Assimilation and Social Success

Cultural Identity of Second Generation Nigerian Migrants in Oslo, Norway

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Abstract

A lot of scholarly work has been done on migration and its challenges in the past and today. In recent years, the migration crises resulting from large numbers of immigrants escaping war in the Middle East and heading towards Europe have brought issues of Migration into sharp focus. In Norway, most academic work on immigration has focused on the large immigrant population. In this work, I have focused on the assimilation of second generation Nigerian migrants living in Oslo, Norway of Pentecostal background and sought to determine whether they identify more with their Nigerian heritage or Norwegian culture, and the factors which have shaped this identity.

I used qualitative method of research in which I conducted several semi-structured interviews church leaders, parents and second generation young adults. Factors that were researched to determine the degree of assimilation of the youth were language, their opinions on interracial marriage, return - to - Nigeria considerations, the challenges they face and the perception of systematic discrimination, as well as their outlook on their future. It was found that while most of these indicators pointed towards a good degree of assimilation into Norwegian society, the second generation youths still displayed a very strong sense of a Nigerian identity rather than a Norwegian one, as well as the Christian Pentecostal values and traditions of their parents. This shows that it is possible for an immigrant population to be assimilated and very well integrated within a host community and appreciating that culture and its values, while at the same time, maintaining their distinct cultural and religious identity. While assimilation and integration are essential for social success, it do not, however, require that an individual loses all vestiges of his / her original identity while assuming the host identity in its entirety.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

While some scholarly work has been done on the immigrant population in Norway, such work has tended to focus on the larger immigrant groups particularly, Polish and Pakistani immigrants. For example, Pustulka et al. (2016) have written on the sense of belonging and the everyday experiences of Polish children in Norway. Huang et al. (2016) have also focused on education, work and settlement choice of young Polish adults, while Erdal (2014) have explored the return considerations as articulations about 'home' among Pakistani and Polish migrants. Very little if any work has been done on the migrants from sub-Saharan Africa in Norway. In this study, I will attempt to study the assimilation and social success issues facing second generation Nigerian migrants of a Christian Pentecostal background and how which culture they identify more with, Norwegian or Nigerian.

1.1 Immigration

Human migration is the movement of people from one geographic place to another for the purpose of settling permanently or temporarily in the new geographic location, usually across a political boundary (although internal migration within one geopolitical entity is also recognized). People can either choose to move ("voluntary migration") or be forced to move ("involuntary migration"). For the purpose of this thesis, immigration refers to resettlement across political borders and does not include internal migration.

> Migration in our world today is a daily occurrence with millions of people moving from one geographic location on the planet to another location, from one country to another and sometimes with a reverse migration; where people move out of their original domicile to another and then after several years of living in the new country and becoming naturalized citizens have to go back as migrants to their native country. The history of migration and assimilation is as old as the planet humans inhabit today – Earth. The bible mentions the migration of Adam and Eve the first inhabitants of the earth from their first home in the Garden of Eden to another part of the earth.

> "So the LORD God banished him from the Garden of Eden to work the ground from which he had been taken. After he drove the man out, he placed on the east side of the Garden of Eden cherubim and a flaming sword flashing back and forth to guard the way to the tree of life" (Gen. 3: 23 – 24 NIV).

We also read of the first dispersion of the human race in the Bible from the land of Shinar later called Babel where God confused their language and dispersed them to different parts of the world (Gen. 11:1 – 2, 9).

> "Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. As people moved eastward, they found a plain in Shinar and settled there." (Gen. 11: 1 – 2 NIV).

> "That is why it was called Babel —because there the LORD confused the language of the whole world. From there the LORD scattered them over the face of the whole earth." (Gen. 11:9 NIV).

Today, migration comes as a result of wars and civil wars as in Syria, Ukraine, Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea and other nations. Famine and prolonged periods of drought could also cause people to migrate as in parts of Sudan, Ethiopia and Chad. Economic hardships due to lack of jobs and poverty has also sent many people especially West Africans and most recently people from some European and Asian countries such as Greece, Romania, Spain, Italy Portugal, Philippines, Indonesia and others.

1.1.1 Immigration to Europe

Until the middle of the 20th century, Europe was characterized by substantial emigration to the rest of the world. Between 1815 and 1930, around 50 million Europeans left their home countries and headed for the U.S., Canada, Australia, Brazil, and Argentina (Ferenczi and Wilcox, 1929). Gross emigration rates per decade of more than five percent (5 %) were a common phenomenon across European countries – a magnitude far exceeding more recent migration outflows (Hatton and Williamson, 1998). However, since the end of World War II, Europe has progressively shifted from being a major source of emigration to becoming a major destination for immigrants (Marozzi, 2015).

The turn of the 20th century saw significant mobility of persons from one nation to another and its attendant conflicts and tensions, as has indeed been the norm throughout recorded history.

Since the year 2000 the immigrant populations of many northern and western European countries have more than doubled (Townsend, 2015). Some scholars contend that the increase in immigration flows into Europe particularly from the 1980s is due to global inequalities between poor and rich countries (Black et al., 2005; Milanovic, 2005; Kahanec and Zimmermann, 2009). In 2004, the European Union (EU) granted EU citizens a freedom of

movement and residence within the EU, and the term "immigrant" has since mostly been used to refer to non – EU citizens.

