering the language.

Furthermore, travelling to Turkey is never focused only on heritage, and is a mix of touristic and diasporic desires. Consequently, the diasporic moments of Drammenian Turks cannot

be regarded only as the performance of pure Turkishness. Despite strong influences from Turkish collective heritage, the way these diasporic moments are performed is always the result of the adaptation of practices rooted in the past to the current circumstances of living in contemporary Norwegian society. Furthermore, the participation of Norwegian Turks in Norwegian national days, even if indicating their belonging to the Norwegian society, cannot be considered an arena in which to perform pure Norwegianness either. Respondents celebrated 17 May through feasting practices common in Turkey. Therefore, it is impossible to demarcate the boundary between that considered Turkishness and Norwegianness in terms of the recreation of cultural heritage. I maintain that they use all the sources they obtained through socialisation in Turkish families and Norwegian society, and adapt them to their current circumstances. They do not switch from Turkishness to Norwegianness, but incorporate multiple aspects of their personal positionality, while interacting with their socio-material environment. As such, no strictly defined arenas exist when one or another 'pure' identification emerges, although there are moments when one or another becomes more visible. Consequently, the Norwegian-Turkish dichotomy is inconsistent with respondents' lifestyles and identifications. These two social locations constantly intermingle alongside other identifications of the respondents related to work, education, social and economic class, family roles, and so on. Only insight into respondents' complex positionality can enhance the understanding of their practices in the various social locations they act within.

I argue that the traditional definition of diaspora requires reconceptualisation to remain attuned to current mobility processes. People of Turkish origin in Drammen perform diasporic practices and have diasporic moments, in Brubaker's (2005) terminology. However, they are also rooted in Norway, and these identifications are not contradictory on the individual level. They managed to create their space in Norway and perform practices inherited from Turkish ancestors by adapting them to the socio-material circumstances of Norwegian society. The effects of their actions are reflected in fluid heritage practices performed on the individual level, which bear multiple influences and refer to multiple

collective identifications. Consequently, official Turkish heritage has been transformed into a quality unique for Norwegian Turks. This confirms that their habits differ from those common in Turkey, and indicates Norwegian Turks' rootedness in Norway, albeit within the identification with Turkishness.

In Norway, the discourse of including immigrants in society has been present since the first attempts to formulate the Norwegian Integration Policy on immigrants in 1974 (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 157). Recently, this involvement is reflected in the discourse on the multicultural society in Norway. Incorporating immigrants in the National Day celebrations and other events such as the Language and Culture Festival are tools to include the heritage of minorities in Norwegian heritage. However, this heritage is limited to the safe aspect of the folklore of minority groups. In addition, as Gnecco (2015) argued, this process is still becoming, and to achieve the heritage of diversity, nations must get rid of historicised national heritage, which has not yet happened in Norway.





## 8. Conclusions

This thesis focused on the ways belonging, identifications, and cultural heritage were reflected in the practices of individuals of a minority background. I presented an analysis of different elements of ‘space of foreigners’ as my respondents tended to talk about the space dominated by the activities of people of a minority background. This ‘space of foreigners’ consisted of various elements ranging from interpersonal relationships to the places run and frequented by immigrants. The elements of this ‘space of foreigners’ can be classified into four analytical categories: Social/emotional, economic, religious, and political. The **social/emotional** elements of the ‘space of foreigners’ include feeling at home with people of a foreign background and friendships between minority members. I described these elements in chapter 6 when discussing the social circles of respondents born and/or raised in Norway. The **economic** aspects of the ‘space of foreigners’ represents the outcomes of particular niches in the market that address the needs of the minority population. These needs include halal meat and modest clothing, which are requirements of Islam, as well as regional and/or aesthetically different products such as groceries and furniture. This was explained at length in chapter 4 with the analysis of facilities run by Turkish people in Drammen. Another dimension of the ‘space of foreigners’ investigated in chapter 4 was the **religious** beliefs of minority people and activities at local mosques. The last element of the ‘space of foreigners’ that emerged during my research was the **political** activism of minority people in the ancestral homeland. This dimension was outside the primary interest of the thesis, but was reflected in the structure of the Norwegian-Turkish organisations in Drammen and sometimes referred to by individual respondents<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup>I discussed the structure of Norwegian-Turkish organisations in Drammen in chapter 1. Regarding the references expressed by respondents, see Fatma’s statement on page 255, in which she indirectly notes the Gülen movement.

