Geographica 27

Between being and longing

Young former refugees' experiences of
place attachment and multiple belongings

Tina Mathisen

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Abstract
Mathisen, T. 2020. Between being and longing. Young former refugees' experiences of place attachment and multiple belongings. *Geographica* 27. 148 pp. Uppsala: Uppsala University. ISBN 978-91-506-2800-5.

This thesis focuses on young former refugees' lived experiences of and reflections on processes of place attachment and negotiation of belonging in Norway. The analysis draws on a postcolonial understanding of migration and belonging, and is inspired by post-structuralism and critical phenomenology. The thesis analyses belonging from two perspectives: as a personal relationship to people and places, and as relationally produced and negotiated through social discourses and boundary-making practices in everyday life. The thesis is based on fieldwork conducted with forty former refugee youths, using multiple methods such as in-depth interviews, participant observation, activity diaries, and auto-photography. In addition, teachers, municipal representatives, peer students, siblings, and parents contributed to the knowledge presented in the thesis. Article I explores how the youths' translocal networks and practices contributed to the process of attaching to a new place, arguing that it is necessary to understand how ideas of both roots and routes are entangled in the young former refugees' sense of belonging. Article II discusses the spatial organizing of newly arrived students in school and its social consequences. It is argued that the "foreigner" category is socially constructed through a racialization process in which space, skin colour, and language are key components, and that this process is reinforced in school. Article III explores how generic discourses rendering Muslims "the other" in Norway affect young Muslim girls' experiences of belonging in different geographical and social spaces. The article highlights how the navigation of belonging that the girls undertook entailed constant work that they could not escape due to their visibility as Muslim girls. Article IV explores place attachment and belonging with a focus on everyday habits and routines, and shows that the youths simultaneously drew on shared knowledge from their social networks and on embodied knowledge gained through the habitual use of place to perform belonging. Overall, the thesis provides a nuanced understanding of young former refugees' belonging that is both multi-sited and multi-layered.

Keywords: youth, refugees, place attachment, belonging, translocality, place, negotiation, racialization, education

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For my grandparents

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List of Papers

This thesis is based on the following papers, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals.

I.   Mathisen, T., og Stenbacka, S. (2015). Unge migranter skaper steder: Translokale og lokale praksiser i rurale områder i Norge og Sverige [Young migrants creating place: Translocal and local practices in rural areas in Norway and Sweden]. I Aure, M., Berg, N., Cruickshank, J., og Dale B. (red.). *Med sans for sted. Nyere teorier.* Fagbokforlaget

II.   Mathisen, T. Mangelfullt mangfoldsperspektiv? (Re)produksjonen av kategoriene "utlending" og "norsk" i skolen [A narrow diversity perspective? The (re)production of the categories "foreigner" and "Norwegian" in school]. *A version of this article has been submitted to an internationally refereed journal.*

III.   Mathisen, T. Everyday politics of belonging: The ambivalent experience of being young, female and Muslim in rural Norway. *Manuscript.*

IV.   Mathisen, T., and Cele, S. Doing belonging: Young former refugees and their active engagement with Norwegian local communities. *A version of this article has been re-submitted to an internationally refereed journal.*

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Sumaya Jirde Ali

1. Introduction

Opening this thesis is a poem written by the young feminist and activist, Sumaya Jirde Ali. The poem contains two seemingly simple questions: 'When are you returning home?' and 'Why don't you feel belonging?' By juxtaposing the two questions and repeating them sixteen times, Jirde Ali makes an effective point. What does it do to your sense of belonging to be constantly asked if you are going home (implying that your home is not here)? Moreover, why is it so important that people of migrant background explicitly express their sense of belonging to the nation they reside in? If we think of the poem not only as questions asked by one person of another, but as expressing a dimension of the lived experience of migration, it illustrates the boundaries of belonging that young former refugees navigate, challenge, and subvert, as well as the ambivalence many feel towards belonging either to a "here" or a "there". In this doctoral thesis, a group of young former refugees challenge the idea of an either/or perspective on belonging, illustrating how belonging can be both multi-sited and multi-layered. The thesis explores how place attachment and belonging are created and performed in everyday life, shedding light on how something as intimately personal as a sense of belonging becomes expressively political in the context of migration.

At the centre of this thesis is a group of young people aged 13–18 years whom I met in four small towns in Norway during fieldwork in 2012, 2014, and 2015. Most of them have in common that they came to Norway due to forced migration, either as refugees themselves or through family reunification.[1] These participants have all been granted a residential permit and have settled in a municipality with their families. However, not all the participants in the study are newly arrived;[2]

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[1] 'Refugee' was defined by the United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees (UNCRSR), signed in 1951 in Geneva. The term refugee generally refers to people who have a specific status of protection, either after their demand for asylum has been granted or because they are under the care of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). People may also be granted refugee status on humanitarian grounds without completely fulfilling the definition of the Convention. In this thesis, I have adopted a broad understanding of refugee as including quota refugees, people granted asylum for humanitarian reasons, and people granted family reunification with a refugee who has been granted protection in Norway (Dzamarija 2016).

[2] Norwegian authorities define the 'newly arrived' as those who have recently received a residence permit and are settled in a municipality. The term is often connected to the

some have lived in Norway since early childhood and two were born in Norway to parents of refugee background.

When I started this project, the plan was to conduct research with newly arrived youth about the settlement phase and the process of becoming attached to a new place. I contacted schools to ask whether I could conduct participant observation in introductory and language training classes and for help with the recruitment process. The schools that I contacted were very positive and helpful, and had often talked to the students about the research before I came to introduce the project. Although the information letter described the project's focus on "the settlement phase", the description "refugee background" resonated more strongly with the teachers as well as with the youths themselves, regardless of the time aspect. In one language training class I visited, even youth who were born in Norway attended and were thought to fit the description of having a refugee background. Consequently, I broadened the scope of the project to include the experiences of these youths.

The outcome of the recruitment process illustrates how "refugee" or "migrant" can become an attributed subject position inscribed on certain bodies by larger society (Näre 2013:605). The thesis dwells on how former refugee youths' sense of belonging and opportunities to navigate their belongings are shaped by how they and their families are presented and understood in society. Seeberg and Gozdziak (2016:8) argued that an increasing number of young people are "growing up in migrancy", including not only the objective state or condition of being a migrant, but also what migrancy means symbolically in a given time and space, and what consequences this has for the lives of young migrants.

In Norway, as in Europe at large, transnational migration and questions of how to handle forced migration in terms of asylum seekers and refugees have become among the most important and emotive matters on the political agenda (Castles et al. 2014). Nationalism is on the rise throughout Europe, leading mainstream politicians to debate what constitutes national identity and what values and lifestyles are necessary to claim to belong to a nation. In Norway, increasing ethnic,

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two-year period after adult migrants are settled in a municipality and attend an obligatory introductory programme or to the five-year period when municipalities receive economic support for the first settlement of a refugee (Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet 2016). In this thesis, I have used 'newly arrived' to describe those participating in the study who have lived in Norway for a relatively short period and/or are attending an introductory class. The term should not be understood as strictly linked to an exact period, but rather to factors such as the youths' school situation and access to social networks.

racial and cultural diversity due to migration has been debated as a challenge to national solidarity and trust, and increasing numbers of refugees are seen as a potential economic burden on the welfare state (NOU 2017:2). On one hand, refugees are discursively described as vulnerable victims in need of our help; on the other, they are portrayed as a potential threat to the nation-state due to their perceived differences in culture and way of life.

Children and youth who are forced to migrate are from a Western viewpoint seen as particularly vulnerable because their lives diverge from the idea of "the normal childhood" rooted in a homey environment envisioned as a safe space of residential stability (Boyden and Hart 2007). Children and youth of refugee background are also a group described as vulnerable because they grow up in families that might have sparse knowledge of society's institutions and language and are not yet involved in the labour market, so they have a low socioeconomic status (Dzamarija 2016). Youth, like most participants in this study, who have experienced part of their formative socialization in their country of origin (or in transit) and another part in Norway are in some ways also seen as a managing problem, particularly because their education has been interrupted. Immigration at a late childhood stage implies less time to acclimate to formal and informal rules in the school system and less time to learn the language and skills needed to complete education and become productive members of society (Hermansen 2017).

Yet these youths are not only former refugees, they are also daughters/sons, siblings, students, friends, and teenagers who listen to Justin Bieber, Nicki Minaj, Ethiopian hip-hop, and love songs from Iraq that can last for hours. Many of them speak multiple languages and some speak one and a half. They want to become doctors, car mechanics, flight attendants, lawyers, nursing assistants, football players, and dancers. Like other young people, most want to travel and explore the world, find someone to fall in love with, and live a life that balances both excitement and safety. As public discourse tends to be dichotomizing, presenting these youths as either victims or problems, it is all the more important to underscore that they are complex individuals with many different backgrounds and experiences. Furthermore, it is important to explore their ordinary everyday lives, and how they themselves experience their local communities, their school situation and social relations.

Aim and principal research questions

The aim of this thesis is to explore young former refugees' experiences, practices, and reflections concerning place attachment and belonging with a focus on everyday life and agency. I also take into consideration broader structures of power that shape and condition individual experiences of belonging. The main research questions can therefore be formulated as follows:

- What factors are important in young former refugees' place attachment?
- How do young former refugees create, negotiate, and maintain belongings in everyday life regarding social relations and participation?
- How are the boundaries of national belonging (re)produced and experienced in everyday life?

These overarching questions are explored in detail in articles I–IV. Table 1 shows the specific questions explored and discussed in each article.

Table 1: Overview of the work presented in articles I–IV, showing the research questions addressed and the methods applied.

Article	Research question	Method
Article I *Unge migranter skaper steder: Translokale og lokale praksiser i rurale områder i Norge og Sverige* [Young migrants creating place: Translocal and local practices in rural areas in Norway and Sweden]	How do translocal networks and experiences contribute to the process of becoming attached to and forming place?	Interviews and social network maps
Article II *Mangelfullt mangfoldsperspektiv? (Re)produksjonen av kategoriene "utlending" og "norsk" i skolen* [A narrow diversity perspective? The (re)production of the categories "foreigner" and "Norwegian" in school]	How are the dichotomous identity categories "foreigner" and "Norwegian" constructed and (re)produced in school?	Interviews, participant observation, and social network maps
Article III *Everyday politics of belonging: The ambivalent experience of being young, female, and Muslim in rural Norway*	How do young female Muslims negotiate belonging to multiple collectives and what roles do place and time play in their negotiations?	Interviews, participant observation, and walk-alongs

| Article IV | How do young former | Activity diaries, social net- |
| *Doing belonging: Young former refugees and their active engagement with Norwegian local communities* | refugees create, negotiate, and maintain place attachment and belonging in everyday life, i.e., how do they "do belonging"? | work maps, auto-photography, interviews, and participant observation |

Situating the study in Norwegian research on refugee children

While research on the living conditions of refugee and asylum-seeking children in the reception phase (Seeberg 2009, Svensson 2010, Berg and Tronstad 2015), and on aspects such as the psycho–social situation, schooling, and social inclusion of young unaccompanied refugees has become significant over the past two decades (Eide 2005, Lidén et al. 2011, Eide et al. 2012, Pastoor 2012, Lidén et al. 2013, Svendsen and Berg 2017), much less attention has been paid to former refugee youths who have recently settled in a municipality with their families, and are living ordinary everyday lives. An exception is Archambault (2011), who studied how refugee children aged 7–11 years' experience various aspects of citizenship in Norway. That study focuses on the transition from living in an asylum centre to settling in a municipality, considering the material and relational aspects of the children's home-making process. Archambault (2011) argued that the national settlement plan for refugees is adult centred, as no active measures are taken by the government to help children become participating members of their local communities.

Schools are often described as the most important arena for social inclusion among refugee children and youth (Pastoor 2012, Dewilde and Kulbrandstad 2016). There has been considerable political and research interest in the situation of minority-language children in education, articulated in both Norwegian official reports (Østberg et al. 2010) and official surveys (Lødding 2015, Lødding et al. 2018), and in how the education of minority-language students has been organized (Engen and Kulbrandsen 2005, Bakken 2007, Valenta 2009). Much research has focused on how minority-language students perform in school, with studies showing that parental country of origin, socioeconomic status, and age at arrival all affect school grades (Frøyland and Gjerustad 2012, Bakken and Hyggen 2018). However, research has mostly focused on the situation of minority-language students in general and not on the specific situation of newly arrived students (Dewilde and Kulbrandstad 2016:14). We have little knowledge of how

the introductory classes function and whether they are effective (Thorud 2017). Just as important, few studies consider the perspective of the youths themselves and how they experience the introductory classes or lack thereof, and the transition from introductory to ordinary classes (Dewilde and Kulbrandstad 2016:24).

Earlier research has tended to focus either on the refugee experience as the focal point of the youths' lives or on integration in the host country, particularly in relation to school performance or access to recreational activities. In this study, I bring these perspectives together and explore the youths' sense of belonging in a broad manner, with social networks, place attachment, school experiences, and recreational activities seen as equally important and affecting each other.

The rural perspective

Furthermore, it seems urgent to focus on the spatiality of the youth's migration and settlement experiences. The thesis contributes to deconstructing the "youth" category, which has often been analyzed in a uni-dimensional way disregarding national, regional, and local contexts, presenting urban youth as the norm (Paulgaard 2015). Although rural districts in Norway have been diversifying for quite some time, including with the contributions of refugees, little attention has yet been paid to youth of refugee background and their everyday lives in rural and small town areas.

There need not be large differences between settling and growing up in rural towns and in larger urban areas in Norway. However, the particular conditions and composition of social relations in a place might be relevant to young former refugees' ability to make connections and find meaningful activities to engage in. While urban areas are often portrayed as heterogeneous, providing an opportunity to "blend in" and be anonymous (Massey 2007), being a former migrant in a rural area has been described in terms of strong pressure to conform to the culture and norms of the dominant majority (de Lima 2012:212, Kelly 2013:170, Rysst 2017). In a comparative study of students ethnic identity construction in two primary schools, one situated in an immigrant dense area of Oslo and one situated in the town of Lillehammer, Rysst (2017) found that, for the children in Oslo, their ethnic identity was most salient, while in Lillehammer, the migrant children applied assimilative strategies to pass as Norwegians. In a quantitative study from Sweden, Plenty and Johnson (2017) found that first generation migrant youth were particularly vulnerable to isolation and bullying in migrant sparse school settings, especially non-European migrants. In Norway,

Bakken and Hyggen (2018) did not find any geographical differences in the student's wellbeing in school.

In studies of young people in general, discourses describing rural areas as homogeneous, safe, stable, and boring are commonly accepted, and many, particularly girls, describe experiencing a high degree of social control (Haugen and Villa 2006, Rye 2006). The view of rural areas as homogeneous, cohesive, and "good places to grow up" is deeply seated in Norwegian social imaginaries (Gullestas 2002).

The transnational turn

Earlier research on migrant youth in Norway has been criticized for methodological nationalism (Andersson 2007). This criticism has been directed towards migration research more broadly, arguing that such research has often been one-sided, over-emphasizing integration processes in the receiving society and taking the nation-state for granted as the natural starting point for analysis (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). One researcher who has considered this criticism in her work is Hilde Lidén. In her extensive fieldwork with children in various stages of migration, Lidén (2017) has contributed to highlight how integration into a new country include continuous mobility. Travels between several home countries, old and new, can contribute to create knowledge and reflection among migrant children, and strengthen their motivation to belong in Norway. Lidén (2017) stresses that the path to integration is not linear, and as I argue, neither is the path to belonging.

This thesis is situated within the Norwegian national context and focuses on the participants' everyday lives in the here and now. However, the youths' experiences of place attachment and belonging in Norway are linked to their ongoing transnational social ties, and to their experiences and memories of earlier home places. The thesis examines how these social connections work together in the youths' everyday lives, functioning to support and create meaningful self-narratives and multiple belongings.

The Norwegian context

Norway has always been diverse in terms of language, culture, and migration history, though the internal heterogeneity referring to the Sami people and other national minorities has often been downplayed in historical accounts to create a unified national imaginary (Kjeldstadli

2003). However, since the 1960s and what is often described as the "new immigration", Norway's population has become more diverse in terms of geographic origin, race, religion, and culture (Tjelmeland and Brochman 2003).

Today, 14% of the Norwegian population of five million are of migrant background and three per cent of Norwegian citizens have migrant parents (IMDi, 2019). The country saw a rapid increase in the number of residents of migrant background in the 2000s when EU enlargement saw the arrival of working migrants from Eastern Europe. This mobility has been geographically diverse, and although most such migrants live in urban areas, semi-urban and rural areas have experienced rapid demographic change. Today migrants are settled in all Norwegian municipalities, although most live in urban areas (IMDi 2019). People of refugee background make up four per cent of the total population and 30% of the population of migrant background. In 2012 when this research project started, there were approximately 28 900 children and youth (age 0-19) of refugee background living in Norway. In 2019 the number had risen to 38 400 (Statistics Norway 2019).The largest groups of refugees come from Somalia, Iraq, Eritrea, Syria, and Afghanistan (IMDi 2019).

Norway's strategy is to settle refugees across the country based on collaboration between the central government and the Association of Norwegian Local and Regional Authorities. The state asks municipalities across the country to accept refugees for settlement, and the municipal councils have the authority to decide whether they have the capacity, based on economic and housing resources, to settle the suggested number of refugees. Municipalities receive economic support for five years after the first settlement of a refugee. In return, the municipalities must provide the first housing and an obligatory two-year introductory programme for adults.

Norwegian integration policy is shaped by societal changes and in response to perceived societal needs. In 2016, after the refugee crisis in Europa, a white paper on integration policy was launched directly targeting refugees. The document states that policy should strive to ensure that newly arrived refugees quickly enter the labour market and become productive members of the state. The policy emphasises that this takes collaborative effort, but also underscores the individual's responsibility to provide for oneself and ones descendants. The white paper states, *"Norwegian law lays the framework for all people living in Norway. Everyone who lives in Norway must be familiar with their duties and rights, as well as the values that are central to Norwegian society. Within this general framework, there are many ways of being Norwegian"* (Meld.St. 30 2015-2016, p. 11).

Integration is nevertheless an ambiguous concept that can be interpreted in many ways. In analytical terms, it is often conceptualized as a two-way process where both the individual/group and the wider society make efforts to adapt (Døving 2009). However, in public debate, politicians, media, and public opinion often mean cultural and social assimilation, where migrants are expected to adapt to Norwegian norms and values with the help from majority Norwegians (Gullestad 2002, Stokke 2019). Language skills, employment and political participation are often discussed as measurements of integration (Stokke 2019).

Clarification of concepts

In the thesis, I refer to the participants variously as either "youth of refugee background" or "former refugee youths". There is no doubt that for those who are seeking refuge from conflict or persecution in another country, being granted status as a refugee is of major significance and comes with particular rights and benefits. However, as earlier mentioned, the term refugee can also be an ascribed identity that relates to particular discourses of vulnerability and uprootedness (Malkki 2001, Boyden and Hart 2007). Using "refugee background" rather than "refugee", the intent is to emphasise that the subject position "refugee" is merely one of many positions that define these youths, and that there are several other aspects of their lives that need to be considered simultaneously. I use the term "migrant background" when I refer to migrants in general without regard for their legal status. Lastly, I use the term "minority youth" to denote a broad definition of youths who have migrated themselves as well as youth born in Norway of immigrant parents.

Outline of the thesis

The thesis comprises two complementary parts, the comprehensive summary and four separate papers. This comprehensive summary situates the work presented in articles I–IV in a broader research context, develops the theoretical points of departure used in the articles, summarizes the results, and discusses the main contributions. The four articles are all based on the same fieldwork but address four different themes and can thus be read independently of one another.

This comprehensive summary consists of six chapters. The introductory chapter positions the research within a wider societal context and introduces the research aim and questions. In chapter 2, I position the thesis within several intersecting research fields that have influenced this study. In chapter 3, I present the theoretical points of departure of articles I–IV and illustrate how they connect with and complement one another. In chapter 4, I present the participants and locations of the study and discuss methodological choices as well as research implementation. Chapter 5 summarizes the papers and chapter 6 discusses the main findings and contributions of the thesis.

2. Previous research with migrant youths

This chapter situates the thesis within the field of childhood and migration research, with a particular focus on youth with a refugee background. The thesis also draws on research from the field of youth studies.

While the childhood and migration literature highlights children's own experiences with the migration process and the specifics of growing up in transnational social fields, the literature on youth of refugee background focus on the settlement phase and social relations affecting their wellbeing and place attachment processes. The literature on minority youth often focus on youth who have not migrated themselves, but whose parents have migrated (or the categories are not distinguished), and their experiences of inclusion and exclusion. These studies have often looked at how young people deal with questions of belonging in the context of migration, navigating different value sets from what are perceived to be the parents' and the new society's "cultures". In addition, they often focus on peer group interactions, friendship formation, as well as the consumption of globalized popular culture, such as hip-hop and sports, and its influences on identity formation and belonging.

Children and young people in migration research

Over the past decade, there has been growing interest in research with children who migrate and live their lives in transnational social fields (Gardner 2012). Several special issues (Ni Laoire et al. 2010, White et al. 2011, Gardner 2012) and book projects (Hunner-Kreisel and Bohne 2016, Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016, Espinoza-Herold and Contini 2017) have been published to synthesize the fields of childhood studies and migration research, laying the groundwork for childhood and migration as a single research platform with its own agenda. The interest in merging childhood and migration research stems from an identified lack in both fields. While childhood studies have been criticized for ignoring the impact of migration on the lives of children who have migrated (Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016), migration research has tended to be adult centred, viewing children as tied to their migrant parents

and neglecting children's own experiences and multiple roles in migration processes (Sporton et al. 2006, White et al. 2011). Seeberg and Gozdziak (2016) emphasised that although migration scholars write *about* children and youth, they often lump them into broad categories such as "second generation", not considering their different backgrounds and belongings. White et al. (2011:1160) have identified two particular weaknesses of research on migrant children: first, there has been a tendency to focus on migrant children's neediness and difference; second, there is an overemphasis on the "integration" of migrant children in the host society, overlooking children's experiences as transnational social actors. This has also meant a greater focus on the second generation than on children who have migrated themselves. Building on the core contributions of social studies of childhood, which has established an understanding of children and youth as subjective beings actively involved in shaping their own life worlds (Quotrup et al. 1994, James et al. 1998), scholars of childhood studies and migration research have sought to challenge adult-centric studies in migration research by emphasizing children's roles and own experiences of the migration process, and by critically exploring policies and practices that govern children who migrate and the notions of childhood on which these are based (Ni Laoire et al. 2010, White et al. 2011, Gardner 2012, Tyrell 2013, Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016).

Although children and youth are a group that has just recently "become visible" in transnational migration studies (Hunner-Kreisel and Bohne 2016), they have always been part of migration. Historians such as Fass (2005) have illustrated how children's migration and child labour were constitutive parts of the colonial era. As Fass (2005:950) has stated, we need to understand how our understandings of children have been framed historically and how these framings organize contemporary responses. Although it is widely recognized that childhood is a social construct that varies between social groups, societies, geographical locations, and historical periods (Holt and Holloway 2006), children's geography has been criticized for ignoring the diversity and multiplicity of childhoods (Punch and Tisdall 2012). The western idea of the ideal childhood is also widespread in policy and practice geared towards migrant children. As Boyden and Hart (2007) pointed out, the direct experience of forced migration constitutes the very antithesis of the Euro–American ideal childhood. A traditional understanding of childhood can be connected to a traditional understanding of place in which children are seen as rooted in a homey environment envisioned as a safe space of residential stability. This has led to a tendency to represent refugee children and youth in essentialist ways as uprooted

and victimized, disregarding their competence and agency (Boyden and Hart 2007, Archambault 2011). This is also because research concerning refugee children and youth has often been conducted in the disciplines of psychiatry and psychology, with trauma as the major articulation of refugee suffering (Doná 2007:221). Boyden (2003) pointed out that a focus on common symptoms tends to universalize the experiences of refugee children, fostering little understanding of cultural, social, and family differences. I would also like to add spatial differences in terms of migration journey and place of settlement, as well as intersecting subject positions such as class, gender, ethnicity, race, and age

Although much migration literature has tended to highlight mobility and cosmopolitanism, often describing mobility as frictionless (Urry 2000), the nation is still an important entity in people's, not least forced migrants', lives in terms of asylum and integration policy, but also for a personal and collective sense of belonging. The nation-state also intervenes in the lives of children in more mundane ways through, for example, the school curriculum and where children are allowed to reside (Millei and Imre 2016). Children and childhood play important roles in symbolizing the nation (Gullestad 2006, Seeberg 2007, Aitken et al. 2008, Millei and Imre 2016, Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016). Millei and Imre (2016), for example, described how the consolidation of the modern nation-state and the conception of "the child" and "childhood" developed simultaneously, as "the child" was seen as a symbol of the future, health, and strength of the nation. The modern scientific management of childhood through the medical, biological, psychological, and educational sciences was seen as contributing to national progress (Millei and Imre 2016:4). Seeberg and Gozdziak (2016:5) wrote that different conceptualizations and ideals of childhood prevail in different nation-states and are closely related to ideas of the family. Migrants are more likely to form families and childhoods divergent from normative understandings, leading to negotiation over childhood at the intersection of family and state (Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016:5). This might be seen as a reason why children subjected to forced migration are not only described as victims, as earlier mentioned, but also as threats (Boyden and Hart 2007, Doná and Veale 2011). As victims, they are often described as innocent and needing our help, while as threats they challenge the boundaries of the nation-state and must prove that they deserve the same rights as established citizens. This is also why some childhoods are under more surveillance than others and might be subjected to disciplining into the "normal childhood" (Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016).