Over the past few years, war and conflicts across North Africa, the Middle – East and parts of Asia in particular have brought issues of immigration into sharp focus across Europe.

Since 2015, a rising number of Syrian refugees and migrants have made perilous journeys to the European Union (EU) to seek asylum, traveling across the Mediterranean Sea or via Southeast Europe mainly in response to the Syrian civil war. In addition to these, have been economic migrants from Western and South Asia, Africa and the Western Balkans.

1.1.2 Immigration to Norway

According to the Statistisk sentralbyrå (official state statistics bureau of Norway), the population of Norway as at 1 April 2016 stood at 5, 223, 300. 698. Out of the total population 149, 700 are Norwegian-born to immigrant parents in Norway. Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, therefore, represent 16.3 % of the total national population.

Of the capital city's (Oslo) 658, 400 inhabitants, 163, 300 were immigrants and 50, 900 were Norwegian-born to immigrant parents as per 1 January 2016. It must be highlighted that figures provided by the Statistisk sentralbyrå are only the official record and does not capture the number of people who may be in the country illegally. It is, therefore, highly likely that the population of immigrants is higher than the figures mentioned here.

In the years since 1970, the largest increase in the immigrant population has come from countries in Asia (including Turkey), Africa and South America.

In spite of these numbers Norway has been a modest receiving country in terms of global migration. As pointed out by Grete Brochmann and Knut Kjeldstadli in their 2008 book, A History of Immigration- The Case of Norway 900 – 2000 (p. 297): "Several immigrations to Norway have been in line with more general movement trends such as the German medieval Ostsiedlung, the westward exodus of eastern European Jews after 1881, or labour migration to the North in the 1960s and 1970s"- and more recently, as a result of the 2015 European migrant crisis.

Norwegian society has become more multicultural today as a result of immigration. Although multiculturalism has not been explicitly affirmed by constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation at the central and/or regional and municipal levels (Hagelund, 2002), some policy documents do assert a commitment to principles that are sometimes associated with multiculturalism, including integration, inclusion and anti – racism (Hagelund, 2002; Lithman 2005; Ellingsen, 2009).

1.1.3   Nigerian population in Norway

According to the Statistisk sentralbyrå, there are 1, 761 Nigerian immigrants in Norway, in addition to 91 born in Norway to Norwegian-born parents, 531 Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, 20 foreign – born to one Norwegian – born parent, 687 Norwegian-born with one foreign – born parent, and 14 foreign – born to Norwegian – born parents. These figures show that there are much fewer Nigerians in Norway, making them a minority amongst the minority in Norwegian society.

(Source: https://www.ssb.no/258404/population-by-immigrant-category-and-country-background).

1.2   Assimilation

Cultural assimilation is the process by which a person or a group's language and/or culture come to resemble those of another group. The concept of assimilation includes absorption, adaptation, incorporation, accommodation, acculturation, inclusion and integration (Bean.

Alba and Nee (2003) in their landmark book "Remaking the American Mainstream - Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration" argue for a definition of assimilation that recognizes a reciprocal nature to the process. They assert: "Assimilation, as a form of ethnic change, may occur through changes taking place in groups on both sides of the boundary. . . We define assimilation as the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences. . . Individuals' ethnic origins become less and less relevant in relation to the members of another ethnic group. . . and individuals on both sides of the boundary see themselves more and more as alike. . ." (Alba and Nee 2003)

Assimilation may involve either a quick or gradual change depending on circumstances of the group. The most common indicators to the degree of assimilation are often cited as language, socioeconomic attachments, residential patterns, and intermarriage. Whether or not it is desirable for an immigrant group to assimilate is often disputed by both members of the group and those of the dominant society.

There are several concepts of assimilation theory and these will be more comprehensively outlined in chapter three (3).

1.3   Identity

Scholars have several definitions of identity that invariably converge on one theme: an individual or a group's sense of self or being. It is a product of self-conception and the realization or belief that certain distinct qualities differentiate one entity (individual or group) from another (Huntington, 2004). Huntington further explains in the 2004 book "Who are we?

The Challenges to America's National Identity" that, "A new baby may have elements of identity at birth in terms of a name, sex parentage, and citizenship. These do not, however, become part of his or her identity until the baby becomes conscious of them and defines itself in terms of them" (Huntington, 2004, p. 21).

Identity may be related to nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class, generation, locality or any kind of social group that has its own distinct culture. It is important because it determines to a large extent, the way a person or group behaves and their value system. The concept of cultural identity and its components is further expatiated on in Chapter three (3).

1.4   Rationale to the Study

My interest in this subject of migration, identity and assimilation came about as I observed the increasing number of migrant children succeeding in life or becoming useful members of their new societies. Examples of second generation children of migrants who have assimilated and succeeded are President Barack Obama of the United States of America whose father migrated to the United States from Kenya, Daniel Braaten and Chuma Anene, both well – known soccer players born and raised here in Oslo to Nigerian parents. Meanwhile, others have been taken away by the Child Protective services, and some became high school or college dropouts or end up incarcerated in juvenile detentions or in prison.