That respondents formulated the idea of an alternative space within which they acted as minority members and that they referred to this space as the 'space of foreigners' suggests that they position themselves outside Norwegian society. Such positioning was often influenced by the strong ethno-nationalist discourse present in both minority communities and Norwegian society. However, as indicated in the thesis and addressing the first research question on the identity creation of Norwegian Turks<sup>52</sup>, the analysis of respondents' practices and declared value systems revealed that their identifications were more complex and extended beyond ethnicity and nationalism. The translocational positionality theoretical framework (Anthias, 2002) and intersectionality approach (Anthias, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006b, 2007) enabled acknowledging respondents' multiple roles and positions as equally important and showed that the roles linked to participation in Norwegian society strongly influenced those linked to their minority status and vice versa. Employing the theories of space of Lefebvre (1991), Gottdiener (1994, 2012, 2015), and Massey (1994), which recognises that human relationships are spatially rooted, shifted the focus to the local without rejecting the translocal relationships maintained by respondents.

Addressing the second research question, the analysis of spatial expressions of belonging on the private and public levels revealed a strong local attachment to Norway accompanied by a nostalgic longing for the ancestral homeland. However, for the latter, many younger respondents often lacked feeling of home. Therefore, while present, translocal relationships constituted a small part of daily routines, especially among respondents born and/or raised in Norway.

Finally, to address the third research question, the analysis of engagement with cultural heritage indicated that practices popular in Norway influenced Turkish traditions and were involved into their performance. Thus, Turkish heritage adapted to the new environment, incorporating elements of habits local to Norway.

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<sup>52</sup> For the research questions, please refer to the Introduction and chapter 3. Detailed answers to the research questions were provided as follows: Question 1 was addressed in chapter 6, question 2 in chapters 4 and 5, and question 3 in chapter 7.

This suggests that the ‘space of foreigners’, the elements of which were described and analysed in the thesis, is embedded in Norwegian society. Furthermore, its current character is dependent on influences from Norwegian society. In other words, the ‘space of foreigners’ will never become separate from the Norwegian reality. It is ordered by Norwegian rules of law, and the activities of the people within it are regulated by the modern lifestyles common in Norway, which include routines such as going to work, sending children to school, and the ways free time is spent. As such, the ‘space of foreigners’ intersects with and is part of the dominant (Norwegian) society. The boundaries of this space are blurred, and ethnic Norwegians can and do participate in it on various occasions or permanently. Within this ‘space of foreigners’, people of minority background develop and exercise attachment to both Norway and their ancestral homelands, negotiating the values and practices derived from minority, majority, and global cultures. Therefore, this space is understood here as a physical and socio-cultural arena within which the minority group in the new homeland act, an arena within which individual practices, values, and collective identifications that challenge traditional, essentialised ethnic and national identifications occur. It is processual and extends beyond the mixture of minority and majority cultures.

### **8.1. Located, Not Dislocated**

Following the analysis of the ‘space of foreigners’—noted as exotic and seemingly situated outside Norwegian society, but actually locally rooted and strongly influenced by Norwegian practices and the Norwegian letter of law—I now express my concerns about the appropriateness of the concept of in-betweenness to describe the situation of immigrant minorities settled in new homelands.

In the popular discourse, the notion of in-betweenness is often assigned to people of immigrant ancestry (for example, see Sveen, 2010; Zariat, 2012). They are considered as living ‘between cultures and localities’. While this discourse is repeated by some members of minority groups, I view this perspective of regarding immigrant minorities as theoretically