Studies of refugee youths and belonging

As mentioned in the previous section, much research on refugee background children and youth have taken a trauma-approach focusing on their prior experiences and individual possibilities to thrive in the host country. There is of course no doubt that this research is vital to our understanding of the psychosocial wellbeing of these children and youths, and to be able to offer well equipped health and social services to meet their particular needs. However, researchers have also argued that, by focusing only on the individual's psychological characteristics, too little attention has been given to the broader social structures of the society within which they live their lives, and how they affect refugee's settlement processes and wellbeing (Malkki 2001, Correa-Velez et al. 2010).

In a follow up study of 97 youths with a refugee background during their first three years in Melbourne, Australia, Correa-Velez et al. (2010) investigated what factors in the host community could predict wellbeing among newly settled youths. Findings showed that the youths scored high on standardized measurements of wellbeing when they arrived in Australia, underscoring that the youths were well equipped to negotiate settlement challenges. However, the youths' and their families' perceived social status in the broader Australian community and their experiences of inclusion or exclusion, i.e. being socially valued or being exposed to discrimination or bullying, significantly influenced their health and wellbeing (2010:1406). The authors conclude that, being able to create meaningful social relations and being recognized and valued by the local community are crucial for a sense of belonging. The authors further emphasise the host community's role in the youths' ability to build social capital through "bridging" networks with established members of the new community.

The importance of social networks is the focal point of Wells' (2011) study, conducted together with eight young unaccompanied asylum seeking- and refugee youths' in London. Wells found that the formation of weak ties particularly to institutional actors, are important to provide access to material and cultural resources for young refugees. Although these are not intimate and strong ties, they can serve as "bridges" to new spheres in the young refugee's new life-situation. Moreover, the study highlights how place and gender shape access to and formation of different networks. Due to the support workers' gendered understanding of the youths, for example seeing girls as more vulnerable than boys, the social spaces that were made available to the boys were more likely to lead to friendship among peers, while the girls

more often formed attachment to the support workers (Wells 2011:325). Social networks is also explored in this thesis. Although I acknowledge the importance of "weak ties" for providing access to material and cultural resources, I argue that they are not enough to create a sustained sense of belonging among former refugee youths. Findings presented in article IV show that making connections with other youth of migrant background was a key to experiencing a sense of belonging.

Studies have further shown that experiences of racial discrimination and exclusion in public space are frequently reported among youth of refugee background, contributing to a sense of non-belonging. In a study of young Somali refugees and asylum seekers living in the UK, Valentine and Sporton (2009) explored how the young Somali's negotiated and discursively positioned themselves within hegemonic social narratives that were both racialized and gendered. Valentine and Sporton particularly elucidated how space matters in the process of subject formation. The study illuminated how the young Somalis moved between different subject positions highlighting how in different spatial contexts, identity markers such as skin colour or clothing shaped a sense of disidentification, particularly being denied a claim of being British. The authors found that for many of the young refugee's, religion became their primary identification marker. Attaching to and accentuating the Muslim identity offered the young former refugees a sense of temporal continuity, as they could build on their sense of self from memories of their past, while also imagining their future self as being Muslim.

Drawing from the same UK study and including a study from Denmark, Valentine et al. (2009), found that the Somali youths from Aarhus, Denmark, did not feel that they belonged in Denmark even though they had adopted "Danish norms" in terms of language and clothing. Faced with a narrow definition of Danishness that was strongly connected to secularism and whiteness, the Somali youths were constantly constructed as strangers, making it difficult for them to "find their place" in the Danish society. In contrast, the Somali youths from Sheffield experienced that they belonged in the UK, even though they did not identify as British. On a local level, the Sheffield youths had defined their own community with shared values, networks and practices, providing them with a sense of stake in the future of the community (Valentine et al. 2009:246).

In Sweden, Wernesjö (2014) has studied negotiations of belonging to the Swedish national community undertaken by newly settled unaccompanied young refugees. Although the situation of the unaccompanied youths differ in many ways from the youths in this study, particularly due

to their lack of support from present family members, there are also similarities in their narratives of inclusion into, or exclusion from, their local communities. Wernesjö argues that the unaccompanied youths belonging and position in Sweden can be understood as conditional due to processes of othering and racialization based on notions of Swedishness contrasted to stereotypical ideas of "immigrants", which contribute to the drawing of a boundary between "us" who belong in Sweden and "them" who do not belong (Wernesjö 2014:72). Wernesjö found that the unaccompanied youths used a form of impression management, expressing their gratitude to the host country, as a strategy to negotiate belonging. Similar to this thesis, Wernesjös study explores the relationship between the concepts belonging, racialization and place.

A study that does not focus solely on the experiences of refugee background youths, but which I have found relevant due to its focus on belonging as processual and intersectional, is Schmitt's (2010) study of young people in Canada and Germany, and their situated competences in negotiating national belonging. Schmitt found that for the youths in Canada, belonging, both in cultural terms and as citizens, was taken for granted. The Canadian students did not discuss national belonging in terms of individual or group characteristics and differences. The students' friendship networks, however, seemed to be shaped around intersections of gender, racialization and patterns of consumption and style, but the Canadian identity was not questioned. For the German students, on the other hand, the relationship with Germany as political and cultural entity was contested. Schmitt (2010:174) suggests that the use of the term 'foreigner' can be understood as a partial rejection of Germanness, and critically relating to exclusionary notions of ethno-national belonging within Germany.

In addition to the above-mentioned studies that focus on the structural conditions of the societies where the youth of refugee background reside, I would also like to highlight some studies that have focused on the importance of place, mobility and material recourse for the youth's sense of belonging.

Sirryeh's (2010) study focuses on how young women of refugee background living in the UK manage im/mobilities in their lives and are capable of creating homey places in spaces assumed as unfriendly. When talking about home, the young women portrayed it as a multi-faceted concept, with safety and normal everyday routines as key elements. Sometimes they experienced conflict between different aspects of what they thought of as home, as some were achieved at the expense of others, for example, choosing to lose contact with family members

in order to be in a safe place. Sirryeh builds on a poststructuralist understanding of home and migration that recognizes the role of movement and process, while at the same time emphasizing the concrete and material aspects of daily life.

In her study of local belongings for immigrant children in Paris and Berlin, den Besten (2010) found that different access to material resources was a key reason that the immigrant children's mental maps were narrower than those of the majority German or French children. Similarly, in Norway, poverty among refugee families is a well-documented problem that can affect young people's ability to participate in their local communities through for example after school activities (Øya and Grødem 2006, Epland and Normann 2019).

In an Australian study, Sampson and Gifford (2010) explore the relationship between place making, wellbeing and settlement among recently arrived youth with refugee backgrounds. The author's highlight the role of place in the settlement phase, identifying four kinds of places that are important to people on arrival; places of opportunity, places of restoration, places of sociality and places of safety. Concerning the sociality of place, the ability to restore social relationships was highlighted. Concerning the materiality of place, the authors found that the youths connect the aesthetics of place to calmness and a healthy, supportive environment, which they saw as a key quality supporting their sense of belonging. Sampson and Giffords contribution show the need to explore both the social and material aspects of place, and how it affects newly arrived youths' wellbeing and ability to create place belonging. The significance of social and material aspects of place is also addressed in this thesis, particularly in article IV. However, while Sampson and Giffords study focused on the health-enhancing qualities of place, article IV emphasises the youths' ability to make use of different aspects of place when "doing" belonging, what constraints the youths might be faced with, and their possibilities to "mirror" themselves in their local surroundings.

In the next section, I will move on to discuss the main research perspectives on minority youths in Norway. The research trends also give some insight into Norwegian public discourses about migrant and minority youths, which affect the youth's views on themselves and their positioning within the Norwegian national context. Based on the previously presented literature that highlights how refugee background youths seem to have difficulties to claim national belonging, I argue that it is much to learn from research focusing on minority youths and their experiences of negotiating inclusion and exclusion, identity-work and belonging.

Norwegian research with minority youths and belonging

During the 1990s, research on minority youth in Norway was informed by government "worries", resulting in a large amount of research addressing immigrant youths' educational performance and entrance to the labour market. The Norwegian government's goal of providing equal opportunities for all has largely guided research, with the result that many research questions addressed throughout the 1990s emerged from the host country's perspective (Brekke 2002:19). During the 1990s and early 21st century, minority youth were often presented as a "problem" in that they were perceived as at risk of marginalization, partly because of constraining bi-cultural development conditions. Minority youth were characterized as uprooted and struggling "between two cultures", leading to conflicts with their parents and difficulties adjusting to wider society (Brekke 2002:19).

Lithman and Andersson (2005) described the "between two cultures" perspective as the dominating model of explanation in research on minority youths and their adjustment to the receiving society during the 1990s and early 21st century. Much of this research featured a unitary and static understanding of both culture and identity, with culture in particular seeming to be essentialized and presented as something individuals own, constantly carry with them, and pass on from generation to generation. On one hand, there is the culture of the sending society, or parents' culture, and on the other, the culture of the receiving society. Research revolving minority youths actions in Norwegian society, could for example focus on youth gangs and honour codes, where the concepts of honour codes and respect, leading to violent behaviour, were connected to "traditional culture" in the parents' home country, to which the parents were thought to be closely bound (Lien 2003). Such research has been subject to criticism from the academic community for overgeneralizing when referring to "Muslims in Norway" or "the Pakistani community", erasing differences within the group being described (Prieur 2007). Lithman and Andersson (2005:10) further argued that this dichotomizing way of describing minority youth contributed to construct a distinction between "we" and "the others", and translated into a hierarchization of cultures, where the "sending culture" stood for non-modern and traditional, while the "receiving culture" was made into modernity, individuality and freedom.

As a counterbalance, influenced by cultural studies and British youth studies, several Norwegian researchers have instead focused on minority youth as producers of a transnational youth culture. Instead of seeing these youths' bi-cultural upbringing as problematic, these researchers saw their culture as creatively shaped by the youths themselves. Friends became more important as research subjects than family, and the focus was on symbols of youth culture, such as music, styles of clothing, and other forms of artistic expression. In this approach, youth are viewed as competent cultural navigators from whom society at large should take wisdom. One of the best-known representatives of this perspective in Norway is Viggo Vestel, who has undertaken extensive fieldwork among a multi-ethnic group of youths, mainly boys, connected with a youth club in one of Oslo's north-eastern suburbs. Vestel has written about cultural hybridization in which young people, for example, take bits and pieces of music from all over the world and combine it into something new, or incorporate words from Urdu or Turkish in their use of the Norwegian language (Vestel 2004). Vestel sees culture as a process and identity as constructed and ever changing. Even if hybridity is associated with combining different elements from several cultures, Vestel (2007) also emphasised the role sameness played in the youth's constructions of hybrid cultures. By downplaying the differences between them and emphasizing what was similar, the youths created what Vestel has called "a community of difference".

Another common way to approach identity among minority youth has been to speak of hyphenated identities such as Pakistani-Norwegian (Hylland Eriksen 1994). Prieur (2007) observed that this way of viewing identity, as at the interface between two identity categories, is the way she often finds that the participants in her studies refer to their own experiences. Prieur's participants explain how in everyday life they value and shift between following formal and informal Norwegian norms in the public sphere, for example, in the workplace or at school, but returning to their country of origin norms at home. The difference between hyphenated and hybrid identities is that in the former, one balances two separate and given cultures (Prieur 2007), while in the latter, new types of identities are shaped at the intersection between two or several sets of cultural connotations.

A criticism of the hybrid perspective is that it, in some forms, tends to romanticize marginal positions. For example, in Vestel's (2004) study, the boys' strategy for tackling marginalization was to embrace their otherness and create their own "community of difference" based on new practices around greeting rituals, language use, dress, and mu-

sic. However, what is not problematized is that these creatively constructed identities might have been chosen because other options were viewed as unavailable or problematic to adopt. The difficulties of tackling the tensions and contradictions that might arise are underestimated in favour of a positive focus on agency and creativity. A researcher who has raised this concern is Mette Andersson (2003), who criticized the hybridity approach for not considering power relations in social processes at the macro level.

In her research of a multi-ethnic youth sports club in Oslo, Anderson (2002) highlighted how the participants where highly reflexive regarding their ascribed identities as "the other" in public debates. For the boys, being role models for younger kids of visible minority background was a common explanation for why they wanted to become good in sports. Furthermore, being good in sports nourished a sense of pride based on personal achievements rather than pride based in national or ethnic background. It was thought that these achievements could perhaps lead to a positive recognition by the wider society in the future, referring to athletes of minority background who had become acknowledged and famous as sports stars. For the girls, a central concern was to help erase the victim stereotype of immigrant women. The boys where their role models, and in comparison to other minority girls who were described as passive, they saw themselves as active individuals. Traditional gender stereotypes could thus be detracted from the girls' self-narratives. Anderson discusses how the fields of sports (and music) tend to become main representative fields for ethnic and racial minorities. However, Anderson is critical to what she refers to as the ideology of liberal multiculturalism that focuses on the individual without reflecting on the collective struggles over identity and boundary work within the nation space.

Katrine Fangen (2010) is another researcher who has focused on factors leading to the social exclusion of minority youths in Norway. In a study using both quantitative and qualitative data, Fangen (2010) found that those who have a well-developed network including both majority Norwegian and migrant friends, and who pursue higher education or have a good job, are best positioned to be less vulnerable to the many humiliations of daily life. However, this also depends on migrant trajectories, and refugees who have spent a short time in the host country seem to be the worst off, especially in terms of labour market access. Fangen found that discrimination plays a role, and that African migrants seemed more exposed to prejudices among the majority population than representatives from other migrant groups included in the

study. This also supports her 2006 findings regarding Somalis' experiences of humiliation in Norway. Her findings illustrate how the stigmatization of Somalis by both the media and bureaucrats has made them the "worst case" group of refugees, leading to difficulties in interactions between Somalis and refugee workers, resulting in humiliating experiences and a feeling of being controlled by the authorities. Fangen recognizes that much research has addressed exclusion from arenas such as education and the labour market, but calls for more research into other types of exclusion, such as relational and spatial exclusion. Underlining the multidimensional aspect of social exclusion, Fangen (2010:153) claimed that by considering inclusion and exclusion in these arenas together with young people's belonging or non-belonging and participation or non-participation in families, peer groups, and local communities, in leisure activities as well as in civic and political organizations, we can better understand social exclusion in young people's lives.

I have been influenced by Fangen's call to explore relational and spatial exclusion, and have sought to contribute to such research in this thesis. However, even if, as Fangen argues, a great deal of research has examined exclusionary mechanisms in Norway, I would argue that a central concern should be that minority youths' experiences of racialization have not been adequately addressed up until recently. Andersson (2010:7) referred to a tendency of racial avoidance in Norway, where research on racism and racialization have been marginalized, despite a number of Scandinavian studies showing how ascribed differences in terms of skin colour, ethnicity and/or religion is central in minority youths identity-work and political engagement.

Andersson (2010) has contribute to highlight how minority youth create alternative transnational spaces of belonging, against the backdrop of racialization and exclusion. While her 2010 article discusses the Norwegian hip-hop milieu identifying with a transnational youth culture deriving from the Bronx in New York, her later work has discussed young people's transnational shared identities as Muslims (Jacobsen and Andersson's 2012). Jacobsen and Andersson (2012) study showed how solidarity with Muslims in Gaza spurred demonstrations in Oslo, intended to persuade Israel to withdraw from Gaza. However, the youth activists' position in Norwegian society was made relevant, as the public debate revolved around "violent youth of minority background". The minority youths own experience of marginalization in Norwegian society as both Muslim and ethnic minorities came to the fore, revealing the connection between the national and transnational

in the youths' political engagement. It has been argued that such "critical events" work to uncover racism and islamophobia in Norway as well as in Europe at large, spurring minority youths transnational political engagements (Andersson et al. 2012, Andersson and Rogstad 2018).

The research on minority youth in Norway has slowly shifted perspective from an individual oriented focus on personal/group characteristics to explain their adjustment to the wider society, to focusing on how broader structural differentiating mechanisms affect their life situations. It is within the latter perspective I position myself. The Structural perspective has held a stronger position in Swedish research on migration and ethnic relations, where postcolonial theory and critical race theory has provided analytical tools to question established truths about Swedish society (Molina 1997, de los Reyes et al. 2003, de los Reyes and Kamali 2005). I will continue this discussion in the theory chapter, where I look at the emergence of research regarding racialization in the Nordic countries.

To summarize, it is possible to divide the literature on minority youth in Norway into four perspectives that both build on and have developed as critiques of one another: I) research focusing on minority youth as situated between two cultures; II) the hybridity approach focusing on migrant youth as able to actively create their own cultures; III) research focusing on structural processes of exclusion/inclusion and power relations; and IV) research focusing on othering processes and transnational spaces of belonging.

Final remarks

A common feature of the studies presented here is that they emphasise the importance of acknowledging the former refugee youths' own perspectives and experiences. They emphasise the youths' ability to negotiate belonging while at the same time pointing to the structural power relations that frame the youths' room to maneuver. The move away from an inward focus on the individuals' psychosocial capacities to a focus on the wider society, has contributed to illuminate how experiences of othering and racialization affects the youth's attachment processes in the new home country.

The three concepts identity, home and belonging are closely connected and often used together in research on migrant and youth of refugee background. A sense of belonging is used to describe feelings of home and vice versa. Likewise, belonging is related to identity in

terms of identifying with a group or a place. However, as Ralph and Staheli (2011:523) have underscored, there is an explicitly social element of belonging that conditions both home and identity. To identify oneself with a place or to be able to call a place one's home is, strongly related to processes of inclusion and exclusion depending on peoples ascribed categories as belonging or not belonging (Ralph and Staheli 2011:523). This is the reason why I have chosen belonging as the overarching concept of the thesis, which I will move on to discuss in the following theory chapter.

3. Multi-sited and multi-layered belongings: a theoretical framework

Introduction

This chapter presents the main theories that influenced the work presented in this thesis, and clarifies how the analyses in the individual articles are connected and inform one another. In line with the thesis' aim and research questions, the theoretical discussion centres on how the concept of belonging can be understood in light of young people's experiences of forced migration, resettlement, and translocal affiliations.

This thesis is based on a postcolonial understanding of migration and belonging in which, on one hand, I rely on poststructuralist notions of power and discourse to understand how belonging is often constructed through boundaries and hierarchies (Anthias 2006, Yuval-Davis 2006, 2011) and, on the other, I use critical phenomenology (Fanon 1968, Ahmed 2000, 2006, Simonsen 2007, 2012) to understand how belonging is negotiated in mundane ways in everyday life. Haldrup et al. (2006) argued that national boundaries are drawn not only discursively and symbolically, but also through embodied everyday encounters in which hegemonic discourses are translated into practice. Similarly, Gullestad (2006:33) argued that social actors draw on everyday-life experiences when they construct racial and national boundaries of belonging. In exploring how the young former refugees negotiated belonging to Norwegian society, I have been particularly interested in theories concerning the social encounter, the creation of "the stranger", and how space is used to differentiate between bodies, which may contribute to producing boundaries of belonging. The attention to the public representation of the nation through language and discourse is seen as complementing the thesis' emphasis on lived experience and embodied social encounters (Gupta and Ferguson 2001:5).

This thesis also investigates belonging at different scales below and beyond the nation, such as the friendship group, the school, the town space, and translocal social connections, and explores how the youths created place belonging through the reiteration of former habits, routinized interaction with the materiality of place, as well as performing

social norms. Antonsich (2010) has argued that the notion of place and people's emotional connections to various places are often neglected in discussions of belonging. While the postcolonial and poststructuralist perspectives have been helpful because they contradict essentialist notions of belonging, identity, and culture as static and territorially bounded, a phenomenological perspective has influenced my analysis of the young participants' interaction with place and reflections on place belonging.

Following Antonsich (2010) and Yuval-Davis (2006, 2011), I understand the concept of belonging as analytically divided into at least two dimensions: a personal dimension related to an emotional "sense of belonging" and attachment to place emerging from everyday practices, and a social dimension that structures membership in collectives through symbolic, discursive, and practiced ideas of what it means to belong, for example, to the nation, described as the politics of belonging.

Epistemological points of departure

Phenomenology has been criticized, particularly by poststructuralist thinkers, for essentialism, for seeing experience as the origin of knowledge, and, particularly by poststructuralist feminists, for describing the anonymous and universal body as implicitly male and white. Lately, much of this criticism has been elucidated by thinkers who claim that phenomenology and post-structuralism have much in common (Ahmed 2006, Stoller 2009, 2010, Simonsen 2012). Stoller (2009:709) has argued that phenomenology does not take experience as the foundation of knowledge; rather, experience and its structures constitute an object of phenomenological investigation. Analysis of the structures of lived experience does not exclude analysis of the discursive construction of experience (and vice versa) (Stoller 2009:723). In her work on feminism and phenomenology, Stoller (2010) has compared Butler's work on performativity and Merleau-Ponty's concept of expressivity, finding that they share an anti-essentialist goal. In addition, Ahmed has brought together elements from poststructuralist thinking and phenomenology. For example, in *Queer Phenomenology*, Ahmed (2006) reinterpreted the classical phenomenology of Heidegger, Husserl, and Merleau-Ponty and developed a theory of how space is shaped by discourses, in turn influencing how bodies are shaped and thus what bodies can do. Through her interpretation, Ahmed has laid the grounds for a phenomenology that includes the critical investigation of how difference is socially produced. In the Geography field,

Simonsen (2007, 2012) argued for a "new humanism" or a critical geography based on a practice-oriented phenomenology that emphasises embodied experience and the significance of human agency. Simonsen combined the work of Merleau-Ponty with the works of postcolonial thinkers such as Ahmed (2006) and Fanon (2008), arguing that a situated analysis of the experiential dimension of social life is a precondition for critical inquiry (Simonsen 2012:23). She emphasised that the focus on experience should not be confused with immediacy, implying a lack of focus on time and space (historicity). Rather, she refers to Merleau-Ponty's attention to intersubjectivity, and how experience is structured by accumulated meanings that become sedimented on the body as a bodily schema, performed and repeated through habits interwoven with power (Simonsen 2012:23). As Ahmed (2006:56) has written, phenomenology helps us understand how bodies are shaped by histories, which they perform through their comportment, postures, and gestures. According to Simonsen (2012:16), the phenomenological body is a dynamic body always in process, continuously weaving meaning throughout the course of its existence in interaction with others and with its environment. Such a phenomenology of practice situates practical, embodied consciousness in the world – an 'interworld' where meaning and materiality are inseparable (Simonsen 2012:15).

After having clarified my epistemological points of departure, I will now move on to discuss the thesis main concept, belonging, and how I understand it in the context of migration.

Belonging in the context of migration

> When I was in Kenya, when I thought about home, I thought of Ethiopia. But now, when I hear about home I think about Kenya and Nairobi. I was ten years old when I came to Kenya, and I lived there the last three years, so I went through all of that, made new friends and even learned the Swazi language a bit … and it became a new home there, in addition to Ethiopia. … It is like this: When we went to Kenya from Ethiopia we said we wanted to go back there someday. When we went from Kenya to Norway, we said we wanted to go back to Kenya one day. I am sure that if we lived here for a while and then went to England, we would say that we wanted to go back to [name of the town in Norway]. It is like a circle. (Feysal, age 14)

Feysal's statement illustrates several important aspects of how belonging might be understood in the context of migration. For Feysal, a feeling of home, in this case understood as a sense of belonging, is clearly

something that can be achieved and that one can feel towards more than one place. He emphasises both the time spent in a place and the effort put into making new friends and learning a new language as important for creating a sense of belonging. Furthermore, he emphasises an emotional connection to the past, seeing his sense of belonging to Kenya as existing in addition to his belonging to Ethiopia, where he was born and spent the first ten years of his life. Feysal and his brother Geedi came to Norway through family reunification, which means that they already had family living in Norway before they came to the country, but they also have relatives and friends still living in Ethiopia and Kenya. This means that Feysal, like many of the youths in this study, has grown up having dispersed networks of family and friends in more than one country, engaging in transnational social practices, creating multiple bonds of belonging to people and places both imagined and experienced. However, creating and maintaining multiple belongings is not a frictionless process, particularly in situations of forced migration and being ascribed the position of refugee in the "new home country", which is the case for most of the youths in this study. As both Anthias (2006:22) and Yuval-Davis (2011:10) pointed out, belonging is often something we take for granted as part of everyday life. It becomes significant and articulated, however, the moment it becomes threatened or when one's claim to belonging is not acknowledged. In this section, I will discuss theoretical concepts that deal with the relationship between (forced) mobility, place attachment, and belonging, concepts that have emerged in light of globalization and an increased political focus on transnational migration. In particular, two theoretical perspectives have been helpful for the analysis of mobility in relation to place attachment in this thesis, the "roots and routes" perspective and the transnationalism and translocality perspective.

Roots and routes

The understanding of belonging as something that can be linked to several locations across national borders, as Feysal's statement illustrates, is not new in the academic literature, in which people's increased mobility, transnational social connections, and multiple affiliations have been acknowledged and theorized at least since the 1990s (Hannerz 1996, Urry 2000, Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004, Caglar and Glick Schiller 2011). However, as Malkki (2001:56) has pointed out, "people are often thought of, and think of themselves, as being rooted in place and as deriving their identity from that rootedness". The roots metaphor often signifies emotional bonds to the physical environment and

local community, including a sense of shared culture (Gustafson 2001). In geography, this view of identity as rooted in place can be found in humanist thinking, often associated with phenomenology. In particular, the work of Tuan (1977) and Relph (1976) has influenced the way geographers have come to understand the emotional relationship between people and place. Tuan (1977) saw identity and belonging as intimately linked to place, and as developed through routinized interaction with the physical environment and through social relations. Over time this can create a "sense of place" and feeling of home. In Tuan's view, place attachment is fundamental for people's ontological security and well-being, and is connected to a static idea of place depicted as stable, comfortable, and "an organized world of meaning" (Tuan 1977:179). According to such a view, mobility threatens people's stable selves and sense of place, associating mobility with uprootedness and a lack of social integration (Tuan 1977, Gustafson 2001, Malkki 2001).