In my view, integrating or assimilating an immigrant population into the receiving society is of especially high significance in view of certain events in the western world. Over the past year, terror attacks in France, Belgium and the USA by second generation "immigrants" who have been apparently influenced by "non – Western" Islamic jihadist ideology have brought issues of migrant assimilation, integration and identity into the limelight.

In France, the 13th. November 2015 attacks which left at least 130 dead and 368 injured was allegedly masterminded by Salah Abdelsalem, a Belgium-born French national of Moroccan descent, and other French nationals of immigrant background. The January 2015 Charlie Hebdo attacks in Paris in which 11 people lost their lives, was also carried out by the Kouachi brothers; French citizens born and raised in Paris to Algerian immigrants. In the USA, Omar Mateen in June 2016 carried out an attack on a nightclub in which 49 persons lost their lives. He was an American citizen born and raised in New York to Afghan parents.

What is perhaps, most striking in all these instances of terror attacks is not that the perpetrators were all of immigrant origin but rather, they were all citizens, and were born in the countries they attacked. Yet, it is evidently clear that these persons not only identified with

a value system or ideology that was alien to their countries but were also willing to kill their fellow countrymen and women in the name of a "foreign" ideology.

In addition to this, large numbers of European youths born in Europe to immigrant parents have journeyed to Syria and Iraq to join the militant groups, "Islamic State" and the al – Qaida affiliated Al Nusra Front, both of which are classified as terrorist organizations by governments all over the world. In fact, some reports estimate that "European jihadists in Syria are more numerous than official statistics indicate and they point to the existence of entire French-speaking and German – speaking brigades in the Aleppo region (of Syria)" (http://www.investigativeproject.org/4362/experts-warn-more-european-muslim-youth-are#).

These circumstances make issues of identity and integration/assimilation of second – generation migrants even more pertinent than before.

Although this thesis does not deal with second – generation migrants in light of radicalization and jihadism, I believe that the above examples highlight clearly the need to study and understand the factors that drive or impede the assimilation or integration of second – generation migrants. In this study, I will focus mainly on identity issues of second generation Nigerian Christian Pentecostal young adults in Oslo, Norway.

1.5 Choice of Study Area

This study focuses on second generation Nigerian youth in Oslo, Norway. The target group is further downsized by restricting the sample size to Nigerian Christians with a focus on Pentecostal migrants in Oslo. The thesis will also shed light on the challenges they may be facing in the process of assimilating into the Norwegian society and attempt to make connections between social mobility (upwards or downwards), the degree of assimilation, and cultural identity.

1.6 Research Question (s)

Nigerians migrating to Norway have settled in various cities in the country including Oslo, the capital. Some Nigerians came with their children while others had theirs here in Norway. Their cultural, social and Pentecostal faith may face challenges here in Norway where most Norwegians are members of the State church- Lutherans, even though, the State considers herself as a folk church nation. Article 2 of the current English version of the Constitution amended in May 2016 states that "Our values will remain our Christian and humanist heritage. This Constitution shall ensure democracy, a state based on the rule of law and human rights." (Source: http://www.stortinget.no/globalassets/pdf/english/constitutionenglish.pdf).

The main research question is as follows: **Do the second generation Nigerian Christians consider themselves more as Nigerians or Norwegians?**

The follow up or secondary questions are;

1. How the church leader and parents are preparing the second generation to live and assimilate into the Norwegian society?

2. Would they consider cross cultural marriage to indigenous Norwegians?

3. What are their perspectives on the future educational and upward economic mobility.

4. Would they in future want to return to their parent's homeland Nigeria?

1.7   Biblical Context to Immigration, Assimilation, and Cultural Identity

I am reminded of the success stories of biblical characters in the likes of Joseph (Genesis 39 – 41) and Daniel and his three friends in the book of Daniel. As in the case of Joseph, the bible recounts that having been sold as a slave to an Ishmaelite caravan trader by his own brothers, Joseph ended up in Potiphar's house as a slave. Then after a mishap in Potiphar's house he landed in jail for being faithful to his identity as a Jew and a believer in Yahweh. Joseph states: "Look," he said to his master's wife, "with me [here] my master does not concern himself with anything in his house, and he has put all that he owns under my authority. No one in this house is greater than I am. He has withheld nothing from me except you, because you are his wife. So how could I do such a great evil and sin against God?" (Genesis 39: 8 – 9).

Later God brings Joseph into Pharaoh's palace as his second in command. A young adult Hebrew slave torn from his roots assimilates into Egyptian society neither denying his identity as a Jew nor his religion to rise to the second highest position in the land of Egypt.

In the story of Daniel and his three friends Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, the Book of Daniel in the Bible foretells of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia, subsequently Jewish prisoners of war were carried away to Babylon to serve as slaves (Daniel 1: 1 – 7). However, these four young men find themselves serving in the Kings palace after educating them in Babylonian culture, language and administration (Daniel 1: 8 – 21).

On several occasions they were faced with the punishment of eminent death if they do not abandon their faith and identity as Jews, but in all situations it was their faith in God rather

than denial of their identity that saved their lives, resulting in their promotion to high positions in the Babylonian empire (Daniel 3: 8 – 30, 6:10 – 28).