incorrect. First, assuming that one lives in-between cultures is claiming the existence of essentialist cultures between which one can be positioned. I argued in the thesis that culture is a process, and avoided discussing culture as a closed entity with particular borders. Assuming that people of immigrant background are between cultures is rejecting the processual character of cultures, which are in constant flux according to the circumstances in the localities within which cultural practices are performed. I am more willing to acknowledge that minorities recreate cultural practices in relation to the local socio-cultural and natural environment they act within, creating new qualities, rather than acting in an abstract space between cultures. The second aspect of my argument deals with the positioning of immigrants in-between localities. In so doing, one rejects the spatial rootedness of the human body. Rather, I contend that all people are situated in the physical spaces within which they act, rather than being suspended in the abstract space of nowhere between localities. In chapter 4, I illustrated how people, who because of their ethnic identity are considered as living in-between localities, adjust the spaces of Drammen by introducing local (Drammenian) and ethnic (Turkish) influences into the design of the space. In chapter 5, I discussed how Norwegian born people of Turkish descent conceptualised home, and demonstrated that their feeling of home related primarily to Norway, specifically Drammen and districts thereof. Thus, based on my data, the concept of in-betweenness seems incompatible with the situation of Norwegian Turks, and conflicts with the theoretical assumptions employed in the thesis. Therefore, it is rejected here. Emphasised, however, is respondents' local attachment to Drammen, which emerged as a strong common feature among respondents. In chapters 4 and 5, I showed that respondents were localised in Drammen and identified with the places and landscapes of the city. This indicates that Norwegian Turks are *located* rather than *dislocated*. Specifically, respondents born and/or raised in Norway were clear about where they belonged, and their narratives indicated that the networks of various facilities and organisations in Drammen developed by Norwegian Turks enabled them to follow the particular religious and cultural practices that made them feel Turkish, while participating in Norwegian society. These two, often assumed in the

common discourse as contradictory identifications—a member of Norwegian society and a Turk—are complimentary for respondents, who have mastered negotiating in their daily lives multiple values and practices connected to their different social locations.

While the individual level reveals the inclusion of Norwegian Turks in Norwegian society and the compatibility of traditionally Turkish practices with the modern lifestyles popular in Norway, the discourse on the mezzo and macro levels are not that inclusive. During my fieldwork, I encountered oral denials of belonging to Norway, which were expressed by referring to Turkey as home and identifying as a Turk, especially at the beginning of the conversation. I discovered that these processes of alienation or distancing oneself from Norway were motivated by mezzo and macro factors. These factors included within-group loyalty and the tendency of the common discourse in Norwegian society to impose foreignness on people of an immigrant minority background.

## 8.2. The Discourse on Exclusion

At the individual level, practices assumed as Turkish and Norwegian are constantly managed and negotiated, occurring in harmonious daily routines influenced by the traditional Turkish discourse, but not very different from those among ethnic Norwegians. However, the discourse at the mezzo and macro levels tends to approach Norwegian Turks from an ethno-nationalist perspective, often imposing foreignness on them. The widely debated discourse of Islamophobia (Andersson, 2012; Bangstad, 2011) not only in Norway but throughout developed countries, which has proliferated after multiple terrorist attacks claimed by Daesh, adds to the tendency of exclusion towards the Muslim population settled in Western Europe, which Turks are part of. Furthermore, the discourse on cultural differences in the migration debate in the 1990s in Norway (Eriksen, 1996) stipulated that the culture of immigrants and their descendants makes it challenging for them to adapt to Norwegian rules. This sentiment remains, and was reflected in the statements of some of the experts and officials I interviewed. To this is added the interpretation of Norwegianness as rooted

belonging, as discussed by Eriksen (1993). Eriksen stated that despite internal migration to urban areas in Norway, the connection to the rural place of one's origin or the place where one grew up and where one's relatives are still located remains an important marker of identity. This idea of belonging is extended to immigrant minorities and reflected by questioning them about their real place of origin, meaning the ancestral homeland, while often ignoring that they were born and raised in Norway. The idea of this autochthonous belonging in Norwegian society is supported by within-group loyalty to their Turkish descent and the idealised idea of the ancestral homeland (Galip, 2015), which is reproduced within Norwegian-Turkish families. Respondents adapted these discourses to varying extents. Furthermore, they began the interviews by referring to themselves as foreign to Norway. Only later in the discussion did they problematize and confront this foreign status.