Malkki (2001:54) has argued that such an essentialist view of place has had profound effects on how refugees have been represented as "out of place", in transit, and as risky bodies. Because they have been forced to leave their original home countries and cross the borders of other nation-states, refugees challenge the assumed "national order of things" in which people and cultures are thought of as rooted in "their own" territories. Consequently, refugees have often been described as uprooted from their natural place of belonging, and thus from their identity and culture (Brun 2001, Gupta and Fergusson 2001, Malkki 2001). Even though a sedentarist understanding of people and cultures neatly segmented into different territories is strongly challenged today, the representation of refugees as a problem to be managed is still prevalent in both legislation and public discourse. Crossing nation-state borders involves economic, cultural, and social challenges and fuels debates regarding the control of territorial borders that need to be protected against the "flood of refugees" – a metaphor often used by media and politicians during the refugee crisis in 2015. Globalization has involved changed understandings of identities, values, and belonging, and influential social scientists have described refugees, nomads, and cosmopolitans as the prime examples of the postmodern human being in an increasingly mobile world (Bauman 1998, Urry 2000, Rapport 2006). We are nevertheless also experiencing the re-emergence of nationalistic sentiments and culturalist discourse in Norway as in Europe more broadly (Gullestad 2006, Anthias 2013, Ghorashi 2017). Anthias (2013) described the features of such discourse as "a culturalisation of social relations" that leads to the reification of difference. From a Norwegian perspective, Gullestad (2006) described how these tendencies

have led to refugees being viewed on a spectrum ranging from re-sourceful guests to problematic intruders, but seldom as people who unquestionably belong. There is thus an embedded duality in the roots metaphor, in which roots are seen as important for "a sense of belong-ing", but can also become regressive and lead to exclusionary senti-ments and practices towards newcomers.

Postcolonial approaches to questions of migration and belonging have sought to deconstruct essentialist notions that home and belong-ing are as singular and fixed as roots. Rather, they have suggested that people, cultures, and belongings can be thought of using a routes met-aphor, emphasizing mobility, mixture, diaspora, and hybridity (Gilroy 1993, Hall 1995, Clifford 1997). The routes metaphor is strongly asso-ciated with connections to a multiplicity of places and imagined spaces. In his seminal *Black Atlantic*, Gilroy (1993) demonstrated, for example, that there is a culture that is neither African, American, Caribbean, nor British but that is created in the meeting and mixing of all of these in a transcultural formation transcending nation-states and ethnicity (Gil-roy 1993:4). The book can be read as a critique of modernity and of how European nation-states are based on colonialism and imperialism, while excluding racial and ethnic minorities from the national imagined community. Through accounts of American and European black mu-sic and intellectual writings, Gilroy describes "Black Atlantic" as a counterculture based on border crossings, inter-racial relations, and cultural hybridity. Gilroy's account of cultural hybridity has been influ-ential in studies of minority youth identity formation and belonging in Norway, as described in the literature review chapter.

Hall and Gates (2017) have described how diasporic identity does not entail essentializing past roots, but to be able to move into the fu-ture and the possibility of hybrid identities, such as Black–British, a symbolic detour to the past might be necessary. He writes: "(…) this renarration cuts laterally back and forth to tell a story that is not 'back to our roots' but 'back to our routes'" (Hall and Gates 2017:161). In other words, to create belonging here and now, it is necessary to make connections between the past, present, and future. There is not just one narrative of belonging for diasporic people, but several, and these should be regarded as processual and differently experienced for each individual, even if positioned within the same diasporic community.

Related to this, Probyn (1996:19) defined belonging as an inbe-tweenness between being and longing that describes a desire for at-tachments to people, places, and/or modes of being, describing this "inbetweenness" as "a belonging not in some deep authentic way, but belonging in constant movement". Returning to Feysal's statement

quoted at the beginning of this chapter, this seems like an apt way to understand his reflections on belonging. It is not my intention here to make a direct comparison between the studied youths and people from former colonies and their descendants living in Britain. Newly arrived youths such as Feysal might well have more emotional investment in and knowledge of the language and cultural connotations of their former home places than their new one. The point I want to make, however, is that belonging is a dynamic process that includes moving back and forth from a past that is not forgotten to a present that is not yet fully known, and it is the navigation between these that is involved in making a place familiar and creating a sustainable self-biography. This also points to the youths' reflexivity and intentionality in their process of attaching to a new place, a point I make in article I, in which the youths' navigation between their former home places and the new one is discussed.

The emphasis on mobility, mixture, and connections to multiple places is reminiscent of Massey's (1991, 1993, 2005) idea of place as dynamic and processual, connecting the global with the local. Instead of seeing the mechanisms of globalization as a threat to place, Massey saw them as an opportunity to give multiple meanings and identities to places, making it difficult to operate with an insider/outsider view when it comes to belonging. In this view, places are seen as constellations of the social relations that they tie together, so places are constantly evolving as social relations and practices change and shift over time (Massey 1993:66). As Wiborg (2004:417) has noted, the shift from seeing place as a taken-for-granted fixed entity to a differentiated social construction has transformed the meaning of attachment to place into an object of negotiation and reflexivity. It is this understanding of place that I have relied on in this thesis. However, I also acknowledge the criticism of Massey's understanding of place, for example, by Yuval-Davis (2011:95), who argues that Massey underemphasises the role of borders and boundaries around both territories and social collectives. Yuval-Davis et al. (2019) have shown that borders are becoming increasingly important, especially when it comes to keeping "strangers", such as refugees, under strict control. However, Massey underscores that a place can have different meanings to different people and thus represent several simultaneous narratives of what it means to belong to a particular place, be it a longing for an authentic place in the sense of roots or an open and relational sense of place in the sense of routes.

Both Gilroy (1993:105) and Hall and Gates (2017) have suggested that roots and routes are not mutually exclusive, but can be viewed as simultaneous approaches to understanding the sense of place. This has

also been emphasised by scholars using the roots/routes metaphor to understand the experiences of migrants living in Scandinavian countries today, observing that roots are moving and changing and that both mobility and place attachment lead to individual well-being (Christensen and Jensen 2011:153). In this thesis, this simultaneity of "moving roots", multiple connections, and place attachment is explored.

Transnationalism and translocality

Since the so-called transnational turn in migration and mobility studies (Vertovec 2007), scholars have added to the focus on migrants 'integration' in receiving countries a perspective on processes that transcend international borders. The literature on transnationalism generally focus on the fact that migrants are able to move between origin and destination sites, and live in diverse `habitats of meaning' that are not territorially restricted (Hannerz 1996 in Vertovec 2001: 578). Migrants' social and economic networks make up their social capital with which they can negotiate identity and belonging. Levitt and Schiller (2004:1003) emphasise migrants' 'simultaneity' of connections, living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines and institutions both in a destination country and transnationally. The concept transnational social fields (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) has been used to capture how migrants form multiple new social relations and maintain others as they settle in specific places. Additionally it denotes processes where social institutions like education systems, employment or even family life occur in a transnational context leading to multi-sited identity constructions.

Particularly research on transnational family life has shown how children and youth actively build and keep alive family relationships across transnational space. Orellana et al. (2001) have analysed children's presence and participation in processes of migration, and the constitution of transnational social fields, by looking at how children contribute economically as well as how they cope with the emotional costs and constrains of transnational family life. Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) has highlighted how keeping up a sense of togetherness and meaningful family relationships transnationally, demands work, and suggests looking at transnational family life as an "imagined community", a concept that became valuable in the analysis of Samiras story in Article III. Research has however also shown that return visits to countries of origin can produce ambivalent feelings and a sense of not

really belonging neither 'here' nor 'there' (Mc Michael et al. 2017). Assmuth et al. (2018) discuss how place becomes significant for children during the migration process and how children experience a translocal childhood. In their focus on the embodied everyday lives of children, they challenge what they see as an omission of materiality that surrounds the notion of home and belonging and the dualism between rootedness and rootlessness (Assmuth et al. 2018:10). Furthermore, the authors highlight children in their translocal movements as knowable, learning subjects, for example through how they learn the prevalent discourses in different locations and construct their 'immigrant biographies'.

Ralph and Staeheli (2011) underscores that even though the literature on transnationalism offers a productive way of engaging with migrant's multiple affiliations, the focus on transnational connections can also overshadow migrants' struggles in their new homes. As previous studies of newly settled youth have shown, their well-being and experiences of belonging is strongly connected to the way they are met in their new home country, and their possibilities to participate on equal terms in the local community (Caxaj and Berman 2010; Correa-Velez et al. 2010). The focus on de-territorialization, mobility and transnationalism has tended to depict movement as separate from everyday life experience (Brun 2001, Kelly 2013). Drawing on such notions and the developments within the study of childhood and migration, this thesis focuses on the interconnection between mobility, multi-scalar social networks and place attachment, and shows how this is played out in mundane ways in everyday life. For this reason, I have found the concept of translocality more suitable than transnationalism to explain the experiences of the youth in this study.

A translocality perspective has been used as an agency oriented approach (Brickell and Datta 2011), and is engaged with integrating rather than dichotomizing mobility, movement and fluidity on the one hand and fixity, situatedness and groundedness on the other (Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013:376). While the nation-state is an important analytical frame for understanding the legal aspects of belonging, to make sense of former refugee youth's experiences, it is necessary to account for their situatedness in a particular place, as well as understanding how connections to multiple places form their attachment to place in the here and now. As Brickell and Datta (2011:9) write, scholars engaging with the translocality approach are concerned with local contexts and the situatedness of mobile actors. Even when recognizing migrant's transnational relations upheld by routine contact via modern commu-

nication technology, the translocality perspective allows for an emphasis on place as a process of actual everyday relations (Velayutham and Wise 2005, Brickell and Datta 2011). The thesis shows how the participants in this study are translocal actors that connect and contribute to transform places through their mobility (Brickell and Datta 2011, Hedberg and do Carmo 2013), but also through their 'fixity' in terms of how they connect and put to use knowledge and habits from several places in their everyday practices in new 'home places'. Also, youth of parents with a refugee background, who have not migrated themselves, utilize their knowledge of and visits to other 'home places' in their everyday lives, as shown in article I and III. In addition, the translocality perspective allows for including analysis of networks of social relations and flows of knowledge between localities that are not necessarily crossing borders. This has also shown to be relevant for this thesis, as the youths' in many cases form social networks with migrant youth dispersed across the country. Ralph and Staeheli (2011:525) writes that, "the syntax of belonging, is structured by relationships and practices in a variety of locations, be they local, national, cosmopolitan or, more likely, a combination of all of those locations, as migrants move through their daily lives".

Against such a backdrop I will now turn to discuss the theoretical concepts that I have found significant in order to explore the former refugee youths' attachment to their new 'home place' with a focus on everyday life experiences including material, social and symbolic aspects of place.

Place belonging

In the narratives of the youths in this study, it is possible to distinguish between how they talk about belonging as a personal relationship to people and places and their experiences of the negotiation of belonging due to boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. In the thesis, I have sought to bring out both of these aspects as they are closely entangled, though important to analyze on their own terms. In line with Antonsich (2010:653), I argue that considering only the social dimension risks essentializing belonging as the exclusive product of social discourses and boundary-making practices, which might also draw attention away from the individual's agentic capacity to create place belonging. However, considering only the personal dimension risks treating belonging as an individualist matter detached from socially constructed power relations. It is therefore productive to view belonging from both

of these perspectives. I will return to the negotiation of belonging later in this chapter; first, however, I will discuss the theoretical concepts I have used to investigate how the young former refugees talk about and "do" belonging, focusing on embodiment, everyday practices, routines, and performance.

Place belonging is often associated with a "sense of home" connected to identity narratives regarding memories from the past, particularly childhood, but also linked to bodily sensations, such as smells, sounds, and temperature (Ahmed 2000, Fenster 2005, Yuval-Davis 2006, hooks 2009, Antonsich 2010). Likewise, it has been associated with "feeling safe" in that one feels accepted as part of the local community and shares its social networks and practices (Anthias 2006, Yuval-Davis 2006). Also relevant to understanding the experiences of the young former refugees in this study, place belonging has been found to be affected by legal status, economic aspects, and length of residence (Antonsich 2010). However, it has been argued that the role of place and how refugees actually interact with the local place throughout their daily routines have been paid less attention (Antonsich 2010, Huizinga and van Hoven 2018). These aspects are taken up and discussed in articles I and IV. Article IV takes its starting point in the young former refugee's everyday socio-spatial routines, exploring what activities they are engaged in, where, and with whom. It is argued that the young former refugee's place attachment processes are affected by structural constraints such as school emplacement and access to after-school activities, and that it is necessary to recognize different forms of participation in the local community, outside formal institutions. To understand the youths' attachment processes, it is necessary to recognize their efforts to belong and not only what they have not yet achieved.

Place attachment and everyday routines

To explore how the young participants in the study interacted with place to create place attachment, I have engaged with Seamon's (1980, 2013) theorization of place attachment, which emphasises bodily mobility and habitual everyday practices rather than rootedness and authenticity. According to Seamon (2013), place attachment is not a static one-time act entailing that people either are or are not attached to a place. Rather, it is something that can both take time and change over time and according to life stage. Nor is it given how long it might take to experience a sense of place attachment; rather, this depends on many simultaneous factors ranging from personal to structural. In this study,

factors such as type of school introduction, access to after-school activities, and closeness to other youths of migrant background have been shown to be of importance.

The youths in this study described their everyday lives as structured around several particularly important arenas, such as school and home, an everyday experience they share with most youths in Norway and an organization of the everyday that most were used to before migrating. The school is an important arena because it helps coordinate the youths' movements in time and space, creating a predictable pattern that is important for a sense of ontological security (Giddens 1991) and for being and becoming part of the social fabric of a given place (Anthias 2008). As Seamon (2013:13) observed, we follow a more or less regular regimen of actions, experiences, situations, and occasions all grounded in particular places and in the paths of movement among those places. Such everyday movements normally go unnoticed, as pre-cognitive habitual routines (Seamon 2013). When people's time–space routines overlap, they can create what Seamon (1980, 2013) has metaphorically called a 'place-ballet' – an interaction between individual bodily routines grounded in a particular place. Such coordination of people's routines can, according to Seamon (1980), contribute to an experience of place attachment. One way to understand how unconscious routines work and what they mean to our sense of belonging is to see what happens when they do not go on as usual, when there is a breach in what is normally just an everyday routine.

While hanging out during a lunch break in the classroom of the first introductory class I observed, a minor situation unfolded that caught my attention and that I later recalled when thinking about place attachment. After the lunch break, half of the introductory-class students were going to a physical education class, though this time they were not going to the school gymnasium as usual, but to a public recreational area a one-kilometre walk from the school, where they were expected to meet after the lunch break. It was assumed that the students could find their way on their own:

> Halfway into the lunch break, Sobia tries to capture Abaja's attention, asking him which way to walk to get to the park. Abaja, however, is in the middle of a discussion with his friends and doesn't really respond to her question. Sobia waits for a while and then goes to ask Abaja again if they can walk together to the park. When Abaja doesn't really pay her attention this time either, she seems stressed and anxious to get going. Some of her other classmates try to explain what road to take and where to turn, giving her examples of landmark buildings to

look for. Sobia, however, does not seem to recognize their descriptions. She turns to Abaja again, asking him to walk with her, but he is not ready to leave and gives her directions of where to go. Finally, she grabs her backpack and silently leaves the classroom on her own. (Excerpt from field notes, 13 November 2012)

For the teachers and most of the students in the class, knowledge of how to get from the school to the recreational area was part of their taken-for-granted knowledge of the town space, so much so that it was hard for the other students to grasp why Sobia seemed so stressed. The situation illustrates how orienting oneself within the town space becomes implicit and tacit knowledge once it has become familiar and, more importantly, how frustration and anxiety can arise when one has not mastered the space where one's everyday life plays out. Ahmed (2000:91) wrote that migration can lead to the failure of memory to make sense of the place one comes to inhabit, a failure experienced in the discomfort of inhabiting a migrant body, a body that feels out of place. Becoming attached to a place and feeling a sense of belonging is in its most basic sense about feeling oriented, about recognizing one's surroundings and understanding the embodied norms of how to move about the place, i.e., it is a process of embodying place. In this thesis, I have explored how the youths oriented themselves in their local environment through walks, for example, to and from school, and through their descriptions of emotional encounters with the landscape in their new home place, as described in article IV. However, orientation is about more than just finding one's way; it is also about "finding out what young people do in this place", as one participant put it. Article I discusses how places can become familiar through the continuation of habits and routines that the youths were used to from their former home places. This refers to the navigation between the former and new home places, as previously discussed. Relatedly, article I also discusses how the youths related place attachment and belonging to habits and routines because they, in imagining returning to former home places, could not see themselves as part of the same routines and thus were unable to recognize themselves as belonging there. The difficulty of returning to a former home place and the sense of ambivalence this can create is well documented (McMichael et al. 2017). Ahmed (2000:91) wrote that it is impossible to return to a place that was lived in as home, precisely because the home is not exterior, but interior to embodied subjects. It is part of memory and nostalgia and does not exist in itself, as former home places are also always shifting and changing. However, as many of the studied youths keep frequent contact with friends and family from former home places, helping shape their

sense of belonging in the here and now, it is argued in article I that the former home places should not be thought of as lost homes, but as nodal points in the youths' translocal networks that make up their life worlds, and as a basis for creating multiple belongings.

Embodied habits, performance, and 'mirroring'

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau (1984) considered the mundane activities that the residents of a city undertake, i.e., their "doings" in everyday life that make the city a lived space. Certeau sees space as practiced place,[3] reasoning that people make sense of space through everyday practices and that repeating these practices can be a means to overcome alienation (Leach 2002:284). In Certeau's (1984:93) theory, corporeal everyday activities, like walking, are part of a process of getting to know and making claims on the city, in turn imbuing the space with meaning and sentiment; belonging is accordingly a sense that stems from how everyday activities are performed over time. This illustrates how belonging can be seen as a process, as everyday experience, memories, and sentiments grow over time, preferably alongside accumulated attachments. Certeau is occupied with the power relations that structure place and with how people find ways (or tactics, as he calls them) to get around and live with these structures. To illustrate this, Certeau uses language as a metaphor, for just as we have to use the rules of language to make sense, the specific ways we do this are in practice almost infinite (Creswell 2015:70).

With Certeau as a starting point, place belonging can be seen as an "everyday achievement" that is within reach of everyone who engages with a certain place. Article IV engages with the ideas of repetition, habit, and walking practices, working into the analysis a focus on the performativity and reiteration of social norms connected to place. Even though Certeau was concerned with power relations through discourse and practice, he did not discuss how identification with place and the differentiation between people in place actually come about. I use the concept of performativity for two reasons: first, because it advances our understanding of how the subject is both symbolically constructed and embodied; and second, because the "doing" side of performativity provides a tool to expose how belonging does not need to

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[3] This can be confusing since the concepts are reversed compared with how geographers, such as Tuan, normally talk about place as practiced space; however, they are intended to describe the same phenomenon.

be connected to roots but rather is something that can be learned, created, and contested in negotiation with others. It also underscores a focus on agency, as the youths can give meaning to place through their performances.

Performativity is a concept developed by Butler (1990) vis-à-vis gender. Butler developed her theory as an argument against essentialist notions of identity, claiming that it is our actions and not our biological bodies that constitute gender. Butler (1990:140) described gender as the stylized repetition of acts of gender that create the idea of gender. The point here, simply stated, is that particular norms inscribed on the body are unconsciously enacted, and by acting on them we contribute to reproducing the social structures that form us in the first place. As Butler (1990) explained, the structures that we follow in our performativity of gender are themselves products of performance. This does not mean that the body is predetermined, because even though gendered performances are based on gendered norms, these norms are themselves vulnerable to subversion as they exist on the basis of reiteration (Murphy 2014:203). Performativity permits agency as the norms can be subverted. In the same way, belonging to a place can be detached from ideas of territorial rootedness, instead building on the performativity of place norms that at the same time are constantly changing in relation to different constellations of people and their networks, and to other places local and global (Savage et al. 2005). Connecting Butler's theory of performativity to belonging, Bell (1999) argued that belonging can be viewed as the everyday performance of ordinary practices, for example, as shown in article IV, which describes the youths performing belonging through their self-fashioning and bodily behaviour relating to clothing practices. It can also be done through more ritualized practices (e.g., ceremonies or celebrations) that involve recognition of the performance and its importance for creating community belonging (Fortier 1999). Performing belonging can thus be both an unconscious endeavour and a self-reflexive and conscious practice.

Inspired by Leach (2002), who connected Certeau's analysis with a Lacanian psychoanalytic perspective, particularly the mirror-stage concept, I also draw on the concept of "mirroring" in analysing and making sense of how the studied youths described their attachment to place. Leach discussed how identification with place is forged through a series of "mirrorings". A mirroring process depends on the "introjection" of the external world into the self, and the "projection" of the self onto the external world, so that the one reflects the other (Leach 2002:288). Emotional investments in place and the memories created

in and of place are crucial for mirroring to occur in which one recognizes oneself in the surrounding environment. The habitual repetition of certain acts in a place can help people recognize themselves in objects that have become familiar to them, consolidating the process of identification with place (Leach 2002:290). In article IV, Yasmeen's photo depicted a place in her local environment that she particularly enjoyed because she had fond memories of spending time there with her father, imbuing the place with positive emotions. The same article also illuminated how micro-ritualistic performances of friendship might allow a process of "mirroring" to occur in which the spaces where such friendship rituals are enacted also become places of belonging.

Orientations, power and the significance of strong bonds

The material and social aspects of place come together in habitual time–space routines, combined with a performativity of belonging that allows for recognition of the self in both the surrounding environment and other people who take up particular spaces. Bringing in the psychoanalytical aspect of mirroring helps highlight the symbolic aspect of place that leads to thinking not only about the relationship between the individual and place, but also about how place is imbued with competing discourses and how the individual sees herself and is perceived by others as fitting within these discourses. As Molina (2007) has argued, space is not a socially neutral container for human activity, but creates and is in turn created by intersecting power relations. Relatedly, Ahmed (2006, 2010) has noted that social imaginations shape how bodies can be in the world, describing how some spaces extend certain bodies and leave no room for others. Ahmed (2006:11) wrote that, if orientation is about making the strange familiar through the extension of certain bodies into space, then disorientation occurs when that extension fails. In articles II and III, I have discussed how the spatial mobility of the young study participants might be restricted due to other people's "gaze" on them, signalling their out-of-place-ness. Ahmed's (2000, 2006, 2010) theorization of how bodies are read and understood in relation to prior histories and the surrounding space in which they find themselves, has implicitly and explicitly influenced the analytical framing of this thesis, a matter to which I will return when discussing the social encounter as theoretical concept.

In light of the theoretical discussion so far and the empirical findings presented in the articles, I would argue that one can create place attachment and "do belonging", but wholehearted place belonging also

demands that one experience social connections stronger than those created through sharing the same place routines. As will be discussed later in this chapter, overlapping and convivial encounters in public space are not in themselves enough to create a sense of belonging – strong bonds are important. In article IV, Nila describes how her sense of belonging evolved as a simultaneous process of getting to know the materiality of place and creating strong friendship bonds. The empirical material presented in the articles illustrates how other youth of migrant background are important in the process of learning the norms of a local place, what places to go, what clothes to wear, etc., helping newcomers' in-to-place. How youth of refugee, migrant, or minority background tend to find friendship among one another has also been discussed in earlier Norwegian studies (Andersson 2004, Vestel 2004, Eriksen 2012). In article II, I suggested that this might be understood as a sense of belonging among others with similar experiences of being multicultural, and who have experienced a lack of recognition for this. Ahmed (2000:93) has discussed how migrants can re-inhabit spaces and places through gestures of friendship with others who are already recognized as strangers. The shared experience of not being "fully at home" can be put to work in the act of producing a place of one's own in the here and now. This, I suggest, is what the youths in this study were doing when making friendships with one another and performing belonging in their local communities.

So far in this chapter I have emphasised the personal dimension of belonging as related to aspects of identification with and attachment to place. In the next section, I will discuss the relational dimension of belonging associated with boundary work and negotiating what it means to belong to a social collective. Here, the thesis' emphasis on power dimensions will be brought to the fore, particularly when discussing the boundaries of the imagined Norwegian community and how these are experienced by the participants in the study.