> "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego replied to the king, "Nebuchadnezzar, we don't need to give you an answer to this question. If the God we serve exists, then He can rescue us from the furnace of blazing fire, and He can rescue us from the power of you, the king. But even if He does not rescue us, we want you as king to know that we will not serve your gods or worship the gold statue you set up." (Daniel 3: 16 – 18 HCSB)

> "Then Daniel spoke with the king: "May the king live forever. My God sent His angel and shut the lions' mouths. They haven't hurt me, for I was found innocent before Him. Also, I have not committed a crime against you my king." (Daniel 6: 21 – 22 HCSB)

God tells the Jews in the book of Jeremiah to assimilate into whatever culture He God disperses them into by settling, marrying, building and trading, yet without losing their faith and cultural identity as Jews. The prophet tells the Jewish exiles in Babylon:

> "This is what the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel, says to all the exiles I deported from Jerusalem to Babylon: "Build houses and live [in them]. Plant gardens and eat their produce. Take wives and have sons and daughters. Take wives for your sons and give your daughters to men [in marriage] so that they may bear sons and daughters. Multiply there; do not decrease. Seek the welfare of the city I have deported you to. Pray to the LORD on its behalf, for when it has prosperity, you will prosper." Jeremiah 29: 4-7).

In the examples of Joseph and Daniel above, it is clear that they maintained their distinct Jewish identity in spite of their relatively good assimilation into the Egyptian and Babylonian societies as exemplified by their occupation of very high offices in the state apparatus (although it must be pointed out that they were first generation rather than second generation "migrants").

Another biblical character of interest is Ruth the Moabitess whose name is the title of the bible book Ruth in which she is a major character. Her story of assimilation into the Jewish culture is depicted as a personal choice she made when she said to her mother-in-law Naomi:

"Do not urge me to leave you or to return from following you. For where you go I will go, and where you lodge I will lodge. Your people shall be my people, and your God my God. Where you die I will die, and there will I be buried. May the LORD do so to me and more also if anything but death parts me from you" (Ruth 1:16 – 17, ESV)

This declaration by Ruth signaled to Naomi Ruth's abandonment of her ethnicity and cultural roots as a Moabitess to embrace the people, the culture, the religion and identity as a Hebrew. Although the biblical narrative provides no clue of Naomi fully assimilating into the Moabite culture, however, it is clear from the record that her return to and resettlement in Bethlehem in Judea was a process of re-assimilation for her since she has to ask Ruth to go sleep with Boaz before their marriage which was not acceptable in Israel.

 Ruth's mother-in-law Naomi said to her, "My daughter, shouldn't I find security for you, so that you will be taken care of? Now isn't Boaz our relative? Haven't you been working with his female servants? This evening he will be winnowing barley on the threshing floor.   Wash, put on ⌊perfumed⌋ oil, and wear your ⌊best⌋ clothes. Go down to the threshing floor, but don't let the man know you are there until he has finished eating and drinking. When he lies down, notice the place where he's lying, go in and uncover his feet, and lie down. Then he will explain to you what you should do."
(Ruth 3: 1 – 4 HCSB)

Abraham the father of the Jewish Nation according to the Bible, was also required to move from Ur of the Chaldeans in Mesopotamia with his sister Sarah who became his wife, his father Terah and two brothers Haran and Nahor. Although Abraham lived a long time in the land of Canaan he never fully assimilated into Canaanite society. Abraham fought for his identity as a he followed his faith in Yahweh, this led to constant confrontations with his neighbors as in the case of Abimelech king of Gerar of the Philistines (Genesis 20: 1 – 18).

1.8   Outline of the thesis

In this introduction chapter, I have defined and briefly discussed the important terms/concepts that are relevant to this study: immigration (in general terms and as applicable to Norway), assimilation and cultural identity. I have further, stated the rationale or motivation to the study, defined the choice of study area, and major research question. The introduction concludes with a brief biblical context to the problem and an outline of the entire thesis.

Chapter 2 deals with the research method employed in this study and the means by which data was collected and interpreted. The qualitative research method which is inductive in nature; its theoretical foundations, advantages and shortcomings are presented in this chapter. The challenges faced during data collection and the writing the thesis, as well as how they were overcome are also presented

Chapter 3 presents and discusses classical assimilation theories and their evolution into their current forms. The concept of identity in general, culture and cultural identity are presented. Race or ethnicity, language, nationality and religion beliefs as components of an individual's cultural identity are also presented.

In chapter 4, the research findings from the interviews with the target groups are presented. They are reformulated and summarized according to the various groups of respondents. The full transcript of the interviews is presented as an appendix to the thesis.

Chapter 5 discusses the research findings obtained from the respondents in light of the various theories on assimilation and cultural identity in order to answer the main research question: "Do the second generations Nigerian Christians consider themselves more as Nigerians or Norwegians?" and the subordinate research questions, and attempts to determine to what extent the various indicators of assimilation and components of cultural identity have been most significant in determining the degree of assimilation and their cultural identity.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the entire work. It presents the problem as defined in Chapter 1, and describes briefly; the research methodology employed in the study, theories discussed and used in this study, and highlights the important and cardinal conclusions obtained.