On the other hand, the discourse on multiculturalism adopted by some researchers (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007) as a de-facto feature of the Norwegian immigration policy, while expected to combat inequalities, may have reinforced the exclusion of immigrant minorities by imposing on them ethnic categories. In his book, 'Selling Illusions: The cult of multiculturalism in Canada', Bissoondath (1994) describes multiculturalism in the Canadian context. He concludes that multiculturalism, rather than ensuring equality between all inhabitants of Canada, favours minority over Canadian identity, creating an obstacle in recognising immigrants as Canadians (see also Martiniello, 1997, p. 639). Furthermore, he regards Canadian multiculturalism as superficial, as it focuses on folklore. Ahmed (2000) reached similar conclusions regarding Australian multiculturalism, wherein immigrants and their descendants were supposed to fit an exotic image and not assumed as equal members of Australian society.

While an analysis of the Norwegian de-facto multicultural immigration policy was beyond the scope of my primary research interests, the data analysis revealed some similarities between the immigration policies in Norway, Australia, and Canada. The Norwegian immigration policy allows all minorities to follow their cultural practices and communicate in their language. However, this includes only the safe elements of ethnic culture, in other words,

folklore. As some researchers emphasised (Dahle & Seeberg, 2013; Johannesen & Appoh, 2016), in the main arenas of society's functions such as the school system and places of work, users are expected to follow Norwegian social and cultural competences. For example, children are expected to be raised the Norwegian way, and failure to do so might bring about the intervention of Child Care Services. Furthermore, as mentioned, participants in my research tended to operationalise their identity in terms of foreignness. I discovered that their commitment to Turkishness was articulated to comply with the mezzo and macro discourses of exclusion, some of which are enforced by pluralist multiculturalism, which classifies people according to biological identities. Therefore, while it is beyond the focus of this thesis to judge Norway's immigration policy, my fieldwork revealed some consistencies between multiculturalism in Australia, Canada, and Norway, which prevent inclusion.

### **8.3. The Post-ethnic Approach**

The discourses on exclusion on the mezzo and macro levels mentioned in the previous paragraph and comprising the discourses on Islamophobia, cultural differences of immigrants, Norwegianness as rooted belonging, autochthonous belonging to the ancestral homeland, and pluralist multiculturalism, were shared to varying extents by the respondents and reflected in their narratives. Even though the practices and value systems of respondents born and/or raised in Norway revealed local attachment to Drammen and Norway and adaptation to lifestyles common in Norway, foreignness was still present in their self-definition. According to the discussed situations and circumstances, they conceptualized their position differently pointing out the commitment to the habits assumed as Turkish or Norwegian. As an outcome, many admitted to being neither Turkish nor Norwegian, indicating self-definitions beyond fixed ethnic categories.

Based on this, I argue that the notion of ethnicity is incompatible with the complex identities of Norwegian Turks. While ethnic influences on their lives cannot be denied, the stable essentialist notion of ethnicity fails to address their complex but harmonious construction of



identity, causing confusion. I argue that ethnicity constitutes only one aspect of identity and is not experienced in the same way by everyone. In addition, respondents' ethnic orientation (to Turkishness) does not contradict common practices in Norway. Considering this, I suggest that my respondents' process of ethnic identity construction leans towards what I refer to as 'post-ethnicity'. Post-ethnicity is defined as the multidimensional, situational, and open-ended self-identifications of individuals referring to ethnic groups, which are characterised by the inability to conceptualise unambiguous identification with any of them. Post-ethnicity encompasses negotiating ethnicities or denying them on an individual level. The collective dimension refers to entire groups whose identifications extend beyond ethnic categories, even if they were shaped by particular ethnic influences. As such, post-ethnicity does not reject ethnic affiliations, but considers them as unfixed and open-ended.

The notion of post-ethnicity was propagated in the social sciences by Hollinger (1995). Hollinger's work is located in the American context, but some researchers (Martiniello, 2001) have attempted to apply it to the European reality. I consider Hollinger's concept of post-ethnicity as compatible with my findings. I employ his concept to advance and generalise my results, recommending a possible direction for immigration policies and attitudes in the future. In the following sections, I first discuss Hollinger's (1995) assumptions about post-ethnicity and Martiniello's (2001) attempt to apply the concept in Europe. Then, I link my research findings to the concept, and highlight the post-ethnic processes discovered by other researchers focusing on minorities, especially the Turkish minority in Europe. Finally, I propose a possible direction for the development of European immigration policies.