Politics of belonging: boundary work and negotiation

> Yasmeen: I think there is a difference between Muslim girls and boys. Because the boy does not seem like he is a Muslim or anything, yeah? Like, Muslim boys wear the same jeans and t-shirts that they did in their own homeland, yeah? So, when they come to Europe it is the same, there is no difference. But when a girl comes here, there will be differences between the way you dress there and the way people dress here. So it changes. Like … out of hundred, I would say, maybe there would be 60–70 per cent problems for a girl and maybe 30–40 percent for a boy. Because nowadays people don't even want a Muslim name. Like, a Muslim name, people judge it. I don't know if you have seen it? I can give you an example. If they are given a CV, and the guy's name is Abdul, the first thing they will wonder is, is he from Afghanistan or from Somalia? And already then their point of view [i.e., their prejudice] is confirmed. After that, whatever they read in the CV will be based on what the name is.
>
> Tina: So if one is from either of these countries it would be more difficult?
>
> Yasmeen: Not just especially from these two countries, but maybe foreigners, you could say, also foreigners in general. Maybe it will be more difficult for them to get a job than for others.
>
> (Yasmeen, age 15)

This quotation from Yasmeen reflects how political struggles over what it means to belong to a collective, in this case formulated as negative stereotypes about Muslims, do not escape young people's awareness. Moreover, it illustrates how belonging needs to be understood through an intersectional lens to understand how individuals might experience the boundaries of belonging to a collective in different ways (Yuval-Davis 2011:2). Yasmeen describes a hierarchy in which Somalis and Afghans are regarded as less desirable employees due to a perceivable affiliation with Islam. Foreigners in general are also thought to face difficulties, but not to the same extent as do people of Muslim background. On top of the hierarchy are those she refers to as "others", who in this case are white majority Norwegians. At the beginning of the quotation, Yasmeen reflects on the differences between being a Muslim girl and being a Muslim boy, emphasizing the role of dress. The way in which many Muslim girls often dress, particularly concerning the hijab, can be described as a marker of difference that constantly demands engagement with the social meanings attached to it (Dwyer

1999, Scott, 2009, Listerborn 2015). In article II, Yasmeen reflects on how she experiences other people's impression of her in what can be described as boundary-making encounters based on her physical appearance and dress, and how she has learned to manage them and claim her belonging. In what follows I will discuss the concepts I have found useful to explore the positions from where the youths negotiate their belongings. The thesis has explored how various categories of difference might become mobilised in boundary making processes, and yet merged into a broad category of "others" or "foreigners" when boundaries of belonging are drawn between the "us" of the imagined Norwegian community, and the "them" who are excluded from that collective. However, as has been discussed in article III, belongings can be found on different geographical scales and to several social collectives, large or small.

Belonging to a collective entails identifying the terms and conditions of belonging, and therefore also defining who does *not* belong. Following the legacy of Barth (1969), this is often described as "boundary work" in which differences and similarities between social collectives are negotiated, focusing particularly on the production of external differences to create internal similarities (Jenkins 2008:121). Yuval-Davies (2011:17) has emphasised that such negotiations are not mutual but depend on the social actors' relative power positions. One side claims belonging and the other side has the power to grant belonging, which can happen at either an individual or collective scale (Antonsich 2010:650). However, as collective identifications and their boundaries are constructed in interaction, they are also potentially flexible, negotiable, and situational (Jenkins 2008:131).

As Anthias (2008:9) has noted, boundaries can be a product of external constraints, such as legal rules relating to membership, but they can also be inscribed on the body through physical appearance (e.g., skin colour), through body style (e.g., in class relations), or the bodily and personal style/gait associated with ethnic difference. It is such bodily boundaries that the youth in the study describe that they encounter and need to negotiate in a more or less explicit way in their everyday lives, as exemplified in Yasmeen's statement above. The choice to open with this statement illuminating negative stereotypes about people of Muslim background is not coincidental. Although the youths in general describe boundaries of belonging along various categories of difference, the girls of Muslim background in particular, described repeatedly having to justify and explain their lifestyle and choices, and being subjected to name-calling and exclusionary practices. As Hylland Eriksen (2015:3) noted, Muslims occupy a precarious

position in the Norwegian imaginary and can be expelled from the imagined community whenever the culturally hegemonic see fit. This was the starting point for the particular focus on girls of Muslim background in article III. However, I also wanted to highlight how their experiences varied to a great extent according to intersectional positionings as well as time spent in Norway and place of residence. Intersectionality has been a core concept in the thesis at large and will be discussed on its own terms towards the end of the theory chapter. I will however, also mention it here in relation to Yuval-Davis' (2006, 2011) theoretical framework regarding belonging and politics of belonging, in which intersectionality is integrated, and which I have made use of in its entirety in article III.

Yuval-Davis (2011) differentiated between three analytical perspectives of belonging: 1) people's social locations, 2) people's identifications with and emotional attachments to collectives, and 3) ethical and political values and judgments concerning how boundaries of belonging to certain social groupings should be drawn. Firstly, social locations are connected to different group identities such as gender, race, religion or age. Yuval-Davis argued that these need to be analysed through an intersectional perspective in order to understand people's different positions in relation to power both within and between such categories. Secondly, people can be ascribed group identities without feeling attached to them or to other people viewed as belonging to the same group. Identification with a group is produced through practice and performance in specific social and cultural spaces which can create an emotional attachment. It is therefore important to separate between perspective one and two, because belonging to different group identities is not pre-given, but emerge through social practice. This analytical separation is also important in order to identify people's resistance both to suppressive social and economic locations, and to people's internalizations of ascribed identities (Yuval-Davis 2006: 203). Yuval-Davis also describes how the significance of emotional attachments to various collectives, can vary according to context, and change over time (Yuval-Davis 2011: 15). The third and last perspective concerning ethical and political values, entails assessments of what it should mean to belong to a collective. On a macro level, the politics of belonging is about boundary making concerning who can belong to the 'us' of the nation, connected to ideas of citizenship, imagined communities, and symbolic power (Yuval-Davis 2011: 20). In article III, Yuval-Davis framework has functioned to help me make clear the relationship between actor and structure or between a personal sense of belonging and politics of belonging involving discourses on a macro-level.

As Yuval-Davis (2011) and others (Fenster 2005, Anthias 2008), have emphasised, belonging to a social collective can be a product of an official "formal structure" of membership, such as citizenship, and likewise important, discursive and symbolic aspects of belonging to an imagined community. Citizenship is important because it covers a set of civil, political and social rights on one hand, and an exercise of those rights through responsibilities and participation on the other (Marshall 1992). However, belonging encompasses more than these "formal structures" and can be more or less arbitrary in everyday life situations. As a recent study in Norway (Erdal et al. 2018:720) has underscored, there are obvious limits to the role of citizenship in producing belonging among youths of migrant background. Even though people's right to belong in terms of citizenship is acknowledged, there is still a socially produced hierarchy of belonging particularly connected to the understanding of Norwegianness as equated with whiteness (Gullestad 2002, 2006, Vassenden 2011, Erdal et al. 2018). Researchers examining children and young people's positions as citizens have largely shifted focus from what they consider adult-centric measures of citizenship relying on formal expressions of politics, to the micro-scale interactions of youth in everyday life (Wood 2016). The sociologist Anita Harris has for example shown how young people actively participate in their local communities through informal activities in their neighbourhoods. Her studies of diverse urban neighbourhoods in Australia has brought insight into how the youths friendship practices are a source to positive intercultural relations that operate outside formalized efforts to create social cohesion (Harris 2013, 2018:606). In this thesis I have been interested in everyday negotiations of the informal boundaries of belonging, and of how discursive ideas of Norwegianness affect how the youths view themselves, both within the Norwegian society, as well as beyond the nation-state border. For this reason, I have chosen to focus on belonging as the overarching concept, rather than citizenship, although I acknowledge that the two are closely entangled. In the next section I will elaborate on what is meant by the Norwegian imagined community.

Imagined Norwegianness and constructions of the "foreigner"

Having spent time in different forms of preparation classes, language training classes as well as ordinary classes, I was made aware of the division between the youths of refugee/migrant background and the majority youths. In addition, the youths who had lived in Norway for

an extensive amount of time and felt established and attached to their schools, their local communities and to Norway, nevertheless spoke of how their claims to Norwegianness was questioned due to their skin colour, language (having an accent), and religion (particularly being Muslim). There were also those among the newly arrived who spoke of experiences of racism and exclusion, but they tended to explain this through their own lack of language skills or not daring to make contact with majority Norwegian youths. Those who had lived in Norway for a long time, on the other hand, had reflected on and begun to question why they were subjected to othering and stigmatization. For many, a way to challenge this was to embrace the category "foreigner". This made me interested in how boundaries of Norwegianness is negotiated and reproduced both through institutions like the school and in everyday social encounters.

The discussion of belonging to Norway as a nation draws on Benedict Andersons' (1991) definition of the imagined community. He described the national community as imagined *"because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"* (Anderson 1991:6). Inhabitants continually imagine and articulate the categories, values and beliefs, to which they feel affiliated, constructing boundaries of inclusion and exclusion through both public discourse and everyday socio-spatial practices (Anderson 1991, Taylor 2004, Gullestad 2006). Imagined communities are thus made up of historically and geographically situated frames of understanding, and should not be viewed as essential and clear cut definitions, but rather under continuous construction.

Norway, like the other Nordic countries are often described as egalitarian, emphasizing all people's equal rights and opportunities (Gullestad 2006, Hylland Eriksen 2013). In Norway, the anthropologist Marianne Gullestad (2002, 2006) has analysed how egalitarianism as a core value comes with a specific assumption about 'sameness'. In the Norwegian language, the word 'Likhet' means both equality and similarity, and no terminological distinction is made between equal rights and cultural similarity (Hylland Eriksen 2013:7). According to Gullestad (2006:170) social actors must therefore view themselves as more or less the same in order to feel of equal value. Gullestad (2006:170) argues further that in social interaction, people tend to seek commonalities among each other and to downplay differences. When the differences are considered "too great", avoidance is a common strategy. Hylland Eriksen (2013:7) notes that the Norwegian government has been active in creating politics to foster equal opportunities, but is less skilled in

dealing with diversity, hence, in reality, discrimination on the labour market (Midtbøen and Rogstad 2012) and in the education system (Pihl 2009, Trøften 2010) is still widespread. Hylland Eriksen (2013:7) claims that this is connected to the construction of the welfare state where equality has always been associated with cultural homogeneity. This means that the understanding of equality is closely tied to an idea of Norwegianness as built on common history, ethnicity and descent (Gullestad 2006, Hylland Eriksen 2013).

The equality ideology has been a prominent feature of the education system, and inclusive education is a continuous political objective. However, as several studies (Lidén 2001, Seeberg 2003), have shown, equality understood as "imagined sameness" has tended to suppress recognition of social and cultural diversity where the Norwegian society is presented as more homogeneous than it actually is. As Lidén (2001:80) has shown, implicit sameness through normative expectations about what should be a natural part of the students' frame of reference, creates dichotomies such as same/different, normal/abnormal, and "we"/ "the others", where minority students are often rendered as "the deviant others". Similarly, Chinga-Ramirez (2015, 2017) has examined how minority students' understandings of themselves as "foreigners" can be seen as a reaction to an implicit normality that she describes as a "Norwegian habitus", from which they perceive themselves as different. The study problematizes the schools' seeming pedagogical neutrality and highlights the minority students' challenges in a school system that is in fact framed in a Western, individualistic, middle class mentality (Chinga-Ramirez 2015). What is consistent throughout these studies, as well as in the present thesis (see article II), is that Norwegianness is understood as something one should strive for, and the category "foreigner" is not only produced as "the other" to the category "Norwegian" but is also understood as subordinate to it.

Increased migration-related diversity in Norway has led to a need to scrutinize the Norwegian self-image and to challenge the mono-cultural conception of the nation. This has spurred a renewed interest among scholars to explore what constitutes the nation and its boundaries, and how Norwegianness is understood and negotiated among ordinary people in everyday life. As presented in Article II, Vassenden (2010) is one scholar who has created a conception of Norwegianness analytically distinguished into four components; citizenship, cultural stuff, ethnicity and whiteness/non-whiteness. In Vassendens study, the white adult informants skillfully distinguished between all of these components to describe different forms of belonging to the category "Norwegian". Svendsen (2014), has however criticised Vassendens

conceptualization for being too neat and lacking a focus on power-relations. In her classroom study of ethnic relations, identity work and racism, in a high school in Oslo, Svendsen (2014) found that all of these components were collapsed in a struggle over inclusion and exclusion. Throughout the classroom discussion about who is "Norwegian", a factor that appeared as significant, but which both the teacher and the students carefully tried to avoid, was race. For some of the students, none of the components, not even citizenship was enough to reassure their belonging to Norway. Svendsen (2014) thus underscores the significance of racial social structures for the distribution of power in the classroom setting, as well as the affective aspects of racism.

In article II, it is not what constitutes Norwegianness per se, that I am interested in, but rather Norwegianness as a power position, strongly connected to normative whiteness. In my understanding, Norwegianness is not a homogeneous or essential entity that one can either belong to or not, it is constantly under construction and negotiation. However, individuals will have different access to claim Norwegianness depending on various intersecting subject-positions. In the article I suggest that a way to include a focus on power-relations, is to take account of space and how spatial relations contribute to create categories and normalise habitual practices (Cresswell 1996). As several of the above-mentioned studies have shown, whiteness is a continuous marker of Norwegianness, but we still know little about how whiteness as a boundary maintaining mechanism is sustained through institutional and everyday practices. This issue is raised in article II where it is discussed how whiteness as a norm might operate and how it is spatialized. In line with Svendsen (2014), the article thus connects the construction of the dichotomous categories "Norwegian" and "foreigner" to racial social structures. In so doing I have been influenced by literature that has highlighted how race plays a role in shaping social divisions in present day Scandinavia, which I will now turn to discuss.

Race and racialization in the Nordic countries

Over the past fifteen years there has been increasing interest in racism and racialization in the Nordic countries, expressed via dialogue with American and European critical race theory as well as feminist and post-colonial theory (Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012, Svendsen 2014, Hervik 2019). In the Norwegian context, Gullestad's (2002, 2006) work has been significant for the increased interest in race relations on the part of scholars in Norway. By applying a post-colonial perspective to the Norwegian public discourse of nationhood and immigration in the

1990s, Gullestad (2002) pointed out that the hegemonic majority helped create a binary between the categories "Norwegian" and "immigrant" with "Norwegianness" being constructed as an un-problematized normative center contrasted to the culturalized immigrant population. Gullestad (2002, 2006) illuminated how tacit racial structures are deeply engrained in the national imaginary, linking this to Norway's complicity to colonial practices and the cultural and institutional inheritance of colonialism. There is thus an ideological continuity between colonialism and contemporary race thinking. Gullestad (2006:24) describes race thinking as racial horizons of understanding that can be viewed as symbolic resources and interpretative frames that are available to all, and which in given situations might be employed more or less by anyone.

The concept of race has been highly contested in Nordic academia, however, particularly due to its connection to scientific racism in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and to the atrocities of World War II. This has led to a tendency to view race as something that belongs either to the past or to places far away, and to view racism as connected only to extremist groups, while what is politically correct is to follow a colour-blind ideology (Gullestad 2006). Research on migration-related issues and cultural diversity in Norway has instead utilized ethnicity as the core concept in understanding discrimination and the hierarchization of people, largely focusing on "ethnic minorities" (Gullestad 2006). Scholars leaning on critical race theory have criticized the concept of ethnicity because it can hide inequalities that occur on the basis of bodily markers, which are further linked to characteristics assumed to be innate, preferring the terms "race" and "racialization" to clarify these inequalities (Miles and Brown 2003:101, Molina 2005:103–104, Gullestad 2006:29). Today it is widely agreed that the concept of race is not anchored in actual biological differences; instead, it is viewed as socially constructed and it is meaning as shifting and continuously negotiated, albeit with material and emotional consequences in terms of privilege and discrimination (Molina 2005, Gullestad 2006). Molina (2005:95–96) has defined racialization as the outcome of social practices, actions, norms, and ascriptions that make ideas of race into effective differentiating mechanisms. The concept is useful because it can be applied at both the institutional and individual level to analyse how people produce, embody, and reproduce racial imaginaries in everyday life. Molina (2005:97) therefore, underscores that the institutional and the interpersonal should be seen as interdependent. In article II, I have adopted this understanding of racialization as something we do in everyday life, and as a process that changes in relation to space and time. In the article

I point at three prevalent aspects of such a process that within the school context contribute to construct the category "foreigner"; skin colour, language and spatial segregation, and discuss the participants' experiences related to these aspects and how they work together.

A prevalent aspect of racial social relations in Norway that is not discussed in article II, but which is discussed at length in article III, is the intersection between race and religion. Scholars have argued that there is an ongoing "muslimification of racism" in Europe, of which gender is also an important component (Essed and Trienekends 2008:62, Bulmer and Solomos 2009, Vassenden and Andersson 2011). Particularly the aforementioned studies by Anderson (2010), Jacobsen (2011), and Jacobsen and Andersson (2012) of young, first generation Norwegians of Muslim background and their political engagement, have been vital for the understanding of how religion is racialized in contemporary Norway. This was further confirmed in Bangstads (2014) study of the political mainstreaming of racist and islamophobic discourses in the Norwegian public sphere, largely motivating the terror attacks in Norway in 2011. Bangstad (2014:21-22) writes that the fundament of islamophobia is a form of essential thinking about difference where Muslims are believed to act and think in certain ways by virtue of their religious adherence, thus reproducing the same essentializing logic that is found in various other forms of racism.

Before I move on to discuss the theoretical concepts I have made use of in my analysis of the youths experiences of racialization, particularly through Ahmeds (2000) concept of "the strange encounter", I will provide a short overview of how the social encounter as a concept has been used in previous research.

Boundaries of belonging in everyday life: The social encounter

In the micro scale of young people's everyday mobility, bodies and habits are significant in the negotiation of belonging, both in the process of attaching to place as material, and in terms of social inclusion and exclusion.

There has been much scholarly interest in the encounter as a potential for social integration between people who are perceived to be different from each other, primarily related to migration-driven diversity (Erdal and Strømsø 2018). Much city planning has also, following Allport's (1954) 'contact hypothesis', been founded on the idea that social encounters have the potential to increase familiarity and positive co-

habitanse. Geographers, like Lauriere and Philo (2006) have emphasised ways of doing togetherness by studying public encounters in everyday life micro-scale situations, claiming that the low level sociability of holding doors, sharing seats on the bus and talking to each other in shops is one way of doing togetherness that brings about mutual acknowledgement. However, the belief in the transformative capacity of public encounters have been heavily contested. Valentine (2008) for example questions the assumption that contact with 'others' necessarily translates into respect for difference. On the contrary, Valentine (2008) argues, based on her own research on prejudice that proximity does not equate with meaningful contact. She finds that even if people behave friendly towards each other in public space this does not equate with having respect for difference. Instead, according to Valentine (2008:32) everyday convivial encounters often mark a culture of tolerance, which leaves the issue of our multiple, and intersecting identities unaddressed and overshadow historical and material conditions of power. Still, the literature on migration and diversity has experienced a convivial turn (Lapina 2015) emphasizing the positive effects of intermixture in everyday encounters.

In a recent Norwegian study of young people's understanding of the boundaries of the nation through first impressions, Erdal and Strømsø (2018) found a dissonance in the pupil's descriptions of how the boundaries of Norwegianness are and what they ought to be. This revealed a normative side that involved a reflective questioning of visibility (race i.e. being non-white) as a boundary of the nation. The young people in the study acknowledged that this was still the case, but underscored that it should not be, hence viewing the unquestioned belonging of young Norwegians of colour as a normative ideal. The authors conclude that enduring interpersonal relations can work to contradict taken-for-granted aspects of visibility as boundary-making mechanism of the everyday nation, even though they also acknowledge that relationality does not always supersede first impression.

In her study of social encounters in a neighbourhood in Copenhagen, Lapina (2015) found that, even though her informants would relate these everyday encounters with conviviality and "mixing", they could also be read as settings of boundary making. Through conversations with majority Danes, Lapina learned that white, middle class, majority Danishness was associated with the centre, (con) fused with resourcefulness and competence, while ethnicized/racialized others were assigned to the periphery and associated with disadvantage and lack of knowledge of codes of conduct, being a target for pedagogical intervention. These imaginaries were active regardless of whether those

whose bodies were made different were embraced, tolerated or excluded by those in majority positions. Lapina (2015:39) suggests that, rather than taking 'difference' for granted, it might be more fruitful to examine how and which differences become mobilised as constitutive of social divisions, and how various categories of difference might be fused in order to legitimise these divisions.

I acknowledge the transformative capacity social encounters might have on young people's normative reflections regarding boundaries of belonging to Norway, as argued by Erdal and Strømsø. My focus has been on situations and encounters in public spaces, like the town center, and semi- public spaces, like schools, where the young participants have experienced processes of othering and racialization. As there has been few studies in Norway where concrete experiences of racism have been studied, I argue that it is important to understand in what situations this might happen and what it does to young people's sense of self and belonging. Even if the youths of refugee background participate in their local communities and "do" belonging, they talk about having little contact with majority youth. In school, they are often left to themselves to handle social interaction and it is presumed that the transition from introductory class to ordinary class should happen naturally. In the schools a mix between minority and majority students are preferred, and it is sometimes even seen as a failure when minority youths form friendship groups with each other. Although social mixing is preferred, it is not discussed in what way white middle class norms might be privileged in such interaction.

The phenomenological experience of race through social encounters and institutionalized habits

To understand the young participants' narratives of finding themselves in situations where they have been made to feel different and excluded, and to relate these experiences to a broader socio-historical frame of analysis, I have found Ahmeds (2000) theorization of the social encounter particularly useful. In her book *Strange Encounters*, Ahmed (2000) describes how the stranger is produced through knowledge. Rather than being someone we do not know or recognize, she argues that the stranger is somebody that we have already recognized as "a body out of place". Encounters with others therefore involve practices and techniques of differentiation. Difference is not simply found on the body but is established as relations between bodies. Still, difference is played out on the surface of the body. Ahmed explains that when we encounter others we seek to recognize who they are by looking for

signs on their body or by reading their body as a sign (Ahmed 2000:8). However, if we do not recognize "the other" as familiar, we find other ways to achieve recognition and this is when we turn to prior histories, prior encounters or circulating discourses to be able to recognize and categorize "the other". In this way of framing the encounter, as informed by both the specificity of the encounter in the here and now, and broader more general discourses, Ahmed draws attention to the relationship between power and experience, where both space and time play a significant role in practices and techniques of differentiation. Even though encounters can be described as everyday face to face meetings, they are always framed by broader relationships of power; *"*they presuppose other faces, other encounters of facing, other bodies and other times and reopen prior histories of encounters*"* (Ahmed 2000:7). Encounters shaped by asymmetrical power relations that are historically and (geo) politically produced, can work to constitute one as the subject that belongs by fixing the other in a position as "the stranger". This resembles Fanons (2008) idea of the bodily "historical-racial" schema, which he described as historical and racial frames of reference that lie beneath the surface of the body, and which can be evoked by "the white gaze", leading to an internalization of a subordinate self-image – a sensation referred to as double consciousness (Fanon 2008). In article II I discuss how encountering "the white gaze" is experienced by youths in this study, which highlights how othering processes go about unnoticed and functions as a control mechanism regarding who can be "in place" and who are seen as "out of place" within different parts of the school space.

As Ahmed (2006, 2010) argues, space is both marked by and marks bodies. Spaces take shape through the habitual actions of bodies and by being oriented towards some bodies more than others.

Within critical whiteness studies, it has been underscored how whiteness is the unmarked center against which others appear as that which deviates (Dyer 1997, Frankenberg 1993, Ahmed 2012). Due to the legacy of colonialism white bodies do not have to face their whiteness because they do not have to encounter being white as an obstacle, as whiteness is what is expected (Ahmed 2006:132). Whiteness is therefore described as a habit, because it tends to go unnoticed (Ahmed 2012:35). Ahmed does not however see these spatial habits as merely individual. In article II, I specifically draw on Ahmeds (2010, 2012) writing on institutionalized whiteness and discuss how the youths navigate within what Ahmed calls "white space":

> "When we talk about "a sea of whiteness" or "white space", we talk about the repetition of the passing by of some bodies and not others,

and yet non-white bodies do inhabit white spaces; we know this. Such bodies are made invisible when spaces appear white, at the same time as they become hypervisible when they do not pass, which means they "stand out" and "stand apart." You learn to fade into the background, but sometimes you can't or you don't." (Ahmed 2012:42).

Institutions are here described as orientation devises that take shape of the bodies that reside within them. Ahmed (2012:29) argues that the institutionalisation of whiteness can be reproduced through recruitment. To become part of an institution it is important to become like the institution. This becomes a question of for whom and by whom the institution is shaped (Ahmed 2012:45).

Diversity is something that most institutions and organizations strive for, however, Ahmed questions whether organizations situated in western majority-white societies are managing that task, or if diversity work can be used as evidence that institutions do not have a problem with racism. Ahmed writes that, "If diversity becomes something that is added to organizations, like colour, then it confirms the whiteness of what is already in place" (Ahmed 2012:33). Through interviews with officials and teachers, article II, investigates how whiteness might be reproduced in schools in Norway and how that affects the schools diversity work.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality, a key concept in this thesis, has informed my understanding of how power functions socially and spatially. For me, this has been a way to incorporate both structure and agency in the analysis. The core content of intersectionality, broadly speaking, is to recognize how different social categories are intertwined and the outcomes of this for individuals, social practice, and institutional structures with regard to differentiated power relations (Gullikstad 2013). While this thesis concentrates on the young participants' agency and capability, the intersectional perspective has brought to the fore the different premises for negotiating belonging that the participants face depending on their intersecting social positionings in particular contexts.

Intersectionality has been both a popular and much-debated concept in feminist research as well as in the general social sciences. Its origins are often connected to the black feminist movement in the USA where, among others, bell hooks (1981) and Kimberly Crenshaw

(1989) criticized feminist scholars and activists for tending to distinguish between "the situation of women" and "the situation of blacks". The women's movement was based on the white middle class woman's perspective without concern for either race or class differences, whereas the civil rights movement was constructed around the black man's lived experience without a gender perspective. Because of their intersectional identity as both women and of colour, women of colour tended to be marginalized within both discourses. When coining the term intersectionality, Crenshaw (1989, 1991) pointed out that gender and racial discrimination interact and reinforce each other, and that it is necessary to recognize intragroup differences to provide a sufficient picture of how inequality occurs and power is exercised.