Chapter 2: Research Methods

2.1   Research Strategy

Having defined my research questions, I decided on the methods for collecting data and methods for analyzing the data that will be collected. The research strategy which I used to carry out my report on the above topic at hand is qualitative research strategy. Alan Bryman, in his book Social Research Methods (Bryman, 2012) reveals that, qualitative research is more focused on the use of words instead of figures. That the researcher depends on information of people's experiences, understanding of a social topic, and interpretation of data collected in the form of texts, documents, and conversations during interviews, social media and other sources. Qualitative research method mostly derives its theory from the collected data instead of using data to confirm or counter a theory (Bryman, 2012). This thesis, therefore, employed qualitative research method or approaches. The qualitative approach was more suitable for these thesis since the strategy was to interview or talk to participants, such as visiting some young adults and parents as well as pastors with Nigerian background in their homes or in their church. In addition, I made extensive use of secondary data. This included literature on, assimilation and social success, cultural identity as well as second generation Nigerian migrants in Norway, Oslo. Newspaper articles proved useful as well as past thesis and journals. Furthermore, I used information from the websites of the Norwegian Statistics Bureau and Stortingent.no. No statistical or quantitative methods were applied in the analysis of the data due to the few number informants used in this study.

2.2   Research Methods

Research methodology according to Bryman (2012) is the systematic and organized process used by researchers to organize and structure the various ways and approaches to be used in collecting data on a chosen research question, the analysis of the collected data and the write up of the information analysed into a readable format for academic and public use. Qualitative Research is more focused on the use of words instead of figures. The researcher depends on information, people's experiences, understanding of a social topic, and interpretation of data collected in the form of texts, documents, and conversations during interviews, social media and other sources. Qualitative research methodology mostly derives its theory from the collected data instead of using data to confirm or counter a theory, as in quantitative research (Bryman, 2012).

Bryman further states that qualitative research method may have the following six phases:

1. A general research question or questions

2. Selections of related sites and subjects

3. Collection of relevant data

4. Interpretation of collected data

5. Induction of concepts and theory or theories

   a. A precise stating of the research question(s)

   b. Collection of more data if needed based on a refined research question

6. Write up of research findings and conclusion.

2.3 Research Question(s)

Bryman reveals that a research question is a question that helps to provides an explicit statement of what the researcher is researching for or wants to know about. Therefore, a research purpose can be presented as a statement, but a question forces the researcher to be more explicit about what is to be investigated. Bryman citing Denscombe and White, however notes some steps important for formulating research questionnaire, which include:

"**1.** Predicting an outcome (does y happen under circumstances a and b?).

2. Explaining causes and consequences of a phenomenon (is y affected by x or is y a consequence of x?).

3. Evaluating a phenomenon (does y exhibit the benefits that it is claimed to have?).

4. Describing a phenomenon (what is y like or what forms does y assume?).

5. Developing good practice (how can we improve y?).

6. Empowerment (how can we enhance the lives of those we research?).

7. Comparison (do a and b differ in respect of x?)." (Bryman 2012)

In light of the above assertion by Bryman and using the above steps as a guide in my interview on the topic, Assimilation and Social Success: Cultural Identity of Second Generation Nigerian Migrant in Oslo, Norway. A general research question and further research questionnaire thus, "**Do the second generation Nigerian Christians consider themselves more as Nigerians or Norwegians?**" was formulated in order to help me be systematic and organize in my interview. The following questionnaires were formulated as a guide for my interview.

2.3.1 Interview Questionnaire

The following questionnaires were developed for the various groups of interviewees in order to aid the research.

2.3.1.1 Sample questionnaire for the pastor or church leader:

- As the senior Pastor of RC church of God Are you preparing the second generation of young adults in your congregation to live and assimilate into the Norwegian culture?
- Do you believe the youth will keep their identity as Nigerians and also hold onto their Pentecostal faith and heritage or abandon them altogether as they become more Norwegian than Nigerians?
- How will you as the pastor and leaders relate to the second generation Nigerian Norwegians?
- Projecting to the next five years how will the second generation Nigerian Norwegians relate to their parents?
- What plans do you have as the pastor of this church if the young adults request to have their church services in Norwegian?
- What are your thoughts about the young adults deciding to return to their parents' homeland Nigeria?
- How will you respond to the question of "Religion and Social Success"?
- How do you see faith or religion influencing a person's cultural identity, and social life in a new environment?
- Reflecting on the success stories of biblical characters in the likes of Joseph (Genesis 39-41) and Daniel and his three friends in the book of Daniel; what are your hopes and aspirations for all second generation Nigerians living in Norway?

2.3.1.2 Sample questionnaire for the parents:

- Are you as a parent of a second generation Nigerian and a Pentecostal preparing your second generation of young adults to live and assimilate into the Norwegian culture?
- How are you helping your child to keep his/her heritage as a Nigerian?
- How are you assisting your ward to hold onto the Pentecostal faith as he/she becomes more Norwegian than a Nigerian?
- How will you as the parent relate to your Nigerian Norwegian youth in your home?

- Projecting to the next 15 years how do you foresee the second generation Nigerian Norwegians relate to their parents?

- How will you feel as a parent if your child stops speaking to you in English or your mother tongue and rather speaks Norwegian only?

- How would react to your child's desire to return to their homeland Nigeria?

- How will you respond to the question of "Religion and Social Success"?