According to Hollinger (1995), post-ethnicity should replace the concept of multiculturalism. Hollinger points out that multiculturalism, conceptualised to facilitate the inclusion of immigrants, counters this aim, because it favours the existence of primordial ethnic groups and strengthens the boundaries between them. He criticises pluralist multiculturalism, according to which belonging to ethnic groups is determined by biology, while favouring so-called cosmopolitan multiculturalism, which promotes voluntary ethnic affiliations. Based on

this, he constructed the notion of post-ethnicity (Martiniello, 2001, p. 66). At the beginning of his book, Hollinger states:

[Multiculturalism] has not provided an orientation toward cultural diversity strong enough to process the current conflicts and convergences that make the problem of boundaries more acute than ever (Hollinger, 1995, p. 1).

Hollinger presents the post-ethnic perspective as an alternative to multiculturalism, because it 'challenges the right of one's grandmother or grandfather to determine primary identity' (ibid., p. 116), enabling voluntary ethnic affiliations. At the same time, post-ethnicity does not reject ethnicity, but builds on it (ibid., p. 5). Hollinger argues:

A postethnic perspective denies neither history nor biology, nor the need for affiliations, but it does deny that history and biology provide a set of clear orders for the affiliations we are to make (ibid., p. 13).

Postethnicity prefers voluntary to prescribed affiliations, appreciates multiple identities, pushes for communities of wide scope, recognizes the constructed character of ethno-racial groups, and accepts the formation of new groups as a part of the normal life of a democratic society (ibid., p. 116).

Notably, post-ethnicity is a conception of a social order within which people, from a normative viewpoint, are free to choose their ethnic affiliations according to their own will and feelings. History and biology are not considered as determinants of one's ethnic identity. On the other hand, the post-ethnic perspective does not try to be free of ethnic affiliations. It recognises the existence of various ethnic groups and the need to affiliate with them. The criteria for categorisation are more flexible and based on individual choice. Despite being based in the American context, this perspective addresses the situation of the respondents in this study who were born and/or raised in Norway. Their negotiations of ethnic belonging included the imposed feeling of obligation towards history and biology and a simultaneous commitment to Norwegian society. While the pluralist multicultural perspective affiliates

them with Turkishness, post-ethnic attitudes could legitimate their identification with Norwegianness, making them more comfortable in acknowledging it.

Here, the discussion applies the American-based perspective of post-ethnicity to the European context. Martiniello (2001) accomplished this to reveal promising results. He summarises his analysis as follows:

It is not my intention here to look for an ad hoc solution to a European problem in the American literature. But the post-ethnic perspective is arguably a rich and normative approach that might help us to envision a future democratic, multicultural and open Europe. I am convinced that in order to avoid other Kosovos and Bosnias in tomorrow's enlarged European Union, this kind of reflection is not at all simply an intellectual exercise, but a step towards a long-term, positive solution to the problems of democracy in Europe (ibid., p. 68).

Here, Martiniello suggests the opportunities and reasons to develop a post-ethnic perspective in Europe, advocating its usefulness in solving current problems concerning immigration. He points out the need to facilitate access to European citizenship, understood not only in legal but also cultural terms, stating that the limitation in such access pushes minorities to engage with other 'restrictive cultural identities' (ibid., p. 67), which consequently prevent the equal participation of immigrant minorities in European societies. The post-ethnic perspective is expected to open European identity for minorities, offering the possibility of engaging with it free from exclusionary judgement. After Hollinger (1995), Martiniello (1997, p. 639) emphasises that even though the post-ethnic perspective can address the current challenges of Europe's diverse population, it 'can only have a chance to materialize if the issues of economic and political inequalities are dealt with more carefully and if civil liberties are more satisfactorily protected'.

The post-ethnic perspective may find fertile ground in postmodern European societies, as their structural features, which comprise state regulations regarding the education system, healthcare, and so on, and regulations pertaining to business in the private sector

crisscrosses former, potentially more 'closed' social structures, and thereby open up for different ways of integration and individual identities. Thus, supported by policies against inequality, post-ethnicity can serve as a new alternative for managing migration.

My research confirmed that more open-ended and flexible attitudes to ethnicities are required in the common discourse and in official policies to accommodate complex identities and overcome the exclusion of the members of immigrant minorities born in new homelands. The post-ethnic perspective serves this purpose, as it provides a flexible framework of voluntary ethnic affiliations and does not reject ethnicity. However, the post-ethnic perspective purports that ethnicity changes its character from the one assigned by birth to that designated by individual self-definition. This is precisely how I attempted to interpret ethnicity in the thesis through the translocational positionality framework.