The debates driven by Black feminists and critical race theorists led to the decentering of white, western, heterosexual, middle-class woman and the "pluralizing of feminism" (Valentine 2007:12). This can be seen as the starting point of a gradual recognition of the inadequacy of analysing various social divisions such as gender, class, race, and sexuality as separate, internally homogeneous social categories (Yuval-Davis 2006). However, what it actually means to conduct an intersectional analysis has been widely debated and contested. Central to the discussion and development of intersectionality have been questions of how to define power and on what level an intersectional analysis should be conducted. Should one interpret the intersectionality of social categories as an additive process, layering one category on top of another, or as a constitutive process in which the categories are understood as intertwined and shaped by one another? Yuval-Davies and Anthias (1983) argued for the latter, reasoning that one cannot be triply oppressed as woman, black, and working class, as the three categories cannot be analysed as separate entities. Rather, they are enmeshed, meaning that being oppressed as a black person will be experienced differently whether one is a man or woman, working class or middle class. The particular intersections involved produce specific effects (Yuval-Davis 2006).

The debates on how to employ an intersectional perspective can broadly be divided into the structuralist and post-structuralist approaches (Orupabo 2014). The structuralist approach defines race, gender, and class as prime categories of stratification, while the post-structuralist approach sees social categories as socially produced and dependent on context – i.e., the emphasis is on how identities occur in interaction, on how identity is done/performed. Scholars advocating this approach therefore include and examine other categories such as

sexuality and age, and understand the constellation of intersecting categories to be an empirical question (Orupabo 2014). A criticism of this last approach is that it risks reintroducing the all-seeing objective researcher, as feminists following Haraway (1988) have argued against.

De los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) have sought to develop a theory of intersectionality that brings together theories of power from both a structuralist (i.e., Marxian) and post-structuralist (i.e., Foucauldian) perspective. In so doing, they introduce new ways of thinking about intersectionality, suggesting that it should be about understanding and analysing the intersection between different levels: the individual, institutional, and structural. According to de los Reyes and Mulinari (2005:9), the entanglement between individual practices, institutional practices, norms and routines, and structural relations creates specific forms of power relations, and analysing them is important if we are to understand how oppressive structures are articulated and reinforce each other. This way of thinking about intersectionality has influenced my analysis, particularly in article II. Rather than focusing solely on the individual level and on how the interaction between the students in the studied schools led to the construction of the subject position "foreigner", the analysis looked at how school policy and decisions made on an institutional level shaped social and spatial practices regarding the organization of the language training for minority-language students. The article examines how this contributed to creating minority and majority positions articulated among the youths as "foreigner" and "Norwegian".

De los Reyes and Mulinari's approach to intersectionality is in line with those of both Yuval-Davis (2006) and Anthias (2011), who have shifted the focus from identity traits to positionality. Anthias (2011:2012) has argued that complex social relations cannot be reduced to identities such as gender or class because they do not exist as given groups; rather, they must be understood as socially made and unmade by practice. This means that difference and inequality are seen as processes and not distinct characteristics of individuals, although it is important to underscore that it is individuals who experience these processes, leading to unequal outcomes. According to this theorization, intersectionality is a social process related to practices that give rise to particular forms of positionality for social actors (Anthias 2006:27). Furthermore, Anthias (2011) considered the importance of context and emphasised that an actor's positionality may shift according to time and place. The focus on space and place in intersectional studies has been stressed by feminist geographers (Rose 1993, McDowell 1999,

Valentine 2007, McDowell 2008) who have advanced our understanding of how differences understood as social divisions tend to create racialized and gendered hierarchies. As Valentine (2007) stressed, "in particular spaces there are dominant spatial orderings that produce moments of exclusion for particular social groups" (p. 19). The discussion of the constitutive relationship between space and intersectional relations was recently taken up by Rodó-de-Zárate and Baylina (2018), who argued that place not only displays the variability of intersectional relations but also configures them.

Intersectionality, understood as processual and dependent on context, has been useful for this study because it has helped illuminate how power at different levels and in various contexts works to shape how the participants are able to create place attachments and belongings but without being overly deterministic. Individual intersecting positions are not static but may change over time, having different meanings depending on the composition of social relations in given contexts. For example, in article IV, I show that whether or not the studied girls participated in after-school activities cannot solely be explained by gender or ethnicity, but needs to be seen in relation to the contexts in which the girls find themselves and the possibilities for participation they produce. Also in article III, I use an intersectional approach with a focus on place and time to add complexity to our understanding of young Muslim girls' possibilities and strategies for navigating their belongings. An intersectional perspective has been useful for deconstructing notions of belonging to different collectives, such as "youth", "Norwegian", or "Muslim", and highlighting how individuals are positioned differently within these collectives and experience their belongings to them in different ways.

Final remarks

The theoretical concepts presented here have been chosen to enable exploration of the youths' complex experiences of belonging. The discussion has shown that belonging can be described as a relational process, negotiated and performed at multiple scales such as the body, school, town space, and nation. Likewise, the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are shaped by and shift depending on specific contexts and intersectional positionings.

The multi-sitedness of belonging that I am referring to is meant to capture the participants' creation and negotiation of belonging on more than one scale and at more than one site. The multi-layeredness

of belonging refers to the youths' intersectional positionings that are dependent on time and place, and can have different effects on the position from which to negotiate belonging.

4. Methodology

The thesis builds on fieldwork conducted together with forty former refugee youths. In addition, teachers, municipal representatives, peer students, siblings, and parents contributed to the knowledge produced and presented here. The study has striven to explore the participants' lived experiences, practices, and reflections concerning place attachment and belonging/non-belonging on multiple levels, also considering the broader structures of power that shape and condition individual experiences.

The study applies a qualitative ethnographic approach using multiple methods such as in-depth interviews, participant observation, activity diaries, and auto-photography. To understand the former refugee youths' lived experiences, it has been necessary to explore their everyday lives from various perspectives. Rather than focusing on single aspects of their lives, such as migration history, school experiences, and relations with the local community or family, the present multi-method ethnographic approach has contributed to my understanding of how all of these aspects influence one another and play a role in the youths' place attachment and sense of belonging. The use of multiple methods was also intended to give the participants various choices in how to express themselves and overcome language barriers, and to give them greater power over representation. The material was produced during the autumn of 2012 (pilot study), the spring of 2014, and winter/spring of 2015.

Ongoing discussion of child-centred methods has, together with influences from critical phenomenology, postcolonial theory, and feminist theory, established the basis of my reasoning about epistemology, positionality, power, and representation. These are matters I will discuss in this chapter, together with presenting the research participants, the chosen methods, and research implementation.

Ethnography and participant-centred methods

The use of multiple methods was informed by the argument that no single method is sufficient to capture the complexity of young people's lives, and by the understanding that young people have different skills

and different ways of expressing themselves (Cele 2006, Langevang 2009). These methods have been particularly valuable when conducting research together with a heterogeneous group of former refugee youths who have spent different amounts of time in Norway and, above all, have different prerequisites for expressing themselves verbally in the Norwegian language.

My choice of methods is connected to my epistemological understanding that the subjective view of experience is necessary not only to producing, but also to understanding the nature of knowledge, an understanding that has been one of phenomenology's contributions (Moran 2002:21). In line with Simonsen (2012:23), I argue that to fully comprehend and analyse power dynamics and how structures are reproduced, it is necessary to tap into the experiential dimension of social life, i.e., people's actions and reactions in social encounters. In other words, I am interested in how structures are perceived and reproduced by those who live them. This view is also related to a feminist and poststructuralist focus on partial and situated knowledge (Harding 1987, Haraway 1988). I share the acknowledgment highlighted by poststructural feminists that all knowledge is produced in specific circumstances that shape how and what knowledge is produced. However, post-structuralism strongly emphasises how "reality" becomes available to us through language, while I am also interested in the perceiving body where language is seen as *a* tool that helps us systematize and share knowledge of the world we perceive (Merleau-Ponty 1964:5, cited in Ahmed 2006:53). The decision to apply multiple ethnographic methods is thus linked to the attempt to capture not just knowledge that is articulated, but also knowledge that is experienced and communicated in other ways, including how we as researchers come to interpret and understand what the research participants are communicating to us.

Other geographers have shown that an ethnographic approach is particularly suitable for dealing with questions that are not always accessible through language, for example, how bodies interact and constitute social spaces, and in so doing create inclusions and exclusions (Watson and Till 2011:123). Furthermore, the ethnographic approach can provide a fuller understanding of the wider implications of the specific local contexts of the youths in question (Punch 2012:1015).

The methods were chosen to complement one another and to balance consideration of the research and the research participants. I have combined what are often seen as traditional ethnographic methods, i.e., participant observation and in-depth interviews, with methods advanced by children's geographers to deal with the asymmetrical power

relations between children and adults, and to bridge the social distance in how children and adults communicate (Punch 2002, Christensen 2004, Cele 2006, Van Blerk and Kesby 2009). There has been broad discussion among children's geographers of whether children and youth should be seen as the same as or different from adults in research, and hence in need of adapted methods (James et al. 1998, Punch 2002, Cele 2006). Some researchers have argued that traditional methods such as individual interviews and surveys are adultist in character and unsuitable for children (Valentin 1999). In the present study, in which the participants were between 13 and 18 years old, the interview was found to suit most of the participants well and to provide an in-depth understanding of their life situation. However, I would argue, in line with Dell Clark (2011), that the anchoring of the interviews was important, so when working with youths it was useful to combine interviews with methods such as participant observation and auto-photography. Participant observation is known to be a suitable method in research with youth, because spending time together helps create rapport, and provides opportunities to reflect on and discuss questions at several moments during the fieldwork, not only in a single interview. Auto-photography, activity diaries, and walk-alongs were chosen to encourage the youths to describe their experiences with the help of visual and bodily tools. Visual methods are known to be helpful in overcoming language barriers when working with newly arrived youths (Boyden and Ennew 1997). In addition, Giritli-Nygren and Schmauch (2012) have argued that the photographic image can make it easier to grasp the complexities of everyday life, as visualization can provide a more holistic understanding of the place, situation, or object being spoken about.

Research with vulnerable youths

Although youth of refugee background are often portrayed as a particularly vulnerable group, they are also competent actors capable of communicating valuable knowledge about their own experiences. From the earliest stage of designing the research project, I was concerned with including methods that would encourage youth of refugee background to participate despite potential communication barriers, and to take an active part in the research process. In social science research, the term "participation" generally signifies a commitment to feature the voices of people in marginalized positions, striving for a democratic research process. However, participation can mean anything from answering

questions to being a co-researcher (Doná 2007). Although I have striven to make the research process relevant and rewarding for the participants, an experience in which they could influence the content of the research through dialogue, I am the one who ultimately formulated the research questions, chose the methods, and was responsible for analysing and finally presenting the material. As Les Back (2007:18) has noted, despite attempts to be democratic, there are always limits to democracy in research and to our understanding of and insight into people's lives. One lesson I have learned from this project is that participant-centred research demands a lot from the participants in terms of committing to sharing their time and personal experiences. Although the aim was to create a more democratic research process, there is reason to question how much we can demand of the participants in terms of engagement. Some participants were satisfied with being informants who completed their activity diaries and shared their knowledge in interviews, while others took a more active role, inviting me to join in their activities both in school and outside, asking many questions, and reflecting together with me. This means that rigour was obtained not through seeking to objectively collect the same type of data from each participant, but through flexibly adapting the knowledge production process to the shifting contexts in the field and to what I found ethically sound when balancing closeness to and distance from the participants. For me, participant-centred methods are therefore about conducting empathetic research, providing tools that facilitate communication and foster understanding. Furthermore, they are about how I as a researcher relate to what is being communicated. Both Ahmed (2000) and Back (2007) have discussed the act of listening. For Ahmed (2000), careful listening is about balancing proximity and distance, acknowledging the differences between us while striving to get closer, to keep striving for mutual understanding. Ahmed (2000:156–157) wrote: *"To hear, or to give the other a hearing, is to be moved by the other such that one ceases to inhabit the same place. … An ethical communication is about a certain way of holding proximity and distance together: one gets close enough to others to be touched by that which cannot be simply got across".* Careful listening, then, is about more than just hearing and repeating the words of the research participants; it is about the researcher's process, being open to challenge the researcher's preconceptions and learning from the participants. As Back (2007:23) has noted, it also includes striving to connect the participants' stories to the social and political structures in which their everyday lives are embedded in order to bring forth complexity. I will return to these reflections in the subsection about positionality, reflexivity, and representation.

Preparing for fieldwork: negotiating access, spreading information, and testing methods

Ethnography is traditionally associated with spending a long time in the field, where the field is a place not already known to the researcher and where much time is spent on learning cultural codes and getting access to significant social arenas in the local community. In this study, where I have done fieldwork 'at home' access to the schools and appointments for meetings and interviews have to a great extent been prepared before 'entering the field'. This means that while 'being in the field' I have had the chance to focus on building relations to the youths and focus on the participant observation and interviewing. I conducted fieldwork with youths in four towns during four rounds of field work, corresponding to a little over three months 'in the field'.

In research involving young people, an obvious way to contact them is through schools, youth clubs, or other institutions where they normally spend much time. As a former teacher, I used my network to access four schools in eastern Norway, while one school in the north of Norway was contacted through an e-mailed letter of request. Three participants were also recruited through a teacher at a language training school for adults, who provided information about the project to the parents. The teacher later put me in contact with the three families whose children had shown interest in participating.

The schools in eastern Norway were chosen because of convenience, as I had knowledge of the areas where they were located through previously having lived, worked, or conducted fieldwork there. However, there was also a strategy behind the selection of schools, as I was interested in visiting schools that had different approaches to the introduction and language training of newly arrived and minority-language students. These criteria and the selection of the schools were not all predetermined but emerged during the course of fieldwork. For example, after having done fieldwork in an ordinary school in one of the towns I visited, I also saw the need to interview the youths who attended a separate preparatory school for newly arrived students, some of whom would later be transferred to the ordinary school. This contributed to my understanding of the newly arrived students' experiences of separation from youth their own age and the challenges they faced when transferring to ordinary schools. The school in the north was approached because of its location in a small town known for having settled a large number of refugees relative to its population size. As rural areas in Norway differ largely in terms of landscape, climate, population size, and industry sector, I was interested in seeing whether the

experiences of the youths growing up in the different locations varied to any extent and if so, in what way. Since I had done fieldwork in a part of Norway that was familiar to me, I was also curious to see if it was different to come to a place where I would feel like an outsider and where the participants could guide me in getting to know the place.

In November 2012, I conducted a three-week pilot study in which the methods were tested. After the study, some adjustments were made. For example, changes were made to the activity diary, in which I initially wanted to include a column for time where the participants would note when activities started and ended. It turned out that this was a difficult task, both because it was difficult to remember and because the participants were not used to recording times in this way, so I instead asked them to approximate the time spent on each activity. I also decided not to continue using disposable cameras for the auto-photography, as it took quite some time for the participants to get used to how they worked and the quality of the photos was quite poor. In continuing the project, I therefore decided to ask the participants to use the cameras on their phones, which youths are often used to and comfortable with. I will elaborate on this in the section about auto-photography. The material produced during the pilot study has been treated the same as the rest of the fieldwork data and is included in the analysis presented in the articles.

The head teachers in each school class I visited contributed largely to legitimizing the project as serious and me as trustworthy, particularly by informing the guardians about the project and preparing the students that I was coming. The youths and their parents were given written and oral information about the project, and the youths were given information about consent, voluntary participation, and confidentiality at several stages of the project.

I presented myself to the participants as a researcher interested in their experiences of migration and establishing oneself in a new country. I told them that I was going to write a book about this and that their experiences and knowledge of the subject were of great significance. I also talked about what a researcher does, and showed them my notebook and audio recorder. I told them how the interview would be conducted, showed them the activity diary, and explained about the auto-photography project. After providing this information, I would spend the rest of the day just hanging out, getting familiar with the students, answering questions, and engaging in small talk.

Presentation of the participants, the study locations and the schools

The participants

In total, 40 youth participated in the project. As was described in the introduction, teachers played a vital role in introducing me to students they thought would fit the project. In line with a participant centred approach, I was open to include anyone who defined themselves as having a refugee background, which ultimately made me broaden the scope of the project to also include youths who had lived in Norway for an extensive part of their lives. Twenty-six participants had lived in Norway for between three months and two years, ten participants for between three and five years, and four participants for between six years and their whole lives. I see this as a strength of the thesis, because the youths have contributed with different perspectives depending on their different life situations. However, it has also generated some challenges in how to present the participant without generalising them, and conflating their different backgrounds and experiences. In the articles, I have tried to be clear about when I am talking about which participants and commenting on this.

Another aspect of the study that needs to be problematized is that it is biased towards girls. Twenty-six of the participants were girls and 14 were boys. This has several reasons. At some of the schools, there were simply more girls than boys in the class I visited. However, boys were also more reluctant to participate in the project. As a woman, I found it easier to make connections with the girls and as I got in contact with some of them they would introduced me to their friends who were girls. Even though I have been careful to include the boys' narratives in the articles, the girls' narratives have been more prominent throughout the thesis, which is a weakness of the thesis.

Most participants were between 13 and 16 years old, while two were slightly older, i.e., 17 and 18 years old. The participants have backgrounds from thirteen countries, but the majority were from Somalia, Afghanistan, Eritrea, and Ethiopia (for an overview of the participants and the methods in which they participated, see appendix 1).

In addition, five majority students participated by completing activity diaries. While hanging out in the hallways of the schools, I also talked to majority students, noting these conversations in a field diary. I interviewed four teachers and had introductory meetings with an additional four teachers with whom I also had ongoing conversations

during the fieldwork. Recurring conversations with eleven teachers, two deputy principals, and two principals were noted in the field diary. I also interviewed three representatives of two municipalities and a dance teacher. Observation of and interviews with the youths and interviews with teachers and officials will be discussed separately later in this chapter.

In research regarding minority-majority relations, it has become established that the research design should include participants who represent both minority and majority. It has been argued that by doing so nuances regarding social relations and processes of inclusion and exclusion can be better understood (Hylland Eriksen 2007). In the present study, schoolteachers, officials and peer students have represented the majority perspective. However, as the focus of the thesis has been to explore the particular experience of settlement and belonging in a migration context, I chose not to interview any of the majority Norwegian students. Additionally, I sought to avoid making comparisons between minority and majority youths, running the risk of dichotomizing. Rather, I focused on highlighting complexity and variation among the youth of refugee background.

One of the participants was someone I already knew and which I have known since she came to Norway as a young girl. She has been a valuable contributor to this project, not only in the data collecting process, but as someone I have turned to at several times throughout the research process, and when analyzing the material, to ask follow up questions, hear her reflections and test my interpretations of themes such as gender relations, racialization and religion.

The geographical context: study locations

The four towns where this study has taken place are located in three counties in the eastern and northern part of Norway. Two of the counties are among the counties in Norway with the lowest number of residents with a migrant background, approximately 9 %. In the third county approximately 13% of the population have a migrant background, which is closer to the Norwegian average of 14 % (IMDi 2019). Three of the towns are located in former industry and farming areas and the fourth is a coastal town that has traditionally been dependent on the fishing industry. Today the towns' economies are increasingly based on the service sector. Two of the towns have approximately 30 000 inhabitants and two have around 5000 inhabitants including the population in the surrounding rural areas.

In Norway there are four city regions that, in policy documents, are seen as urban while the rest of the country is defined as rural (Berg and Lysgård 2004:63). However, researchers who have a more flexible understanding of the concepts seldom use such a static view on the rural and urban. Following a postmodern and post-structural model, the rural is seen as a social construction represented through discourse – however underscoring that discourses are anchored in material and in social practices (Berg og Lysgård 2004:66). However, what is defined as rural will also differ according to people's experiences, expectations and relational sense of place. For example, one participant in this thesis described the place where he lived as very small, safe and quiet, however, even though he had earlier lived in large cities like Nairobi he would not define the small town he lived in, in Norway, as rural. This was because the high material standard in his new hometown differed significantly from his earlier experiences with rural areas, which he described as poor without electricity or access to computers or any such luxury goods. Those who had spent most of their childhoods in the studied towns would often describe them as safe and calm but also boring. They knew their hometowns very well and were eager to explore other and larger cities. Many described, in line with a general discourse of being a successful youth in Norway, that they wanted to travel, see the world and study in the city.

Munkejord (2009) defined the places she studied in the north of Norway as rural towns which she described as places where it is possible to combine both rural and urban activities and lifestyles. This description fits well with the study locations in this thesis as well. While all the towns could offer services like libraries, cafeterias, sports arenas and fitness centers, the two larger towns could also offer services like shopping malls and cinemas. Large recreational areas and closeness to nature surrounded all of the towns.

The schools

Schools are highly significant spaces at highly significant times in the geography of children and young peoples' lives (James et al. 1998). In addition to being spaces where children and youth spend a great deal of time, they are also spaces where youths are socialized into the norms and values of wider society, and where these norms and values are (re)produced, practiced, and challenged. The participant observation in the schools provided insights into the participants' daily lives, habits, and ways of doing and saying things in interaction with one another as opposed to in relation to adults.

In Norway, municipalities can largely decide for themselves how to arrange the introduction and language training of newly arrived students. These arrangements therefore vary between municipalities as well as within a municipality, depending on the school location, number of students, and access to resources. The introductory classes are often composed of students with varying educational backgrounds and reasons for migrating to Norway. In the classes I visited, most had refugee backgrounds, while some had parents who were working migrants and others had come as part of family reunification when a parent had married a Norwegian citizen. In the following, I will shortly present the schools where the fieldwork was undertaken and describe their arrangements for language training.

School I

This school is situated in a town of approximately 30,000 inhabitants. During the fieldwork, the school had about 300 students enrolled, of whom 15% were minority-language students. The school is one of three junior high schools in the town and the only receiving school for newly arrived students (13–15 years old) in the municipality. At the time of my visit, there were 15 students in the receiving class with backgrounds from five countries, ten of whom participated in the project. In terms of age, the students were in the eighth, ninth, and tenth grades. As a receiving school for the newly arrived, the school strove for the image of an international school, signalling this, for example, through posting welcome signs on its walls in multiple languages. The school provided mother tongue teaching in some languages, but had experienced a significant decrease in resources earmarked for such teaching.

School II

This school is situated in a small town of approximately 5000 inhabitants and is the only junior high school in the area. The school is located in rural surroundings close to nature and within walking distance of the town centre. The school had about 200 students and only a handful of minority students. The school did not provide any special training for the newly arrived, apart from training in basic Norwegian for three hours weekly; the rest of the time the newly arrived students attended ordinary classes with no extra resources. No mother tongue teaching was provided. In this school I followed three students.

School III

This school is situated in the outskirts of a town of approximately 20,000 inhabitants, in a former working-class area housing many former refugee families. The school had about 300 students at the time of my visit, of whom 15% were minority-language students. In this municipality, the newly arrived students first attend a separate language training school, being transferred to their local school when they have mastered basic language skills. When arriving at school III, the minority-language students enter ordinary classes, but receive extra help both in class and in separate groups. The school does not provide mother tongue teaching. In the "Basic Norwegian" separate group, the students get help with everything from going through the weekly schedule to completing homework and practicing for tests. The small group teaching is offered to all minority-language students, meaning that some had lived in Norway for just a few years while others were born in Norway to immigrant parents. Here, I followed six ninth graders (five girls and one boy) in both the language training group and ordinary classes.

School IV

This is the separate language training school in the same municipality as school III. The studied class was the only junior high school class in the school that focused mainly on language training for adult migrants, so many of the included students' parents also went to the same school. The junior high school class was located in a separate building from the adults and the young students mostly kept to themselves. The students were taught using the curriculum for the newly arrived in basic Norwegian with no mother tongue teaching. After they had gained sufficient aptitude in the Norwegian language, the students were to transfer to an ordinary school. Eight students from this school participated in the project.

School V

This school is situated in a town in northern Norway with about 5000 inhabitants. The school is located within walking distance of the town centre and near both sports arenas and natural areas. The school is the only junior high school in the town. At the time of my visit, around 200 students were enrolled in the school, of whom 20% were minority-

language students. Mother tongue training was provided in the Norwegian minority languages[4], but not in any other languages. The school provided class sets of skis and skates, enabling all students to participate in the sports curriculum without having to buy such equipment. I followed six minority-language students in an ordinary ninth grade class, three students from the introductory class for the newly arrived, and a boy from tenth grade who attended ordinary class. All the students in the ninth grade class were part of the participant observation and completed activity diaries.

Ethical considerations

As earlier discussed, ethical considerations have been integral to planning and conducting the research presented here, from the choice of methods to the fieldwork and presentation of the results in articles I–IV. To ensure that I followed the formal ethical guidelines for research with vulnerable children, an application, including the research proposal, information letter, interview guide, and letter of consent, was sent to the Uppsala University ethics committee, which provided advice and approved the research project.

According to Swedish legislation, for research that falls under the Ethical Review Act, children 15 years of age and above who understand what participation entails can decide for themselves whether to consent to participate. For children under the age of 15 years, guardians must consent to their children's participation in research. It is debatable whether or not this project falls directly under the Ethical Review Act, as it mainly applies to research that involves physical encroachment on a subject, is conducted according to a method intended to affect the subject physically or psychologically, or handles sensitive personal data[5] (CODEX). However, as the project involved former refugee youths who might have had traumatic experiences or negative experiences with authorities, I chose to ethically review the project as well as ask both participants and their guardians for consent. As earlier mentioned, the youths and their parents were given written and oral information about the project. The teachers were very helpful in this stage and made sure that parents had understood the content of the information letter. At one school, parents were invited to come to the

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[4] Sami, Kven, Romanes and Romani are defined as minority languages in Norway (Regjeringen.no)
[5] Data concerning race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, political views, health issues, and membership in a labour union are considered sensitive personal data.

school to meet me, and I was provided with an interpreter who, via telephone, made sure that the parents and I understood each other correctly.

The guardians provided written consent and the youths provided oral consent to participate. The names of the participants have been changed to pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. Given the small scale of the towns and considering that there are quite few youth of refugee background in some of the towns, I have chosen not to reveal the town names or exact locations. This has made it challenging to describe the places of fieldwork and provide the reader with a clear understanding of the youths' local environments. However, I have considered it more important to bring forth the youths' experiences and thoughts about sensitive issues, like racialization, social control, or being visibly religious, than exact descriptions of the places.