- What are your thoughts about faith or religion influencing a person's cultural heritage, and social life in a new environment?

- Reflecting on the success stories of biblical characters in the likes of Joseph (Genesis 39-41) and Daniel and his three friends in the book of Daniel; what are your hopes and aspirations for all second generation Nigerians living in Norway?

2.3.1.3 Sample questionnaire for the young adults:

- Is your pastor preparing you the second generation of young adults to live and assimilate into the Norwegian culture?

- Are your parents also preparing you to assimilate into the Norwegian society?

- How much of your Nigerian heritage would you keep as you become more Norwegian than Nigerian?

- How much of your Pentecostal heritage are you willing to hold unto as you become more Norwegian?

- Would you consider yourself as a Norwegian, Nigerian living in Norway or a Nigerian Norwegian?

- How will you as a young adult relate to your parents as you become more integrated into the Norwegian culture?

- How would you feel talking to your parents only in Norwegian instead of English or any of your parent's mother tongues?

- Projecting to the next 15years how will the second generation Nigerian Norwegians look like?

- Do you like it when you visit your parents' homeland Nigeria?

- Would you want to move back to Nigeria to help develop the place with your acquired skills from your education?

- How will you respond to the question of "Religion and Social Success"?

- To what extent would you say that one's religion and cultural identity could impact his/her social life in a new environment?

- Reflecting on the success stories of biblical characters in the likes of Joseph (Genesis 39-41) and Daniel and his three friends in the book of Daniel; what are your hopes and aspirations for yourself and all second generation Nigerians living in Norway?

2.4 Sampling procedure

After formulating the research question and questionnaire the next step of my qualitative research method on my research has to do with sampling. Here, Bryman defines Sample as the segment of the population that is selected for investigation. It is a subset of the population. The method of selection may be based on a probability or a non-probability approach. Bryman also notes that samples should be selected on the basis of their appropriateness to the purposes of the investigation. However, Bryman reveals that, the chief point to register at this juncture is that sampling is an inevitable feature of most if not all kinds of social research and, therefore, constitutes an important stage of any investigation. The survey researcher, therefore, needs to decide what kind of population is suited to the investigation of the topic and also needs to formulate a research instrument and how it should be administered (Bryman, 2012)

The choice of respondents for the interview was pastors or church leaders, parents and young adults with Nigerian background living in Norway to be precise Oslo. Oslo was chosen as site for the interview due to the fact that most immigrant in Norway lives in the capital city Oslo. Oslo as a site was also appropriate since a pool of respondents could be sampled for the interview. The selection of my respondents; the second generation Nigerians for the research has to do with the large number of Nigerians immigrants living in as compared to other immigrants from other African nations (admittedly, Somalis represent the largest migrant African population in Oslo). The choice was also important because of my background as a pastor as well as being of Ghanaian ancestry, as Nigeria is often considered to be a sister – country. To avoid my background influence on the research, second generation Nigerians rather than Ghanaians were chosen. It is also important to note here that my choice for site

and selection of respondents for my interview was narrowed to the Pentecostal Church of Norway (the name has been changed for ethical reasons).

Bryman in discussing the number of people to be interviewed in qualitative research, cotes different scholars and their viewpoint on the sample size. For example, according to Warren (2002, p. 99) the minimum number of interviews required seems to be between twenty and thirty, Gerson and Horowitz (2002, p. 223) write that fewer than 60 interviews cannot support convincing conclusions and more than 150 produce too much material to analyze effectively and expeditiously. And although Bryman relate that the size of sample that is able to support convincing conclusions is likely to vary somewhat from situation to situation in purposive sampling terms, and even though qualitative researchers have to recognize that they are engaged in a delicate balancing act, he also reveals what he calls convenience sample. A convenience sample is one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility. Indeed, my initial plan was to interview a minimum of three pastors, six young adults, and three set of parent's, this was not possible due to respondent's non-availability. This limitation will be further discussed under limitations section of this chapter. Although only eight informants or respondents were interviewed due to lack availability and by virtue of accessibility and also due to the scope of my project, my choice of sample could fall within what Bryman calls convenience sample.

2.5   Collection of Relevant Data

Qualitative research according to Bryman (Bryman, 2012) hinges on ethnographic or participant observation, qualitative interview, the use of focus groups, discourse and conversation analysis and the qualitative analysis of collected data in the form of documents, voice recordings, blogs, texts and social media. Some of the methods of data collection includes interviewing and questionnaires. Some methods entail a rather structured approach to data collection—that is, the researcher establishes in advance the broad contours of what he or she needs to find out about and designs research instruments to implement what needs to be known (Bryman, 2012). My questionnaire is an example of such an instrument; as a researcher, it is important to establish what needs to be known in order to answer the research questions that drive the project, and design questions in the questionnaire that will allow data to be collected to answer those research questions (Bryman, 2012). Data collection as Bryman notes, is the gathering of data from the sample so that the research questions can be answered. During the interview process I made use of a note book in writing down the responses of my respondents on the questions I asked. I also employed the use of a recorder, here my iPad was

used as a recorder to record the interview so that in case I was not able to write down fully what my informant said I could later go back to the recorder for reference. The use of the recorder was very helpful as it helped me to be more relaxed during the interview rather than trying write word for word what the respondent was saying and also helped me to maintain eye contact with my informant. This also helped to create a friendly atmosphere during the interview. At the end of the interview both the notes I took in my note book and the iPad I used as a recorder were sources of collecting the data from the interview for my work. As I mentioned above that only eight persons were interviewed. The next step was the process of collecting relevance data from the interview conducted, the results of my interview were screened for relevant information to answer the research question.