Studies on the children of immigrant parents born in the new homeland, including my research, confirm that the process of post-ethnicity is already true on the individual level among settled immigrant minorities in Europe. The debate on Turkish migration in Europe provides various examples of this assertion. As mentioned in chapter 2, there is a developing tendency in research on European Turks to focus on their local belonging and the positioning and transformation of their Turkish identity in new homelands. An important feature of this research is its acknowledgement of the complex identities of people of Turkish descent born in Europe, which extend beyond Turkishness. Examples of research grounded in this idea include the work by Soysal (2001) and Çağlar (2001, 2004) conducted in Kreuzberg (Berlin). Soysal (2001) describes identities in flux of the youths of Turkish origin in Kreuzberg, underlying their rootedness in Germany, specifically in Berlin. Regarding youth culture in Kreuzberg, Çağlar (2001, p. 608) notes that the identities of youths of Turkish descent, defined with reference to the multi-source music style, cannot be reduced to Germanness or Turkishness. Rather, they attempt to ground their belonging in a particular location or city, and do not embrace the abstract concept of ethnicity. Consequently, these youths want to be called Berliners, not German Turks or Turks.

Outside the Turkish debate, some research verifies that the identities of youths of immigrant descent born in new homelands are not determined by blood ties with ethnic minorities, but transformed under the influence of the practices and values popular in their new countries, reflecting the post-ethnic process. An example of such work in Norway is research conducted by Kaya (2014) on the identity construction of Norwegians born to Iranian, Syrian, and Turkish parents. The study presents various strategies for identity negotiation, including constructing their own ways of being a Norwegian of minority descent. Another example is work by Fangen (2006a) on the Somali population in Norway. She demonstrated that even if a Somalian ethnic identity is important for Norwegian Somalis, many express belonging to Norwegian society, reflecting the idea of a voluntary ethnic belonging. This is the core of the post-ethnic approach.

Finally, post-ethnic processes are thus documented by other researchers in various ethnic contexts in Europe, demonstrating that the changes into more open and voluntary ethnic belonging have already begun, and are not rare on the individual level. While it is too early to discuss a post-ethnic revolution, the tendency towards post-ethnicity is gradually becoming more common. It requires changes to policies and attitudes towards immigrant minorities in Europe. Furthermore, the limits of the multicultural approach are becoming increasingly obvious and are reflected in the unequal position of immigrant minorities in European societies. New, more open and inclusive attitudes and policies could legitimise the belonging of migrants to the society of the new homeland. This would culminate in the more equal position of migrant minorities in Europe. The ideal has to treat voluntary ethnicity as only one dimension of identity, not as its determining feature. Consequently, problem-solving strategies will need to change. Instead of linking specific problems such as forced marriages or circumcision to ethnic groups, the new approach will require uncovering and addressing the ideologies that drive practices assumed in Western Europe as unacceptable. In my opinion, fighting the source of the problem, while omitting its assumed links to ethnicity, would be more beneficial. Providing guidance on how to make the post-ethnic perspective

work in Europe is outside the scope of this thesis, but provides a promising direction for future research and discussion.



## Appendix 1: List of respondents recruited for the in-depth interviews

1. Hatice, female, Sunni, born and raised in Norway, married
2. Ayşe, female, Sunni, arrived in Norway at the age of seven years, married
3. Cansu, female, Alevi, born and raised in Norway, unmarried (married on paper only)
4. Arzu, female, Alevi, born and raised in Norway, married
5. Ilke, female, Alevi, born and raised in Norway, married
6. Deniz, male, Alevi, born and raised in Norway, unmarried
7. Kemal, male, Alevi, born and raised in Norway, married, waiting for his spouse to arrive in Norway
8. Fatma, female, Sunni, born and raised in Norway, married, waiting for her spouse to arrive in Norway
9. Yusuf, male, Sunni, born and raised in Norway, married
10. Burak, male, Sunni, born and raised in Norway, married
11. Can, male, Sunni, born and raised in Norway, married
12. Elifcan, female, Alevi, born and raised in Norway, unmarried





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