Reflections on positionality and questions of representation

As a white thirty-something middle class woman, who has lived most of my life in Norway, it would be safe to say that I had more in common with the adults surrounding the youths in this study, such as teachers, coaches, or youth club employees, than with the youths themselves. However, as Carling, Erdal and Ezzati (2014) have highlighted, the insider/outsider divide in migration research is often more complex and needs to be discussed in terms of its relational character. In this section I will discuss the implications of my position as both outsider and insider in the research context. I will also reflect on how the power dynamics between me and the participants, in terms of age, race, gender and occupational status (Spivak 1988, Mohanty 1988), has formed the knowledge production and shaped the outcome of the thesis.

The starting point of this research emanates from my experience of being a teacher for newly arrived students in a rural junior high school. It was through my conversations with them about their difficulties in day-to-day life, and being a teacher at a school that did not properly cater to their needs, in terms of language training and social support, that the idea to this research project came about. This meant that I had some prior knowledge about aspects of the situation that newly arrived youths face when settling in a new place. My familiarity with the school environment as well as of being comfortable in the company of youths,

were additional advantages when meeting the participants. This ena-
bled me to ask questions that were relevant to them, which helped me
gain their trust. One thing about me that caught their attention, and
which made me slightly different from the other grown-up white Nor-
wegians that they knew, was that I lived in Sweden. Many had friends
or relatives in Sweden and were curious to hear about similarities and
differences between the two countries, and to share their own views.
The fact that I myself recently had moved to a new country (without
further comparison) also gave me some credibility when talking about
matters related to settling in a new place, for example when talking
about the different meanings of language, as discussed in article II.

Power relations in the field

While I held a more privileged position vis-à-vis the participants, par-
ticularly in terms of age, class and being white Norwegian-born, it is
also important to recognize the differences within the group of partic-
ipants, and that the power-relations between us differed according to
their varying positions. Some of the most recently arrived were quite
shy in the interview setting due to their limited language skills, and
probably because of my status as an adult researcher. Those who had
lived in Norway for a longer time, on the other hand, who had been
socialized in the Norwegian school system, did not seem to care that I
was an adult. They did not show me any extra respect due to me being
an adult researcher, but quickly got used to me being there. The youths
had the power to choose whether to participate in the different aspects
of the research project or not. There were a few who said that they
were not interested in participating at all, and others who did not want
to participate in parts of the project, such as the photo-project, but
were eager to participate in, for instance, interviews.

It is one thing to reflect on my personal experiences and how they
resonated with the participants, another is to connect our different po-
sitions to 'wider society' in terms of structural differences (Rose 1997).
The research was conducted in a context that I, in line with other re-
searchers, would describe as a "predominantly white society occupied
with ethnic differences" (Christensen and Jensen 2014: 70, Hoel
2015:64). As has been discussed earlier in the thesis, much research,
policy, and mainstream media have presented migrant youth as either
vulnerable or troublesome, and centre ethnic differences as the major
factor explaining marginalization. This discourse also influenced the
research process; being a white Norwegian-born adult, sometimes led

participants who were familiar with dominant discourses of immigration and integration in Norway, to respond to certain questions in a pre-given way, as they expected me to have specific preconceptions of them. An example of this is given in article III, where I ask Samira, (a Norwegian born Muslim with a family background from Iraq), what her religion means to her, and she replies by underscoring that she has chosen the religion and to wear the hijab herself. In a later conversation with Samira and her mother, it appeared that they were used to getting questions about Samira's hijab and of whether she herself or the parents had decided for her to wear it. Samira's way of expressing herself in the interview with me can therefore also be understood as a wish for me to present her point of view to a majority Norwegian audience.

As an outsider researcher, there is of course a risk of only gaining a superficial understanding and reinforcing dominant power relations. However, I suggest that if the researcher is reflexive about such differences and how they affect the outcome of the research, it can also be used as an advantage when trying to understand dominating discourses about minority-majority relations, such as in the example above.

Moving beyond "the white saviour"

Postcolonial scholars such as Gayatri Spivak (1988) and Chandra Mohanty (1988) have criticized western academics who take on the responsibility of speaking on behalf of oppressed groups, without reflecting on their own positionality and how it colours the research. In so doing they contribute to the reproduction of a postcolonial knowledge hierarchy where "the others" are in need of western knowhow.

The youths' encounters with public integration discourse and professionals' "worries" about them, will likely shape how they view themselves, their room to manoeuvre and the social relations they create (Lidén 2017:20). Throughout the progress of the fieldwork, I reflected on how to avoid positioning myself as "the good helper", and the youths as someone in need of help, or to make them feel like I was exotifying them, or constructing them as different through my observations. Most of the time, I think I managed this quite well, but in some situations, such as the one I reflect on in the following field notes, it became quite obvious how interest from the wider society, including researchers like myself, can contribute to othering processes:

Excerpt from field notes 26th of February 2015:

Nuura, Basma and Farida have invited me to come with them to their handball practice. Farida and I live in the same neighborhood and meet up to walk together to the sports hall where the practice is taking place. When we arrive, the practice has already started. I introduce myself to the coach and the girls that I already know from school come to greet us and ask if I want to play. I am hesitant since I am pregnant and feel a bit nervous about the physical play. I decide to sit down on the side-line to watch as the girls start throwing the ball, fooling around, laughing and forgetting the coach's instructions. A couple of minutes later three more people enter the sports hall, a mother and her daughter whom I just briefly met at the asylum center, and a young white woman probably in her early twenties. The young woman heads straight towards me and presents herself as a student in photography, here to document the life of the young girl she entered together with, and asks if it is okay if she takes photos during practice. I explain that I am not the person she is looking for and direct her toward the coach. The encounter leaves me with a feeling of discomfort as I realize the situation I am part of creating. Here we are in a room full of young migrant girls and the only white majority people here are the coach, the photographer and the researcher – the white saviours. My instant reaction is that at least I cannot remain a silent observer from the side-lines; I jog out on the plane and get greeted by the girls from school who want me to play on their team. As the photographer starts taking photos the atmosphere among the girls is visibly annoyed, exchanging glances and speaking fast in Arabic and Somali.

This excerpt is an example of how youth of refugee and migrant background are in many cases socialized into the position of "the other" by the larger society, even if the intention is to create inclusive spaces, produce valuable knowledge and contribute to social inclusion. My choice to join the girls on the field seemed to resonate positively with them, and allowed me to get to know more of the girls while hanging out after practice. More importantly, however, is what I as a researcher have learned from situations like these; it has enabled me to "listen carefully", as discussed earlier in the chapter, and be more sensitive regarding both my own privileges and the social structures the young participants everyday lives are embedded in.

Participant centered methods can be a way to address differences between the researcher and research participants and prevent the researcher from reinforcing dominant power relations, not solely because such a process is intended to be more democratic, but because it allows the researcher to get closer to the participants' everyday life and

learn from their perspectives. In the articles I have consciously included many direct citations (however restricted by the article format), where the youths' individual voices are heard. However, the analysis, including choice of theoretical framework, and how to present the material, is my responsibility. In his thesis on masculine pupil positions in a Stockholm school, Rosales (2010) writes that rather than being a particular group's voice, one can say that the research represents what the researcher has learned from the group. I find this to be a truthful and convincing standpoint, which I have adopted in this thesis. Therefore, rather than being a voice for 'former refugee youths', this thesis should be read as a presentation of what I have learned from the youths in a particular place at a particular time.

Participant observation in schools

In ethnography, participant observation is often depicted as the main method of data collection because it can give the researcher an "inside" view of the everyday lives of participants (Cook 2005). In the present study, participant observation was one of several methods seen as equally valuable but leading to different forms of knowledge. Participant observation was crucial for gaining the youths' trust, building rapport, and achieving an embodied understanding of the sites and practices, the participants engaged in. Participant observation was a way to engage in an empathetic way with the lives of the participants. A particular advantage of participatory observation was that by using my body as a tool, i.e., seeing, hearing, and physically sensing different moods, I could better grasp knowledge that is often tacit, embodied, or difficult to formulate in words. For example, it was by spending time in the schools that I became aware of how the spatial organization of the newly arrived students affected their opportunities for social interaction, and how their behaviour changed when moving between the introductory and regular classes, as well as in the general school space, as discussed in article II.

Figure 1: Image from a classroom. Source: the author.

In total, a little over eight weeks were spent in schools. I spent between one and two and a half weeks in each of the five schools, depending on how many students I met with and what type of observation I could conduct with them. As one of the schools had only a handful of students of refugee background and did not have a introductory class, I chose not to follow the three participants in their classrooms as I considered that this could put them in a difficult position, reinforcing a perception of them as "different". Instead, the school allowed them to meet with me in the mornings to complete the activity diaries and chat. I followed them during their lessons in basic Norwegian, which were held in a room for small group teaching, and they were allowed to come with me on walks and to be interviewed during school hours. In addition, I observed student interaction in the schoolyard during breaks and had informal talks with teachers.

In the other schools, I followed participants in both introductory and ordinary classes. I shifted between being a participant observer and only observing depending on the situation and the purpose of the observation. For example, I participated fully in practical subjects such as physical education, diet, and health, while assuming a strictly observational role in subjects such as mathematics and Norwegian. During the students' unregulated time (e.g., short breaks, lunch hour, and study hall), I could switch between sitting at the back of the class observing

the students' interaction, strolling along the hallway chatting with students, and sitting with small groups of friends talking. I also spent some time in the teachers' lounge talking to teachers. When observing the students in the school space, I was concerned with where they were during their free time, who they hung out with during their free time, what the different classrooms looked like, and where the classrooms were situated in the school space. Was there a difference between how the students acted and spoke in the language classroom relative to the rest of the school space? Did they behave differently when in ordinary classrooms? When I thought I had seen repeated (i.e., habitual) activities and behaviours, I would ask both the students and teachers about them.

As the term 'participant observer' indicates, in this method one is not just a researcher, but also participates as a person. As a participant observer, one interacts with the people studied in a subjective way, responding to their actions and engaging in conversations (Fangen 2004, Kearns 2005). One crucial aspect of participating, for example, in physical education, was that by doing things together, the participants and I had something concrete to talk about that was related to the here and now of the situation. This helped facilitate the process of getting to know one another. Although the participants knew that I was a researcher, they were also able to see more of my personal side. I was always careful to remind the participants that my purpose of being there with them was to conduct research; however, I was also convinced that since I was asking them to share their experiences and inner thoughts with me, I should also be open about myself to them. Fanny Ambjörnsson (2008:46) wrote the following regarding her role in the field when conducting ethnographic research with a group of high school girls: "Becoming part of a social context presumes that one is someone who can be invited in, that one has opinions, an inner life, a background, preferences, and emotions" (my translation from Swedish). It was not my intention to be taken up as part of the youth's friendship groups, for that my fieldwork was too short, and beyond my intentions with the field work, however, I saw it as important that the participants got to know me as an ordinary person, not only as a researcher. That I was open to sharing stories about myself and answering the youth's questions about me seemed to contribute to downplay the uneven power relations between us. As other researchers also have experienced (Vestel 2004, Eriksen 2012), the participants seemed to appreciate the attention that I gave them and that someone was going to write a book about them. Particularly the girls were interested in

getting to know me and I quickly gained their confidence, positioning me somewhere between an adult friend and a researcher/author.

In four of the schools, I was given access to a room that I could use as I pleased, both for conducting interviews and for retreating to write field notes. In the school where I conducted the pilot study, I had no such luxury (nor did I need it to the same extent, as I did not interview the students), but used the teachers' lounge at quiet times. I sometimes had my notebook with me in the classroom when observing, but not when interacting with the students. Instead, I took brief breaks to write notes throughout the day and wrote longer reflections after school hours. The field notes were later read and analysed in relation to the interviews and photographs. Field notes were also used as support to ask follow up questions.

Observations in public space, walks, and home visits

In addition to meeting the youths within the school space, I also met with some of them in their home, on walks in the town space and in the library. Some of the participants also invited me to come with them to handball practice and hip-hop class.

In the towns I visited in eastern Norway, I only stayed in one of the towns and thus had to travel some distance back and forth to the other two towns. This meant that I did not meet the youths during after school hours except when I had made appointments to see them. As earlier mentioned, these were towns that I was already familiar with through having either worked or lived there for some time, something that probably also shaped what kind of questions I did and did not ask the youths about the town spaces. The experience was therefore quite different during the fieldwork in the north, in a place that I had never been before and had little foreknowledge of, except from what I had read to prepare myself before going.

Before arriving in the north, I had arranged with a friend, who is also a PhD student in a university in Norway, to share a place to stay during our field visit. My friend was conducting a study of reception centres for refugees, and through her contacts at the local centre, we were allowed to borrow a flat in a temporarily vacant two-story house normally occupied by refugees. This gave us a chance to live in an ordinary house not far from the town centre and near where many of the participants in our respective projects lived. On our first day in the town, we were invited to a meeting with the reception centre staff

where we were given information about everything from the municipality's work on settling refugees to the living conditions and activities at the centre. We were given a tour both around the main building and of the decentralized apartments around town, used for housing refugees. During the car drive, our guide also provided information about the town and its people, showing us the town centre, town hall, schools, and sports arenas. This helped me gain a first impression and create a mental map of the town space.

Living in an ordinary neighbourhood, instead of at, for example a hotel, made it easier to follow ordinary everyday routines such as shopping at the grocery store or walking back and forth to school. It turned out that several of the youths participating in the project lived in the same neighbourhood and in the same type of housing, helping me gain embodied knowledge of what they were talking about when referring to their neighbourhood and homes. Being able to be present in and experience the environment encompassing the participants' daily routines helped me recognize the importance of such routines and gave me subjective experience of the environment and the activities we engaged in.

Gaining first-hand experience of the home and local community of the participants as well as of their everyday life practices enhanced my understanding and ability to interpret their practices and narratives. As it is the participants' own experiences that are in focus, it was important to situate myself as a researcher in both the time and space in which these experiences occurred. To quote Kearns (2005:195), "developing a geography of everyday experience requires us to move beyond reliance on formalized interactions such as those occurring in interviews". For example, as discussed in the theory chapter and illustrated in article IV, place attachment can be described as a process going on between the individual and the environment; however, this experience can be difficult to put into words, as it is often bodily and attached to memories and emotions (Cele 2006).

Walking

Walking brought me as a researcher closer to the participant's everyday practices outside the school arena. Kusenbach (2003) described the walk-along as a hybrid between participant observation and interviewing that allows the researcher to explore the role of place in everyday experiences. Initially, I had planned to go on prearranged walks, where the route was agreed on beforehand with the participants (Cele 2006:127). I conducted two such planned walking interviews with three

participants, one of which is part of the analysis in article III. These walks provided valuable information about the three participants' relationships with the towns they lived in, as I could observe their embodied engagement with the social and material environment we were walking through. While walking, I asked them about our immediate surroundings, whether they had visited the shops and cafes we passed, what they thought of different places, and so on. Being near the places I asked about seemed to evoke memories of past experiences, and I was able to observe how the participants' body language corresponded with what they said when passing by certain places. Immediately afterwards, I recorded the conversations and reflections on encounters we had had with people and places during the walk.

Most of the walks were however not planned as walking interviews, like those described above, but were instead more spontaneous in that I was "tagging along" with the participants to different activities during their daily routines (Kusenbach 2003, Lee and Ingolds 2006). This happened either during school hours when the participants I followed were going to the library or to a sports arena outside the school premises, or after school hours when walking to and from school together, or when walking to handball or dance class. My knowledge of walking as a method and having already gone on a few planned walks were also significant during these more spontaneous walks, because it made me take notice of where we were walking and what the participants wanted to explain and show me in the areas where we were walking. The walks revealed how the youths physically moved around in their local surroundings, as well as their familiarity or lack of familiarity with their material surroundings, providing insights into how place attachment can be created.

Lee and Ingolds (2006:82) argued that, through walking, people "look with each other". I find this to be true in that both the researcher and participant direct their eyes in the walking direction instead of at each other, and that they therefore have their attention directed towards the same things. However, I think it can be questioned whether the researcher and participant actually "see" the same things in terms of interpretation if they have very different frames of reference, as was the case for the participants and me. Still, the combination of being positioned in the place that one is talking about, as well as being able to ask questions about the environment and reactions to it, makes the walk a dynamic method.

Home visits

The opportunity to be present in different arenas allowed me to observe how the youths alternated between roles depending on the context. I had the chance to visit ten of the participants in their homes. Visiting participants at home helped me understand their roles in the family, for example, vis-à-vis other siblings. I got a glimpse of the families' everyday activities (such as preparing meals, siblings coming home from football practice, watching TV, playing computer games etc.), and talking to the parents and siblings expanded my understanding of the family's migration history, the parents' vocational associations, and the family's plans for the future. For some of the participants the family home was described as to small and crowded, leaving them with no opportunity for privacy or a chance to invite friends over. Others on the other hand described their home as the place where they could relax and be themselves. Some of the participants, like Farida and Yasmeen, had taken photos of their bedrooms, as an example of a place where they liked to be and where they spent much time. Farida has photographed her dressing table where she has a collection of hair and beauty products, while Yasmeen has taken a snapshot of her working space while doing homework and watching a Pakistani TV-show at the same time.

Figure 2 and 3: Farida and Yasmeen's photo of each of their bedrooms.

As Crang and Cook (2007:10) have pointed out, people's self-understanding can be closely connected to material objects. People take

snapshots to commemorate important events in their lives. How people furnish their homes with such snapshots can say something about how they see, shape, and are embedded in the world around them. One thing that struck me while visiting the participants' family homes was the often very overt symbolic display of the families' multiple affiliations. In some homes, the families would have both a Norwegian and, for example, an Iraqi flag on the wall in the living room, and others had paintings of Scandinavian nature beside framed texts from the Koran. When I asked about this, they replied that it was in recognition of the two countries that they held dear.

Interviews with the youths

In contrast to participant observation in which the setting is often informal and the talk often concerns what one is doing, the interview situation is more concentrated and gives the participant time to narrate experiences, opinions, and emotions (Dunn 2005). The interviews were designed as semi-structured phenomenological interviews, as described by Kvale and Brinkman (2009), the aim of which is to learn about the participants' life-worlds from their own perspectives. In contrast to the informal conversations in the classrooms or hallways of the schools, where the students often perform certain roles in relation to one another, interrupt one another, and help one another formulate opinions, the interview situation can be described as calm and mostly free from interruptions. The in-depth interview was a way to engage with the youths on their own level, adjusting the pace according to their communication styles and language skills and creating a space of trust and mutuality (Dell Clark 2011). While the participant observations provided insights into daily life, social interactions, power relations, and so on, the interviews provided a broader contextualization of the participants' lives and how they made sense of their experiences, including their past experiences and hopes and dreams for the future. They also revealed more details about family life than did the everyday talk in school.

Most interviews were conducted in the schools during school hours. Each school provided me with a room where I could conduct interviews. Many researchers have problematized that the location of an interview is inflected with power, affecting the interview situation and the knowledge produced (Elwood and Martin 2000). Children's geographers have particularly discussed how the school space is a setting controlled by adults where students might give answers according to

what they think they are expected to say (Barker and Weller 2003, Cele 2006, Cedering 2016). While I acknowledge these obvious power structures, the Scandinavian school system is also based on the idea that students should be seen and treated as individuals, including a particular focus on students' building their own opinions and having considerable freedom to discuss these even in the lecture setting. Most participants in this study enjoyed going to school and had great trust in their primary teachers, so the school setting can also be seen as a space where the participants felt comfortable and on familiar ground. Many participants also said that they were normally more outgoing and talkative when in school or out with friends than at home. This became clear to me when visiting participants at home, where some of them assumed a more passive role and instead let their parents or siblings talk.

The four participants recruited through arenas other than school were interviewed either in a private room at the library or in the family home, depending on their preference. Of those interviewed at home, two lived in small apartments with a living room opening up to the kitchen, and a small sleeping alcove. This meant that the interview took place in the living room with several other people present. The others tried to give us some privacy by moving into the kitchen area and not addressing us during our conversation. Whether this had any effect on the type of information the two participants shared with me I do not know; I can only reflect on the fact that they both seemed relaxed and talkative. Before the actual interview I had already met them once before, either at the library or at home, to introduce myself and the project, to make sure that they understood the implications of participating, and to obtain their and their parents' consent. These meetings lasted around two to five hours during which we got to know each other in a more relaxed setting, as a way to prepare for the formal interview. During the meetings, I also introduced the activity diary and the auto-photography project so that the participants could choose to participate in these activities during the time until our next meeting.

Before starting an interview, I normally gave a short introduction describing the themes we would talk about, stating that the participant could decline to answer particular questions and that we could stop the interview at any time. I also asked permission to use an audio recorder. Most participants were not bothered by the audio recorder and seemed to forget about it as soon as we got into the conversation. However, one girl became very nervous and self-conscious about how she spoke Norwegian when I turned on the recorder. Although I tried to reassure her that her pronunciation was good and that I was the only one who

would listen to the tape, she found it difficult to relax. After a while, I decided to turn off the recorder and stop using the interview guide. Instead, we continued by having a general conversation, looking at photos and maps on her computer; this led to discussion of long-distance friendships, Facebook friends, social life in school, and spare time activities. After the interview, I wrote a record of our conversation on the computer from memory.

The interview guide treated a set of broader themes, such as the participants' first impression of Norway, their experience of the town, school experiences, friends and spare time activities, gender norms, transnational/translocal contact with family and friends, and experiences of belonging and non-belonging. Under each theme, I had developed some specific questions to support my questioning, but as the purpose of the interview was to facilitate nuanced descriptions of the participants' own experiences, actions, and feelings, I did not follow the guide in detail, but adapted the questions to each individual (the interview guide is provided in appendix 2). Some spoke eagerly about their experiences while others needed more follow-up questions to advance the conversation. The interviews varied from twenty minutes to two hours long, but generally lasted about one hour. This reflects the heterogeneity of the study participants who shared certain important life experiences but were very different from one another in other ways. This was to some extent a consequence of the different lengths of time spent in Norway and different Norwegian-language skills. I chose not to use an interpreter in the interviews because I thought it would be more difficult to create a comfortable interview setting with the presence of two "expert" adults. In addition, as Crang and Cook (2007:25) have noted, one's understanding of what the participant is speaking about concerns not just the words used, but also how we interpret them in accordance with our own frames of reference. Using an interpreter would have meant that both my and the interpreter's sets of assumptions, feelings, and values would have helped shape the conversation. I was afraid of losing the direct connection with the participants by including a third person in the conversation. A few of the participants could have benefitted from the use of an interpreter, giving them the chance to speak in their own mother tongue and provide more nuanced narratives. However, in most cases, even those who had lived in Norway for a short time were able to communicate their reflections, often by switching between Norwegian and English and sometimes by using a computer to translate words or show me pictures and maps to help me understand. Most interviews were conducted individually, but in one case, because of language issues and for comfort,

three participants were interviewed together, with one of the participants helping translate for the two others. This changed the social dynamics of the interview setting from a more intimate and personal conversation to a talk among friends in which the participants discussed their backgrounds and their experiences of school and everyday life, which they compared and elaborated on together.

The knowledge produced in each interview depended not only on the questions asked or the participant's ability to express their experiences; equally important was the intersubjective relationship (Kvale and Brinkman 2009) and the situation created between me as an interviewer and the participant. My former experience as a teacher was vital, because I was used to socializing with young people. However, also relevant were the literatures on youth culture and minority youth in Norway, both of which had been in my mind when creating the interview guide and, more importantly, helped me ask relevant follow-up questions. The interview guide was reflexively revised after each round of fieldwork and in light of the material amassed and the new questions this had brought to the surface. For example, expressing knowledge (through questions and confirmations) about the youths' former home countries, the challenges of being newcomers in a country, and the current everyday lives of youth in Norway was important for gaining trust and encouraging the participants to narrate freely. In addition, not being afraid of silences but rather letting the participants pause, think, and develop their answers without interruption proved valuable. To be sure that I had correctly understood what the participant meant, I often repeated and paraphrased what had been said. I also used this paraphrasing technique if I had caught on to something the participant had said that I wanted to explore at greater depth and asked the participant to elaborate on how I should interpret what they had said. This can be described as part of forming a primary mutual interpretation of what we had discussed (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2008:508).

As Dell Clark (2011:92) has highlighted in relation to interviewing children, routines for starting and ending conversations can help anchor the interview process. In my case, I had usually spent time with the participants and got to know them while participating in school activities or hanging out during breaks before conducting the interviews. This helped when easing into the interview situation, as I could remind the participant of an earlier conversation we had had, and pick up from there. For those who had taken photographs, we would start by looking at these together, to let them steer the conversations. I also asked the participants to show me the social network maps they had drawn, and tell me about their relations with friends and family, which

helped me make connections and understand who the participants were talking about in their narrations later in the interview. This later came to be significant for my understanding that the segregation between the students that I saw in school also continued outside the school space, in the students' spare time. When the interviews were coming to an end, I always asked the participants if they felt that we had covered all the relevant themes or if there was anything else they wanted to talk about. I also invited the participants to contribute to developing the research project by asking whether they had any advice about what I as a researcher should ask future participants, highlighting what was most important to them and also informing the decision-making process.

At one school, I returned at a later time to conduct a group interview with the same youths I had already interviewed individually (the interview guide is provided in appendix 3). This was done to see what would come out of a group discussion of issues such as youth culture, friendship, understandings of the concept of racism, and experiences of racism. This meant that the participants could help one another reflect on these issues as well as nuance one another's views.

Interviews with teachers and officials

To gain a deeper understanding of how the reception of newly arrived students and the general language training for minority-language students were organized, the arguments supporting the different solutions, and the general discourse about the newly arrived in schools, I interviewed teachers at each school and four officials from two municipalities. In addition, initial meetings with the headmasters, deputy headmasters, and head teachers at all schools provided insights into these questions. Apart from the interviews, participant observation and informal talks with teachers provided valuable information about everyday practices.