1.	Reliability versus Trustworthiness: although some social researchers still use reliability as a test of the soundness of research findings, (Mason 1996; 24). LeCompte and Goetz (1982) and Kirk and Miller (1986) most prefer to use trustworthiness. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1994) Trustworthiness comprises of the following four measurements:

    a.	Credibility – this deals with the internal validity of the observations made by the researcher and the concepts or theories he is working with.

    b.	Transferability – the external validity of the researcher's findings that could be generalized across board in society. Geertz calls this idea "thick description" (Geertz, 1973a)

    c.	Dependability – this looks for reliability in the sense that research findings could be replicated in similar settings by other researchers. Although this could be a difficult way of measuring the results of a qualitative research, LeCompte and Geertz (1982) agree it a useful tool.

    d.	Confirmability - the use of approved ethical and non-biased approach in research, so that the researcher's personal opinions or concepts do not influence the outcome of the research process and research findings.

2.	Validity versus Authenticity: Lincoln and Guba (1985) furthers suggest the following as a standard for qualitative research authenticity.

    a.	Fairness – deals with presenting a research that reflect a fair view point of other members of the constituency

b. Ontological authenticity – using the research finding to help the constituents have a better understanding of their social condition.

c. Educative authenticity – the use of research findings to help constituents' appreciation the way others view their social condition.

d. Catalytic authenticity – does the research encourage the constituents to transform their current conditions?

e. Tactical authenticity – will the research information enable constituents to take up the necessary change action?

In order to adequately assess the chosen title of this thesis, and to fully discuss the responses obtained, I have in addition to the interviews which have served as a primary source, made use of an extensive literature. Considering that the research carried out cuts across several disciplines such as theology, sociology, psychology and linguistics, I made use of the relevant literature available on these various disciplines as are applicable to the research question (s) at hand. These resources include textbooks, peer – reviewed journal academic papers, open – access online articles, as well as data from the Norwegian Statistics Bureau. Admittedly, not all the books cited were comprehensively reviewed, but rather the various chapters which were considered to be relevant to this study.

2.5.1 Criticism of Qualitative research methodology

Critics of the qualitative method of social research have cited its lack of scientific analysis as compared with the quantitative methods of research, and some dismiss it as non-scientific and just the opposite of quantitative method of research. Other critics say that qualitative method of research is too subjective that is it relies mostly on the interpretation of the researcher. Furthermore, some critics say that it difficult to replicate qualitative research findings or generalize them since they study bases on a small unit of a constituency. Lack of transparency is also a criticism labelled against qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). However, many social scientists have realized that the criteria used to measure quantitative research which mainly research natural phenomena, cannot be rigidly applied to the study of social phenomena. In addition, a researcher's use of one method over the other should not invalidate the research findings since quantitative and qualitative research methods are different approaches for research in different fields of research study. The goal of a researcher should be to present fair and accurate findings that will help the constituents make meaningful and insightful change,

the public to understand the phenomenon and for other researchers to use it as data for further studies.

2.6   Semi – structured interviews

Bryman (2012, p. 469) confirms that "although ethnographic research involves a considerable time of interviewing, most qualitative researchers prefer the use of interviews for the simple reason of its flexible nature; since interviews are demand less time with the constituents as opposed to participant observation". According to Bryman (2012), structured and unstructured or semi-structured interviews and both are used by researchers to conduct interviews. While structured interviews are predominately used by quantitative researchers, unstructured or semi-structured formats are preferred by qualitative researchers due to the fact that it allows for the interviewer and interviewee to digress or for the interviewer to ask follow-up questions if the interviewee brings up a point more interesting to him or her.

2.6.1   Interview setting and informants

In this research project I conducted personal semi-structured interviews with the pastor of a Christian Pentecostal Church, at an agreed location; their church office. I also conducted interviews with some parents who have young adult children living with them in Oslo. In addition, I interviewed some of the second generation Nigerian young adults in the church and elsewhere in Oslo in a focused group setting.

Due to the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews, I decided to use that in interviewing the pastor, some parents and a group of the young adults at the Christian Pentecostal Church in Oslo. I have written down the thesis questions in this document in such a format that helped me ask the questions in an appropriate way, hoping to receive genuine answers.

2.7   Limitations

Some challenges were faced in the undertaking of this project which negatively impacted the work. Some of these are presented below.

Initially, I had planned to interview at least fifteen (15) informants comprising three (3) pastors or church leaders, four (4) parents, and eight (8) youths or young adults. This could, however, not be achieved due the lack of persons who were willing to open up to the topic. Some respondents were unavailable for the interview and others decided to cancel at the last minute. There were two respondents who were willing to meet with me, but heavy snowfall on the agreed day made it impossible to meet, we rescheduled the interview for another time but that also could not come off as planned. Due to these problems, only eight (8) persons

comprising three (3) young adults, one (1) pastor, and one (1) couple, and two (2) single parents were interviewed. It must be noted that even the originally intended 15 informants for the interview falls short of the number recommended by Gerson & Horowitz (2003) and Bryman (2012). However, interviewing large numbers of informants was considered to be impractical as borne out by the challenges faced.