My former experience as a teacher was important for gaining trust and acknowledgment from the teachers and officials. Because I was familiar with the national curriculum and Education Act, I could relate to what they were talking about and ask relevant follow-up questions. I could also sympathize with the challenges that teachers face on an everyday basis. At the same time, they also saw me as a student who was going to write a dissertation about questions they were engaged in; they therefore seemed to view it as important to contribute their knowledge.

In the interviews with the teachers, I asked them to elaborate on their role as teachers, how they worked with the newly arrived students, how they regarded the organization of the language training at their schools, what challenges they faced, what they saw as obstacles for the newly arrived, and what they believed that they had managed well (the interview guide is provided in appendix 4). We also talked about the local community with regard to after-school activities and the housing situation for refugees, as well as local positive and negative discourses about the integration of former refugees.

The interviews with the teachers and officials have been particularly central to the discussion in article II concerning how the dichotomous categories 'Norwegian' and 'foreigner' were reproduced in the schools.

Activity diaries

The activity diaries complemented the interviews and observations and provided a tool for mapping the participants' use of space, activities, and social networks outside of school, where I did not have the capacity or access to follow all of them. A benefit of using activity diaries is that they make it easier for the participants to describe in more detail their activities on a specific day, rather than taking interview time to account for what they normally spend their time on; a disadvantage is that it is time consuming to complete activity diaries. The inspiration for the activity diaries came from Danielle Van der Burgt (2006), who used the method to map the spatial extension of the daily life of children in a segregated Swedish city. Through analysing the children's activity diaries, she could see whether children from different neighbourhoods spent time on activities in other parts of the city and upheld friendships outside their own neighbourhoods. In this thesis, I have been interested in studying how the participants used their local communities and who they spent time with, whether with others of migrant background, people from the majority population, or both. As I had the chance to include participants who had lived in Norway for different amounts of time, it has been interesting to see how the types of activities and social relations seemed to change over time, as described in article IV.

I was given time during school hours to explain the activity diary and to help the participants get started. The diaries were completed over a one-week period and the participants were given time during school hours to complete the diaries, to ensure that they would remember to do it and to provide help with practical questions. The teachers

provided other school tasks for the students who did not want to participate. The participants were each given a booklet in A4 format, including a page of instructions on how to complete the diary and a brief illustration. They were asked to record what they did from the time they finished school until they fell asleep in the evenings. They also recorded where the activities took place and with whom they had done them. Each day had space for ten activities, but the participants were informed that they could continue writing on a separate piece of paper if they needed more space, which some of them did. Some participants were afraid that they would not have anything interesting to write in the diaries, since they "did not do anything in particular"; however, I managed to reassure them that I was interested in every small detail, from eating dinner to watching TV, which helped them get started.

Thirty-five participants, including five majority students, completed activity diaries. The majority students were included because all the students in the ordinary class where I did fieldwork could choose to participate. The results from the majority students' diaries have not yet been presented, as article IV focuses only on short-term residents; however, including the majority students provided opportunities for comparison, although these cannot be generalized. The analysis showed that the majority students spent more time with friends and on organized activities than did the minority students, and spent less time "hanging out".

The frequency of activities registered ranged from 4 to 67 per week. This illustrates one of the weaknesses of the method, as how many activities the participants actually registered varied greatly depending both on the actual number of activities undertaken and on their engagement in completing the diary. In total, 1210 activities were recorded. All the activity diaries were entered into Excel, including background information about the participants, such as gender, where they lived, and how long they had lived in Norway at the time. As the participants were asked to register how, with whom, and where they spent their time during after-school hours, the main categories were "activity", "relationship", and "location". The youths registered approximately 105 different activities that were coded and grouped into 22 categories. For example, the activities football, handball, and badminton were all included in the broader category "sports". Since all the activities were primarily registered as close to the participants descriptions as possible, I could easily re-code and add new categories depending on the research question; for example, I added the category "organized activities", which included both sports and cultural activities, to

be able to distinguish between the activities that the youths did within and outside mainstream institutions.

The booklet also included a social network map in which the participants mapped their family relations, friends from school, after-school activities, and friends from other places in their migration history. Talking about the social network maps gave me an overview and understanding when analysing the activity diaries, but was also useful for understanding who the participants were talking about in their interviews. Together with the activity diaries and interviews, the social network maps provided information about who the youths kept in contact with transnationally/translocally, how these contacts were maintained, and what significance these contacts had in the lives of the youths. They also provided information about the social relations in school and the local community, among other, confirming the observed lack of interaction between majority and minority students.

Auto-photography

During the project presentation, participants were invited to take photographs of their everyday lives. I asked the youths to take photos of places where they liked to be and places where they normally spent time. In total, 11 youths participated by taking photos. By using auto-photography, the participants could visually represent their own everyday experiences and the meanings they attributed to different places in their immediate surroundings. Looking at the photos together helped downplay the power differences between us, because it was the participants who knew what they had photographed and could choose the focus of conversation.

During the pilot study, I had given the participants 24-frame disposable cameras and instructed them in how to use them. None of them had ever seen such an old-fashioned camera before and found it strange that they could not instantly see the pictures they had taken on a screen. In addition, the wheel they had to turn when they wanted to take a new picture was quite hard to turn, so I had to show some of the youths several times how to do it. The participants were given four to seven days to take pictures and then hand them in to me for development. Six of the eight youths wanted to participate in the auto-photography project but only five handed in the cameras. One participant said he had lost his camera and could not find it. When the photos were developed, we sat down for a photo-elicitation interview in which

they were asked to talk about the contents of the photographs and why they had taken them.

Instructions took time. How much time I was able to spend on the instructions varied, which had consequences for how many participated. Wernesjö (2014:64) wrote about the reluctance of her research participants to contribute photos, noting that an interview can be seen as a traditional and easily understandable way to conduct research, while the rationale of the photography-based interview can be seen as unclear if the researcher has inadequately explained the benefits of such a research method. In the cases when I sat down with participants one on one and went through the information on the auto-photography method, they quickly understood what the task was about and all of those who received this personalized information participated. Later, when I gave the same information to groups of students, often together with all the other information about the project, the response rate was much lower. It was also more difficult to get the participants who had lived in Norway for a long time to contribute photos. One reason might have been that they had busier schedules than did the newly arrived. In addition, they were more fluent in the Norwegian language and felt comfortable doing in-depth interviews, which took less of their free time than did the auto-photography, as the interviews were conducted during school hours. One after-the-fact reflection is that the disposable cameras were more difficult to use but at the same time also functioned as a symbol differentiating what the camera was for, i.e., the auto-photography project. When asking the participants to use their phones to take photos, some did, while others said they would but later forgot about it. The line between project and private life might have become blurred in this case. Nevertheless, using their phones, five more participants took photos, which we talked about either during the in-depth interview or on another occasion. One participant chose to take photos although he did not want to give them to me, instead showing them to me on his computer; I took notes about what the images depicted and audio-recorded our conversation about the photos.

There are also ethical issues to be considered when using photography in research, particularly for youth of refugee background and their parents who might have had negative experiences with authorities and therefore might be suspicious of what the pictures are to be used for. By highlighting auto-photography as an independent part of the research project and having the parents tick a box in the letter of consent stating that they allowed me to use the photos for research purposes, I provided an option to consent to their children's participation

in the overall project and still choose whether or not to provide me with photographs.

As elaborated on in article IV, the photos were analysed in two steps: first, eliciting the participants' self-narratives about their photos and, second, conducting a content analysis of all the photos. However, in the thesis I have not presented an independent analysis of the photographs, but used them to broaden and thicken the description and analysis in article IV, complementing the activity diaries, interviews, and observations.

Analysing and presenting the material

All the interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed. The first step in analysing the material started when transcribing the interviews. The transcriptions were made in a Word document that I divided into three columns, one for recording the time, one for the transcription, and one for making notes and suggesting theoretical connections. The time column was used to record the time when something that I found particularly interesting was said, so that I easily could go back and listen to it again. After the interviews had been transcribed, I continued the analysis by close reading both the interview transcripts and field notes, using a combination of content analysis and narrative analysis. The content analysis consisted of tracking and analysing themes within and across transcripts (Secor 2010: 202). In the narrative analysis, I searched for the participants' meaning-making and how they presented themselves in the narratives, connecting this to the context of the narratives (Secor 2010). I did not use a computer program, but a colour-coding system highlighting sections of the transcripts in different colours representing different themes. I continued writing notes in the margins and making cross-references between the participants, looking for similarities and differences, and connecting the meaning-making of the participants to the larger context, first to my observations and then to broader societal discourses and the theoretical framework. When the themes of the four articles had started crystallizing, the analysis continued with a more focused purpose when writing each article.

The analysis of the material developed through an abductive approach in which the empirical material and theoretical framework influenced each other throughout the process of fieldwork and analysis (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2008). This approach developed as an outcome of being sensitive to what happened in the field and to the

evolvement of my theoretical framework that contributed to broadening my analytical frame of understanding. At its outset, the project was focused on what I have referred to as the personal side of belonging in terms of the youths place attachment processes, translocal relations and understanding of themselves in relation to the situation they were in as newly settled. However, the focus on racialization and politics of belonging developed throughout the course of the fieldwork. I was of course aware that experiences of racism would occur in the participants' narratives, however, when I read postcolonial theory, particularly introduced through Ahmeds critical phenomenology, it helping me connect the participants experiences to a broader structural context.

Summary and final remarks

The in-depth interview was chosen to gain understanding of the participants' life experiences and their self-narration in relation to wider society. Participant observation was chosen because I was interested in learning about practices and activities in place, including spatial mobility, social interaction, and everyday talk. These themes were also explored in the interviews, but participant observation helped me grasp what the participants were talking about in a more embodied sense. Acknowledging that I would be unable to access or follow participants in all parts of their everyday lives, the activity diary was chosen to learn about their use of space, the activities they engaged in, and their social networks. Table 2 provides an overview over what knowledge the methods have contributed to gain access to.

Table 2: Overview of the methods and knowledge contribution.

Method	Contribution
In depth interview	Narratives of the participants experiences, thoughts and feelings about migration, re-settlement, everyday life, transnational family-life and of themselves in relation to the wider society
Observation	Knowledge of everyday practices Use of and mobility within different spaces Social interaction within the school and the local community
Walk-along	A shared experience of place between re-searcher and research participant Insight into everyday routines And the participants' relationship to the materiality of place Tap into memories of place
Auto-photography	Enables the participants to make their own decisions Provides an insight into what they find important about a place Stimulates narration Participants provide their own analysis
Activity diary	Provided day-to-day information about the participants' activities, places where they spend time and social networks.

5. Summary of the work in articles I–IV

This chapter gives an overview of the work presented in articles I–IV. Collectively, the articles address the overarching aim of the thesis, which is *to explore young former refugees' experiences, practices, and reflections concerning place attachment and belonging with a focus on everyday life and agency, also considering broader structures of power that shape and condition individual experiences of belonging.* Article I contributes to this aim by exploring how translocal networks and practices contribute to the young former refugees' place attachment. Article II looks at how the boundaries of belonging to the Norwegian "we" are negotiated within the school context. Article III particularly explores how young female Muslims negotiate their belongings in everyday life, finding that for them the politics of belonging is an embodied experience that differs according to intersectional subject positions and contextual differences. In Article IV, the focus is on how young former refugees "do belonging" by performing local youth norms and engaging in everyday time–space routines. The article also points out structural constraints that can be a hindrance to actively creating belonging.

Article I

Unge migranter skaper steder: Translokale og lokale praksiser i rurale områder i Norge og Sverige/Young migrants creating place: Translocal and local practices in rural areas in Norway and Sweden

Article I explores how the young former migrants' translocal networks and practices contributed to the process of attaching to a new place. It also considers how the youths' different experiences of the migration process played a role in how they experienced their local communities. As forced migrants and children, they had little say regarding where their new home would be; nevertheless, the article highlights how these youths were reflexive regarding their efforts to create a place for themselves in a new environment, and to make active choices in this process.

Theoretically, the article engages with central debates in the field of geography and migration research concerning the relationship between mobility, place attachment, and belonging. The concept of "translocality" is central and is used to highlight both how the former migrant youths participated in processes that (re)shape place, and how they created and maintained multiple belongings. Translocality is here understood as a concept building on transnationalism in terms of social, political, and economic networks that cross national borders, but that more strongly emphasises the actor and the locally lived everyday life. The connection between mobility and place attachment is discussed through the concepts "routes" and "roots", and the article argues that it is necessary to understand how ideas of both roots and routes are entangled in the young former migrants' sense of belonging.

The article builds on empirical material obtained from two studies of young migrants living in rural Norway and Sweden. Rather than making comparisons between the two countries, the article focuses on findings that were strikingly similar in the two cases and highlights aspects of the Scandinavian rural context rather than national structural differences. The analysis is based on narrative interviews with 20 young former refugees aged 13–22 years. The interviews focused on themes such as experiences of the new home place in relation to the country of origin and other places where the participants had lived, social networks and connections to friends and family locally as well as translocally, sense of belonging, home, and everyday activities and practices.

The findings indicate that the youths participated in social networks constructed around migration experiences, future plans, and ongoing identity processes. These networks were constituted of transnational family relations, often upheld by the youths' parents, and of friends in former home places with whom the youths kept in contact both through social media and by phone. However, findings also indicate that upholding these social relations was not unproblematic, but could create emotional stress for the youths as their everyday lives gradually diverged from those of their friends and family in disfavoured parts of the world. However, the youths also formed social networks that did not cross national borders but were created online with other youths in Norway and Sweden with similar experiences of migration and settlement in a new country. Findings suggest that being able to exchange memories and experiences of what one has left behind as well as sharing everyday experiences in the here and now can help create a sense of familiarity with the new home place.

The article concludes that the young former migrants' translocal practices were important for their sense of belonging and experience

of continuity in their self-biography. Place therefore occupied an important position as a point of reference in the youths' meaning making about the past, present, and future. The youths' narratives also illustrate that there was not necessarily a causal relationship between the position of a place in one's self-biography and one's sense of belonging. Rather, they described meaningful social connections and the opportunity to create familiar everyday routines as important for creating place attachment and belonging. The significance of the different places in the self-biography can therefore be renegotiated at different stages of life.

Article II

Mangelfullt mangfoldsperspektiv? (Re)produksjonen av kategoriene «utlending» og «norsk» i skolen/A narrow diversity perspective? The (re)production of the categories "foreigner" and "Norwegian" in school

Article II examines why minority youth in Norwegian schools describe themselves as foreigners despite an increased focus on diversity in school policy. It is argued that the category "foreigner" is socially constructed through a racialization process whereby space, skin colour, and language are key components, and that this process is reinforced in school. The article seeks to contribute to the academic discussion of the construction of "Norwegianness" and claims that a spatial perspective needs to be taken into consideration.

Theoretically, the article draws on Ahmed's "Strange encounters" (2000) and "A phenomenology of whiteness" (2010) to understand the construction of "the foreigner" and how minority youths and teachers navigate what is understood as an institutionalized whiteness norm within the school space. It also draws on Cresswell (1996), who built on Bourdieu (1977), to explain how the way we organize space structures our experience and contributes to how we categorize one another, as communicated through unconscious habits.

The study is based on fieldwork conducted in 2012, 2014, and 2015, in four schools with students in introductory classes and language training classes, and in a separate preparatory school for newly arrived migrants. Forty youth of refugee background participated in the study, of whom 30 were interviewed. Approximately half of the interviewees were newly arrived and the other half had spent a significant part of their childhood in Norway. The analysis also draws on interviews with

the youths' teachers and representatives from the education office in two municipalities. Participant observation was conducted in both the language training and ordinary classes. Observation of the youths' social interactions and spatial orientations within the school space was mainly conducted during school breaks and study hall. The article is structured according to three perspectives, those of the municipal representatives and teachers, the newly arrived students in introductory classes, and the minority-language students who attend ordinary classes but continue to participate in separate Norwegian-language training classes.

The article discusses the social consequences of placing newly arrived students in separate introductory classes. Although both municipal representatives and schoolteachers agreed that this situation was not optimal for the students, lack of economic resources and competent personnel were cited to explain why this was still viewed as the best option. In this way, the students became more "manageable", as both language training and diversity work were gathered in one place and it was clear which teachers were responsible for this. Language teachers of migrant background themselves experienced that the spatial separation of the minority-language students also affected how they as teachers were perceived by the school's students and staff as "not real teachers". In the article the teachers' experiences are analysed in light of Ahmed's (2010) theory of how institutions reproduce whiteness through recruitment, and criteria's of "being like" the institution.

Although the newly arrived students felt comfortable in the introductory class, they described feeling "out of place" in other school settings. Many said that they felt insecure in the ordinary class because of not knowing the language well enough and sensing that they were viewed as different by peer students because of their physical appearance as non-white or because of other markers, such as wearing a hijab. The article provides concrete examples of such experiences as they happened during school observations, and draws on theories of how othering processes occur (Ahmed 2000, 2014, Fanon 2008) to explain the youths' internalisation of the subject position "foreigner". Previous studies (e.g., Skowronski 2013, Chinga-Ramirez 2015) have shown that newly arrived students are often given little social support in the transition from introductory to ordinary classes. This also seemed to be the case in this study, which, however, focuses on the important role played by other youth of migrant background in introducing social codes and offering friendship.

The close connection between language, identity, and power was apparent in all the school cases, where, on one hand, playing with different languages was part of the minority youths' identity work, while on the other, having an accent was described as a strong marker of "non-Norwegianness". One argument is that separate introductory classes and language training classes serve to maintain whiteness and the Norwegian language as the normative centre. The strong focus on Norwegian language training (without mother tongue teaching) risked undermining any other language competences the students had, as well as producing the separated introductory classes as spaces of "non-Norwegianness".

Participants in the study, regardless of how long they had lived in Norway, said that they felt belonging among other youth who had similar experiences of being multicultural. Based on the article's analysis, one interpretation was that the minority youth – who all had different backgrounds – in one another's company found recognition of competences that were not commonly acknowledged in the schools, particularly other languages and cultures than the majority Norwegian.

Article III

Everyday politics of belonging: The ambivalent experience of being young, female and Muslim in rural Norway

The article takes as its point of departure the growing anti-Islam sentiments in society that young people of Muslim background are forced to relate to regardless of their actual religiosity. During fieldwork with young former refugees of various backgrounds, the experience of "othering" was a recurring theme, but those who apparently had to reflect constantly on their "difference" in relation to Norwegian majority society were girls of Muslim background.

This article explores how generic discourses rendering Muslims as "the other" in Norway affect young Muslim girls' experiences of belonging in different geographical and social spaces. The article provides examples of everyday embodied encounters in which national boundaries were drawn. Moreover, it illustrates how the girls navigated restrictions imposed by people belonging to the same ethno–religious group, illustrating how the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006, 2011) is part of children's micro-politics in everyday life (Kallio 2008, Cele and van der Burgt 2016, Kallio and Mills 2016). One aim of the article is to reveal complexity by giving ample space to the participants'

own narratives and by using an intersectional lens, deconstructing the category "Muslim girl". The article draws on an understanding of intersectionality that emphasises the constitutive relationship between space and intersectional subject positions (Rodó-de-Zárate and Baylina 2018). This means that gender, race, religion, class, and age are treated as significant social locations, but a focus on place and time is also included to emphasise that the power inflicted on these social locations is not fixed but rather processual and dependent on context.

The article builds on empirical material obtained from a participatory research project with young former refugees (aged 13–18 years) of various backgrounds, growing up in small towns in Norway. The methods include in-depth interviews, participant observation, and walkalongs. The analysis is presented through three individual stories, selected to display variation in intersectionality, place, and time. The stories focus on parts of the interviews in which the participants talked about social relations, school, interaction with the local community through activities and personal encounters, religious identification, and gendered practices. The interviews were complemented with observations from daily-life encounters and conversations with parents, siblings, and teachers.

The article illustrates the girls' ambivalence, in which a sense of belonging and awareness of being different were simultaneously operative. All three girls lived in rural small towns, but their experiences differed according to the composition of social relations in the places where they lived, how long they had lived there, and their status as either refugees or born in Norway. The stories show that place plays a role in how belonging can be acted out, and illustrate how place also can be utilized when navigating belonging.

The article highlights how the navigation of belonging that the girls undertook entailed constant work that they could not escape due to their visibility as Muslim women. A study of Muslim women in cities (Listerborn 2015) has shown that these women could choose to retreat to part of the city where they felt comfortable, i.e., a particularly migrant-dominated area. This was not an option for the girls in the present study, who were living in small towns.

The girls reflected actively on the implications of religion for their lives, including negative implications, such as being stereotyped. Rather than succumb to negative reactions to their visible religiosity, they found ways to manoeuvre around these problems. In addition, wearing the hijab was described as a source as well as a sign of strength: being able to stand for "who you are" in a place where this makes you stand out in the crowd was described as a source of pride and self-worth. For

some, the hijab became a symbol of multiple identities and simultaneous belongings, although this could appear contradictory within the dominant discourse. One story exemplifies how even though one may feel Norwegian, the subject position of Muslim was experienced to undo the right to the subject position of Norwegian. Relatedly, findings indicate an apparent discrepancy between what white majority caregivers, such as teachers, read as subordination and what the young girls themselves saw as practicing agency and individuality.

The article concludes that by manoeuvring, adapting, and critically reflecting on actions and encounters in everyday life, the girls played an active and engaged role in their negotiation of belonging, far from the stereotype of the submissive (refugee) Muslim girl. In their own ways, they were broadening what it means to belong in Norwegian local communities.

Article IV

"Doing belonging": Young former refugees and their active engagement with Norwegian local communities

The article explores place attachment and belonging with a focus on everyday habits and routines – also a focus in article I. However, while article I explored the significance of the youths' migration history, translocal practices, and connections, article IV focuses on participation in the new local community, structural conditions for participation, and experiences of social inclusion and exclusion. The analysis considers both social and material aspects that affect the attachment process and sense of belonging.

The article uses the term "doing belonging" to underscore how former refugee youths actively work to connect to their local communities. In the article, belonging is understood as performative (Butler 1990), meaning that it does not need to be connected to roots but rather is something that can be learned, created, and contested in negotiation with others. One argument presented is that the youths create place attachment through the performativity of place norms (Savage et al. 2005). This is further connected to Seamon (1980) and de Certeau's (1984) theories emphasizing that people make sense of place through everyday practices and time–space routines.

The article is based on material gathered using various participatory methods with 40 former refugee youths who had lived in Norway less than five years. The participants were a heterogeneous group of youths

aged 13–18 years with backgrounds from 13 countries. The study was undertaken in four towns each with approximately 5000–30,000 inhabitants. The methods include participant observation, in-depth interviews, auto-photography, and activity diaries. The activity diaries were particularly central to the analysis, as they provided a tool with which to map the participants', activities, social networks, and use of space. This provided insights into where and how the participants actually spent their time; this is important to understand, as research has shown that it is particularly through unorganized activities with friends that children gain knowledge of and attach to a place (Christensen 2003, van der Burgt 2006). This combination of methods enabled comparison of the youths' different places of residence, how long they had lived in the country (i.e., 0–2 years or 3–5 years), and what type of school they attended (i.e., separate preparatory school, ordinary school, or introductory class in ordinary school). The analysis was deepened by the youths' own narratives and photos explaining their process of attaching to place, including experiences of exclusion and inclusion.

The findings indicate that approximately half of the participants were engaged in organized activities such as sports and cultural activities. However, many were engaged in unorganized activities in the local community, for example, playing football informally at the playground or going to the local gym. Among those who had lived in Norway for 3–5 years, hanging out with friends in the town centre, outside McDonalds or at the bus station, was frequently reported. In general, the newly settled (0–2 years) youths spent more time in activities with their families, while the youths in the 3–5-year category spent considerably more time hanging out with or visiting friends. The family was the primary source of support and comfort during the settlement phase. There were also greater gender differences among the newly arrived, and the newly arrived girls spent considerably more time on housework and homework than did the boys. However, in one of the towns, newly arrived girls also attended organized activities due to a project that directly targeted "migrant girls" and because other girls of migrant background functioned as "social brokers". This emphasises the importance of looking beyond cultural explanations when trying to understand newly arrived youths' participation, or lack thereof, in the local community.

The findings indicate that the type of school the youths attended played a role. Making friends with majority youths was challenging when attending introductory classes because of the physical separation and lack of natural meeting points. Particularly for those who lived outside of town, the travelling distance made it difficult to cultivate

social ties in school that also reinforced social networks where they lived. For most of the participants, the network of friends consisted of youths of migrant background, although some also had majority Norwegians as friends.

The study shows that the youths simultaneously drew on shared knowledge from their social networks and on embodied knowledge gained through the habitual use of place to perform belonging. It is argued that embodiment, as in being a particular type of body interacting with people and place, matters. Being able to perform belonging demanded investment in youth norms such as being involved in the "right" activities and following fashion trends. The study further found that it was necessary for other youths to facilitate this process. Such facilitation, followed by interpreting and performing the socio–spatial routines of a place, was crucial to how the youths did belonging. Making connections with other youth of migrant background was a key to finding belonging in this case. However, the youth's possibilities to recognize themselves in their surroundings could also be "stopped" due to encounters with race. The youth's strategy to counter this was through performing the role of "the foreigner". Notably, attaching oneself to a place is an interactive process that requires recognition by others: being recognized by others and recognizing oneself in others are crucial for social inclusion and a sense of belonging.

The article concludes that structural constraints affect how belonging is created. These constraints could be where the youths lived, what type of school they attended and where, as well as whether they could access various social spheres, such as after-school activities and informal social gatherings. Where the youths spent time and the shape and meaning of their social networks revealed the character of these constraints, and these need to be considered politically as they greatly affect how former refugee youths' lives are organized.

6. Thesis contributions and concluding remarks

This thesis highlights the experiences, practices, and reflections of young former refugees growing up in rural Norway. Through the work presented in articles I–IV, the thesis broadens our understanding of the work that former refugee youths do to create and perform multiple belongings. Furthermore, it identifies social and structural relations that can both enable and constrain such processes. This final chapter summarizes the main findings of the thesis and presents a broader discussion of its contributions. In this discussion the thesis main research questions will be addressed: 1) What factors are important in young former refugees' place attachment? 2) How do young former refugees create, negotiate, and maintain belongings in everyday life regarding social relations and participation? 3) How are the boundaries of national belonging (re)produced and experienced in everyday life?

One main contribution of this research is insight into young former refugees' experiences of the settlement phase, a phase that has been relatively understudied in the Norwegian context. Additionally, examining participants who have lived in Norway for varied amounts of time made it possible to study place attachment as an evolving process in which the meaning of belonging to different places and groups can be renegotiated and changed over time. This relates to the first research question regarding what factors are important in the youths' place attachment, which is addressed in articles I and IV. The thesis shows that the process of attaching to a place is complex, varying depending on the participants' intersecting subject positions and subjective experiences, although some factors seem to be of general importance among all participants. First, it is central to mention the significance of having obtained refugee status and being settled in a municipality. For the youths and their families, this meant *official recognition* of their right to be in Norway, meaning that they could start making a place for themselves and planning for the future. However, as illustrated in article I, how migration affected family relations and the youths' opportunities to live close to or keep in touch with important family members and relatives also affects how they connect to place and where they see themselves in the future.

During the settlement phase, taking part in ordinary everyday routines created a sense of safety and normality. As described in article IV, during settlement, the feeling of safety was also connected to learning the language and making friends. School was therefore the most important arena for the youths in this study. They were ambitious when it came to rapidly learning the language and pursuing their educational goals, but also because school structured their time–space routines in the same way as for other youths, and it was here that they spent most time with youths of their own age. Besides these central and perhaps obvious aspects of place attachment, article IV also sheds light on how freedom to move around, including routinely walking to and from various locations, permitted participants to learn and identify with places and subjects. Participants' narratives reveal how, over time, places were imbued with meaning as they became attached to specific memories and emotions. This enabled the youths to recognize themselves in their environment, creating a sense of place belonging. Article I illustrates how translocal networks contributed to the process of attaching to a new place. Maintaining contact with family and friends from former home countries was important for a sense of continuity in the youths' autobiographies, while translocal networks with other migrant youths living in Norway eased the process of becoming familiar with the new home place through sharing experiences of everyday life in Norway and memories of former home places. Both of these forms of translocal networks had great value on their own, but also functioned to compensate for a lack of contact with majority Norwegian youth.

The thesis illustrates how the particular ways in which the material and social come together in feelings of place attachment are central to understanding how former refugee youths form bonds of belonging to place. So far, I have highlighted important factors in the process of attaching to place that were identified from the experiences and narratives of the research participants: official recognition of the right to be in Norway, ordinary everyday routines, a sense of safety and normality, learning the language, making friends, the freedom to move around and become familiar with local surroundings, and translocal social networks. However, the most important factor in fostering social inclusion and a sense of belonging that recurred throughout the thesis is recognition, meaning that the youths are recognized as belonging on equal terms as others in their environment. Through empirical examples, the thesis has illustrated how belonging is not simply the work of the youths who seek belonging, but is equally dependent on how other people in a position either to confirm or reject their claim to belong

read their bodies in various social spaces. This leads to the next research question regarding the youths' ability to create, maintain, and negotiate belongings in everyday life, connected to participation and social relations.

Central to understanding how belonging is created and negotiated by young former refugees is the relationship between structure and agency. While most youths were actively engaged in finding ways to connect to their local communities, there were certain aspects of their everyday lives that they could not control but that nevertheless influenced how they could participate and the kinds of social networks they could create. As most of the newly arrived participants attended either separate introductory classes in ordinary schools or separate preparatory schools solely for migrants, their opportunities to socialize with majority Norwegian youths in a "natural" way were limited. The youths' opportunities to participate were also influenced by their intersecting subject positions created, for example, by gender and socio–economic disadvantages. Article IV illustrates how the girls often felt that they had gained more freedom to move around on their own since coming to Norway, while the boys experienced their ability to "hang out" as they used to as more limited because young people's lives in Norway are more organized and institutionalized. Still, the activity diaries showed that the girls spent more time in home-based activities than the boys did, and that the boys engaged more often in organized activities, mainly football. One can assume that some of the girls might have had lower expectations of their freedom than did the boys, and that the adjustment to gender norms as played out in Norway was more challenging for some girls, while others participated in a range of activities. For example, as discussed in article III, girls of Muslim background experienced being subjected to racialization and social control in public space and had to find ways to navigate around other people's expectations of them and of what they could and could not do. However, the kinds of activities the youths engaged in also varied depending on place of residence, the activities available to them, and the time spent in Norway, as illustrated in both articles III and IV.

The thesis has advanced our understanding of how youths navigate independently in their local environments, providing knowledge of how belonging is created even outside mainstream institutions (e.g., sports organizations). The present findings indicate that both boys and girls were engaged in informal activities such as gathering to play unorganized football with friends of migrant background after school, "hanging out" in various locations, and going to the local gym or library. They also illustrate how youths who did participate in organized

activities were not necessarily included in social networks that extended beyond these arenas. Many found it difficult to make connections to majority Norwegian youths that went beyond common courtesy and coexisting in the same arenas. Some saw this as a question of time, while others described experiences of being "othered", a process connected to a fear of being rejected or being unable to pass as "someone who belongs here". In school, the physical separation of the newly arrived students created a social distance that was challenging to overcome in ordinary class. The spatial separation of the newly arrived and language-training students seemed to contribute to construct them as different and less competent. Article II illustrates how these experiences are connected to a structural level at which aspects such as space, skin colour, and language work together in a racializing process, leading to the reproduction of the categories "foreigner" and "Norwegian". The article illuminates how the "foreigner" subject position can be constituted through social encounters that fail to confirm the youths' own self-images, but rather reproduce stigmatizing ideas of them. Those constructed as "foreigners" differ by virtue of not being part of the white majority; at the same time, this casts all "foreigners" as similar, even though their backgrounds are heterogeneous in terms of countries of origin, cultures, religions, languages, and time spent in Norway. The article further discusses how "others" can become part of the collective by representing diversity, thereby upholding and reproducing their "difference". This relates to the third research question regarding how the boundaries of national belonging are (re)produced and experienced in everyday life.

The experience of being "different" was described not only by the newly arrived, but also by participants who had spent much, if not all, of their childhood in Norway. They had a sense of ambivalence in which both belonging and an awareness of being "different" were simultaneously operative. The present findings indicate that the boundaries defining Norwegianness are often drawn along the lines of skin colour (i.e., race), language (i.e., culture), and religion (i.e., norms and values). They also show that belonging can be found locally, within a group of friends, or translocally, within a translocal network of relatives and friends, even though one does not necessarily feel belonging to a particular nation. On the other hand, some of the youths described a sense of belonging to the nation but without this sense of belonging being confirmed by others. This "inbetweenness" between being and longing, as underscored in the thesis title, highlights the processual aspect of belonging and how the studied youths do experience belonging but are also longing for other ways to belong, for example, through

recognition as nationals in Norway. These findings recall those of earlier research into minority and migrant youths in Norway, but add to them the translocal perspective.

Inspired by critical race and whiteness studies, I investigate the connection between Norwegianness and whiteness, discussing whether whiteness can be described as an institutionalized feature of the education system, and how it feels to navigate "white space" as a body of colour. The importance of whiteness has long been acknowledged as a boundary-drawing mechanism, though how whiteness as a position of privilege is constructed and reproduced has been less explored. The present work elaborates on this matter, though more research is needed into how this privileged position functions within the education system as well as other institutions, such as the political apparatus.

Equally important to understanding how the boundaries of belonging to the nation are constructed in contemporary Norway is paying attention to the intersection between race, religion, and gender. The girls of Muslim background described how they repeatedly had to justify their lifestyles and strive to counter people's preconceived ideas of them due to their visibility as Muslims. As illustrated in article III, the girls' experiences and positions from which to negotiate belonging varied depending on their intersectional subject positions, where they lived, and the amount of time they had lived in Norway. The article presents concrete examples of how the girls were exposed to everyday racism and processes of racialization as well as how they navigated social control. By analyzing ordinary social encounters, the article illustrates how symbolic national boundaries are transformed into practice in everyday life. Empirical documentation of how racialization and exclusion occur and are reproduced is important in order to expose how micro-interactions, such as gazes, avoidance, and name calling, are embedded in wider historical–political structures that need to be addressed at the societal as opposed to individual level. By highlighting the young participants' narratives and encounters with racism as well as the racialization of religion, this work enriches existing general research on race as a differentiating mechanism in the Norwegian context. The empirical material nevertheless shows that the youths were not only affected by structures but also that they actively related to and navigated within them.

Additionally, the present findings suggest that where one lives matters for the kind of school introduction and language training received, as different municipalities organize these in different ways depending on their economic and pedagogical resources. Relatedly, it matters for several reasons whether there are other youths of migrant background

in the same age span in the area. First, the presence of other such youths will influence the resources available for language training and competence in multi-lingual/cultural teaching in the schools. Second, findings indicate that those who attend schools where there are other youths of migrant background who include them in their friendship groups "find their place" and seem to experience a stronger sense of belonging to the local community than do those who lack such support. The participant's experiences of belonging thus seemed to vary to some extent in relation to the composition of social relations in the places where they lived.

In particular, article III emphasises that place plays a role in how belonging can be acted out, and in how it can be utilized when navigating belonging to different collectives. The rural perspective has been vital to illuminating the complexity of the youths' attachment processes and navigation of belonging. Some of the youths described rural areas as good places to live because there one can avoid a type of social control expected in larger urban areas, possibly allowing greater freedom of choice in how to adapt to local youth norms and activities. However, others described being hyper-visible in terms of both social control by ethnic/religious collectives and in the eyes of majority Norwegians. In some situations, such as during holidays, the rarity of people of the same national country background in the rural areas where the youths lived seemed to create a longing to be part of a larger community where the youths' cultural or religious belongings could be acted out and confirmed. Many solved this problem by visiting friends and relatives living in urban areas where they could attend religious ceremonies and/or holiday celebrations. Apart from that, the youths formed friendships with peers of various backgrounds, downplaying differences.

Relatedly, this thesis notes the importance of researching the intersection of the young former refugees' different social arenas. Earlier research on migrant youths more broadly has tended to focus either on family relations, the school perspective, or participation in organized activities. In the present work, these aspects of the youth's lives come together, contributing to a complex understanding of how place attachment and belonging are created and how the different arenas influence each other. Such a broad perspective has shed light on the fact that the young participants' belongings are both multi-sited and multi-layered.

In public debates, integration is often described as fulfilling certain important criteria for participating in and contributing to the welfare state, particularly attachment to the labour market, language, education, and participation in organizational life. These aspects are important to

consider from both the societal and individual perspectives. However, they are also formed based on the "needs" of the state and say little about the personal experiences of the former refugee youths themselves or about what facilitates or hinders their experience of social inclusion. By highlighting the participants' personal embodied experiences of place and their negotiation of belonging in everyday social encounters, the thesis reveals considerations that are often tacit and taken for granted, though essential for a sense of belonging.

By focusing on the youths' participation in their local communities beyond mainstream institutions, this thesis advances our understanding of how social inclusion among multicultural youths is happening in various ways and in other arenas (e.g., the neighbourhood and playground) than those perhaps expected by authorities. This does not mean that including former refugee youths in mainstream institutions is not important; on the contrary, it is crucial for creating social networks that can enable social mobility. However, it might be reason to discuss how we view and value participation in the local community, and to pay more attention to the youths themselves and their efforts and engagement in creating place belonging. I suggest that it is important to recognize the social inclusion that is happening between youths of various migrant backgrounds in local Norwegian communities, connecting them to their local places. The participants in this research can be described as translocal actors who help transform places through their simultaneous mobility and "fixity" in terms of how they connect and apply knowledge and habits from several places in their everyday practices. In so doing, they are challenging and expanding the lived and imagined local and national communities.

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Appendix 1. The participants and methods

Participant	Gender	Age	Background	Interview	School observation	Activity diary	Home visit	Auto-photography	Group interview
Amina	Girl	17	Ethiopia	x	x		Many		
Yasmeen	Girl	15	Afghanistan/Pakistan	x		x		x	
Tekle	Boy	14	Eritrea	x			2		
Dehab	Girl	18	Eritrea	x			2	x	
Feysal	Boy	14	Ethiopia	x	x	x	2	x	
Geedi	Boy	16	Ethiopia	x	x	x	2	x	
Feven	Girl	14	Eritrea	x	x	x			x
Bile	Girl	14	Somalia	x	x	x			x
Samira	Girl	14	Iraq	x	x	x	1		
Alexandra	Girl	15	Chechnya	x	x	x			x
Maria	Girl	14	Vietnam	x	x	x			x
James	Boy	15	Burundi	x	x	x			x
Nuura	Girl	16	Somalia	x	x	x			
Basma	Girl	15	Eritrea/Sudan	x	x	x	1		
Farida	Girl	15	Somalia	x	x	x	1	x	
Nila	Girl	14	Nepal	x	x	x			
Nicole	Girl	14	Honduras	x	x				
Elena	Girl	15	Serbia	x	x	x			
Zemar	Boy	14	Afghanistan	x	x	x			
Sumaia	Girl	14	Somalia	x	x	x	1		

Appendix 1. Continued

Participant	Gender	Age	Background	Interview	School observation	Activity diary	Home visit	Auto-photography	Group interview
Tarik	Boy	15	Kenya	x	x	x			
Idres	Boy	16	Afghanistan	x	x				
Rhoda	Girl	15	Ethiopia	x	x	x			
Fana	Girl	15	Ethiopia	x	x	x			
Barnabé	Boy	15	Burundi	x	x				
Iman	Girl	15	Somalia	x	x	x			
Hamed	Boy	15	Somalia	x	x	x			
Simon	Boy	16	Eritrea	x	x				
Magool	Girl	14	Somalia	x	x	x			
Zeinab	Girl	15	Somalia	x	x	x			
Hafsa	Girl	14	Somalia		x	x			
Hani	Girl	14	Somalia		x	x		x	
Sobia	Girl	14	Afghanistan		x	x		x	
Aiko	Girl	13	Japan		x	x		x	
Abaja	Boy	14	Somalia		x	x		x	
Martha	Girl	14	Somalia		x	x	1		
Bashir	Boy	14	Somalia		x			x	
Abdurrahman	Boy	13	Afghanistan		x				
Najmah	Girl	15	Afghanistan		x				
Hamsa	Boy	13	Kenya		x	x			

Appendix 2. Interview schedule for individual interviews with youths

Temaguide til intervju med ungdom

Introduksjon

I løpet av dette intervjuet skal vi snakke sammen om deg og dine erfaringer med å komme til Norge og det å flytte hit til (navn på sted). Vi skal snakke om skolen og fritida di, hva du liker å gjøre og hvor du liker å være. Litt om hvordan du ser for deg framtida og hvor du ser for deg at du kommer til å bo. Hvor du føler at du hører hjemme og hva du tenker om identitet og tilhørighet. Men først skal vi starte med å se på bildene som du har tatt og du kan fortelle meg hva du har tatt bilde av og hvorfor du har tatt nettopp disse bildene. Hvis du synes det er greit så kommer jeg til å ta opp samtalen vår på denne lydopptageren (viser den frem). Det er bare for at jeg skal huske hva vi har snakket om og det er bare jeg som skal høre på opptaket. Hvis det er noe jeg spør om som du ikke har lyst til å snakke om så bare sier du fra.

Generelt

Vi snakker sammen om bildene ungdommene har tatt og relaterer til tidligere samtaler under hjemmebesøket og forsøker å knytte dette opp mot spørsmål i intervjuguiden.

Om stedet man er bosatt

- Fortell om stedet du bor på
- Hva er enkelt her, hva er vanskelig (venner, boligen, materielle ting, kommunikasjon, religion)
- Fortell om stedet i relasjon til andre plasser der du har bodd eller skulle ville bo?
- Å bo i asylmottak vs bolig i kommunen forskjeller og likheter, ting man savner, ting man er glad for å slippe. Hva betyr det å bli bosatt?
- Hvilken betydelse har det å bo på et småsted, fordeler/ulemper? Tidligere stedserfaringer, forskjell bygd/by,
- Statusen : Er det like bra å bo på bygda som i byen?
- Identiteten til stedet (ser de det som et bygdested og på seg selv som å være fra bygda?)

Lokalmiljø

- Trygge steder/utrygge steder
- Bruk av ulike tilbud som cafe, kino, bibliotek, butikker
- Natur
- Hvis du hadde bodd i en by, tror du at bruken av tilbud og aktiviteter hadde vært annerledes?

Skole og venner

- Hvordan var den første dagen på skolen din? Hvordan har dette fortsatt, hvordan er det nå?
- Hvem er du sammen med på skolen?
- Språk
- Er det viktig for deg å gjøre det bra på skolen, hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- Deltakelse på skolerelaterte aktiviteter (skoleball, skolereiser, ungdomsklubb)
- Hva liker du å gjøre etter skolen og hvem er du oftest sammen med da?
- Hvor bor vennene dine, her i nærheten, eller langt borte?

Familie og hverdagsliv

- Fortell om familien din
- Rolle i familien ift alder og plass i søskenrekken. Hva gjør du og hva gjør dine søsken?
- Forpliktelser og ansvarsområder
- Forandringer i og med migrasjon?
- Hvilke ting gjør dere sammen?
- Er det noe du liker å gjøre uten familien?
- Alder: Ulike opplevelser, hvordan det er å komme til et nytt sted som ungdom annerledes enn om man er barn eller voksen?

Hjem

- Fortell om hjemmet ditt
- Hva er et hjem? Et sted, et hus, , relasjoner til visse personer.
- Hva skal til for at et nytt sted skal føles som et hjem?
- Kan flere steder være hjemme?
- Minner fra andre hjemsteder

Nettverk

- Hvem er de viktigste personene i ditt liv?
- Hvordan holder du kontakt med disse personene? Facebook, snapchat,
- Hvilke kontakter har husholdet? (I lokalsamfunnet, med egen etniske eller religiøse gruppe, majoritets nordmenn)
- Lokale, nasjonale og transnasjonale kontakter
- Hvem har ansvaret for å opprettholde ulike kontakter?

Identitet og tilhørighet

- Fellesskap/utenforskap – hvor og med hvem opplever du at du hører til? i hvilke sammenhenger kan man føle seg annerledes? (Når opplever man at man er på rett eller feil sted/situasjon)
- Fritidsaktiviteter, musikk, idrett, religion og å treffe venner gjennom religiøse samlinger og nettverk
- Ungdomskultur – musikk, film og tv-serier, klær, mat... med hvem har man dette felles, global ungdomskultur?
- Hypotetisk sett:
- «Akkurat nå føler jeg meg ... Norsk, somalisk, muslim, norsk-muslim»
- «Av andre blir jeg sett på som...»
- «Jeg skulle ønske jeg kunne være...»
- «I framtida tror jeg at jeg kommer til å føle meg som...»
- Forskjellige identiteter på forskjellige steder eks; hjemme og på skolen?
- Opplever du noen gang at du ikke blir sett på som/ behandlet likt som andre, for eksemple på skolen, idrettslaget, når du er ute etc...
- Hva er det viktigste som definerer hvem du er, slik du ser det?
- Når får du vist frem denne siden av deg selv og når får du en god bekreftelse på denne siden av deg selv?

Avsluttningsvis

- Er det noe du skulle ville endre i din hverdag, fysisk, sosialt...?
- Er det noen ting du har lyst til å fortelle om som vi ikke har snakket om?
- Har du forslag til andre ting det kan være lurt å snakke om med ungdom som er i samme situasjon som deg?

Appendix 3. Interview schedule for group interview

Temaguguide – gruppeintervju

Siden sist:
Dere har vært på skoletur, kan dere fortelle litt om den?

Fellesskap og introduksjon

- Hvordan ble dere kjent med hverandre?
- På hvilken måte har vennegjengen vært viktig for dere?
- Når det kommer noen nye ungdommer hit, er det slik at dere hjelper dem litt til rette? Hvorfor, ansvarsfølelse?
- Hvordan blir dere kjent med andre ungdommer som ikke går på denne skolen, eller ikke bor i xx?
- Er det slik at fordi dere er aktive på nettet så kjenner dere flere folk i området rundt her enn foreldrene deres gjør?
- Hva er det som er bra med å bli kjent med andre ungdommer som har innvandrerbakgrunn?
- Hvordan vil dere i denne gjengen her beskrive dere selv?

Tilhørighet

- Hva betyr det at man hører til et sted? Hva innebærer det?
- Hvordan kan det oppleves?
- Hva betyr det å ikke høre til?
- Hvordan kan det oppleves?

Ruralt/urbant

- Tror dere det er annerledes å være ungdom med innvandrerbakgrunn her enn i oslo, hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?

Alder
- Hva vil det si å være ungdom?
- Når går man fra å være barn til å bli ungdom?
- Når er man voksen?

Ansvar i familien

- Hva er det dere hjelper foreldrene deres med?

- Hjelper dere foreldrene deres ift språket?

Aktiviteter

- Hva er vanlige aktiviteter som ungdom driver med her?
- Er klesstil, musikksmak viktig, hvorfor?
- Hvis dere tenker på klesstilen deres, hva sier den om dere?
- Er det andre klesstiler som sier noe spesielt om folk og hvordan de vil være?
- Sist snakket vi en del om kebabnorsk, hvorfor har det blitt en måte dere snakker sammen på? Er kebabnorksen viktig for dere og hvorfor?

Forbilder

- Har dere noen forbilder?
- Hvorfor er forbilder viktige?
- Har dere noen forbilder her på skolen?

Internett og dataspill

- Hvor mye chatter dere i løpet av en dag, hvilke sider bruker dere mest?
- Spiller dere dataspill? Hvordan bruker dere det?
- Er det forskjell på hvordan gutter og jenter bruker sosiale media og dataspill?

Språk

- Hva er det som er bra med å gå i norsk-norsk klassa?
- Hva er det som kan være dårlig med det?
- Er det noen ganger at dere føler dere flaue eller ikke vil delta i samtaler eller aktiviteter på grunn av språket?

Norskhet

- Hva er det som er typisk norsk?
- Hvordan tror dere dette er annerledes fra andre land?
- Hva tror dere kan være fordeler med å være fra et annet land eller ha foreldre som er fra et annet land når man bor i Norge?
- Finnes det også noen vanskeligheter forbundet med det?

Marginalisering og rasisme

- Sist jeg var her var det flere av dere som fortalte at dere kjenner folk som har opplevd å bli urettferdig behandlet fordi de er innvandrere, kan dere gi noen eksempler på det?
- Hvordan oppleves det?
- Har dere opplevd å bli behandlet annerledes av andre ungdommer?
- Hva er typiske fordommer?
- Hvordan vises disse fordommene?
- Hvordan oppleves det?
- Har dere hørt om at noen dere kjenner har opplevd rasisme?
- Hva er rasisme?
- Har noen av dere opplevd det?
- Framtida
- Hva ønsker dere å gjøre i framtida?
- Hvor ønsker dere å bo? Hvorfor?

Råd til nyankomne

- Hvis dere skulle gi noen tips og råd til ungdom på deres egen alder som akkurat har kommet til Norge, hva skulle det være, hva må de tenke på?

Appendix 4. Interview schedule for teachers

Intervjuguide til lærere

- Hvor mange nyankomne har skolen ca pr år?
- Hvordan ser du på systemet for mottak av nyankomne mino-
  ritetsspråklige elever i skolen? Hvilke ressurser har skolen til
  rådighet og hvordan løser man språkopplæringa og det sosiale.
- Du har jobbet med denne gruppen lenge, hva er din formening
  om hvordan de klarer seg i skolesammenheng, både faglig og
  sosialt?
- Hva ser du på som deres største utfordringer?
- Hva er det de bruker å være gode på/mestring?
- Hvordan fungerer hjem/skole-samarbeidet?
- Kan du beskrive en vanlig undervisningstime, hvordan utarter
  den seg?
- Hvordan påvirker deres situasjon som nylig ankomne med
  mye "bagasje" deres skolehverdag?
- Etter min erfaring er det mange tanker og grublinger elevene
  har som kan komme frem under norsk 2 timene, kan du si noe
  om hvilke spørsmål og undringer om skole og samfunn gene-
  relt som ofte kommer opp?
- Hvordan mottas de nye elevene av etablerte elever?
- Forteller elevene om problemer med andre elever, eller vans-
  keligheter med å komme inn i det sosiale miljøet?
- Hvordan er deltakelsen ved skolearrangement?
- Ser du noen kjønnsforskjeller når det gjelder tilpassning og in-
  kludering?
- Faktorer for tilpassning og inkludering som spiller inn? (språk,
  alder, foreldres utdanning).
- Har det vært noen problematiske hendelser som mobbing, ra-
  sisme, eller liknende ved skolen opp igjennom årene? Hvordan
  har utviklingen vært?
- Ser du noen endringer i lokalsamfunnet i forhold til det å ta
  imot flyktninger og asylsøkere og inkludere dem før og nå?
- Kommunene løser opplæring av minoritetsspråklige forskjel-
  ling: enten integreres direkte i klasse med enkelttimer i norsk
  eller egne mottaksklasser på større steder. Kunne det vært løst
  på en annen måte? Hva mener du er den beste løsningen?