Due to the broad nature of the topic, finding literature that treats it fully was challenging as most of the books in the MF School of Theology library were in Norwegian (which I could not read), and those in Oria.no online library had to be imported from other universities or libraries. Books and journals on African and especially Nigerian migration and assimilation in Norway were especially hard to come by. The broad nature of the topic and a lack of readily available literature compelled me to seek sources from a wide range of disciplines including but not limited to linguistics, sociology, psychology and theology. The obtained books and sources were not reviewed in complete detail but rather, relevant chapters were read and information gleaned from them.

It also became apparently necessary to change the thesis topic after gathering the data. The data received from the various respondents was unsuitable to answer the original research question. Some answers from the respondents opened up more insight and ideas for review of the original thesis question. Hence, the need for me to review and change the topic to suit the data received from the respondents.

Although the data received from the respondents caused me to change the thesis topic, some respondents wandered way off the topic and the questions asked, so much so that I had to use a lot of time in transcribing the audio records of the interviews. This led to much delay in completing my thesis paper. The interview locations for some of the interviews were also not entirely conducive, and this led to situations where a lot of background noise was captured in the audio recordings. This also made transcribing the audio records and caused further delays in the undertaking of the work.

The pastor's responses to the questions posed to him were overwhelmingly positive in terms of the preparations the church was giving to its second generation members to help them assimilate and have social success in the Norwegian society. These responses are a bit of a

concern to me as I cannot be entirely sure that there is no bias or an unconscious effort to place the church in good light.

2.8   Ethical considerations

The identities of all persons interviewed and the organizations they belong to have been intentionally changed for ethical reasons, to protect their identity.

2.9   Summary of research methodology

I used the semi-structured interview questions format for the interviews, and that provided the desired data I needed to analyse and write up my thesis. I conducted the interviews using a digital voice recorder on my iPad to record and take notes at the same time. Since the process of interviewing in social settings or in a qualitative research is not fixed to a set of rules but flexible, I used most of the tips and skills provided in Bryman's book Social Research method on qualitative research. No statistical handling of the data was done.

Chapter 3: Theory

3.1   Assimilation theories

The theory of assimilation or incorporation also termed integration according to Brown K. Susan and Bean D, Frank in their article Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long – Term Process in the E-Journal published in October 1, 2006 by the Migration Policy Institute based in the USA refers to the process where immigrant social lifestyle and the host societies bear a resemblance to one another. This process encompasses economic and sociocultural proportions, originating with the first immigrants and continues through the second generation and future generations (Brown and Bean, 2006).

3.1.1   Classical Assimilation Theories

The classical theory of assimilation was based primarily on studies of European immigrants arriving into the United States in the early parts of the 20th century. These studies advocated that immigrant's full assimilation was progressive and inevitable and was considered to be complete within the third to fourth generations. According to Guibernau (2007), "Assimilation assumes that immigrants should give up their own cultures, languages and specific identities and replace them with those of the host country. The assimilationist model implies a 'one-sided process of adaptation', which should be facilitated by the state."

3.1.1.1 Anglo – Conformity theory of Assimilation

Early arrivals of Anglo immigrants from primarily northwestern Europe established the values, norms and practices in the United States. Being the majority among all immigrants and with a head start in political and economic power, they upheld their cultural traditions as the standards. Anglo-conformity is one of the classic theories of assimilation involving the idea that immigrants should learn English, adapt to norms, values and institutions as a way of conformity to integral Anglo-American society and the wider Anglo-Saxon majority. Anglo-centrism was widespread during much of the nineteenth century where immigrants of non-Anglo origins were compelled to discard their ancestral cultures upon arrival and conform to the prescribed Anglo way of life as the only option. Apparently, it was a great advantage at that time to be a WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant), and a disadvantage to be a Catholic, a Jew, or from eastern and southern Europe and worse yet to be Black.

Milton Gordon, in his seminal works "Assimilation in American Life" (1964) and "Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity" (1978) posited that immigrants in the U.S. gradually assimilated to a supposed white Anglo – Saxon mainstream.

3.1.1.2 Park's Race Relations Cycle

The concept of Assimilation was first formulated by the Chicago School and applied to American society in the early 1920s (Guibernau, 2007).

Developed by Richard E. Parks, at the University of Chicago, the Race relations cycle theory of assimilation, pertained to immigrants in the United States, known as the "race relation cycle". The cycle has four stages: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. The first step is contact followed by competition. Then, after some time, a hierarchical arrangement can prevail – one of accommodation – in which one race was dominant and others dominated. In the end assimilation occurred. Park considered this to be an unending cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself. Park further considered assimilation to be inevitable in a democratic industrial society where ethnic and racial identities eventually lose their importance. His theory, however, neither gives any indication about how much time will be required for assimilation nor reflects the experiences of all immigrant groups. According to Montserrat Guibernau in his 2007 book, "The Identity of Nations", Park (1930) later redefined his assimilation theory by stating that "Social assimilation is the process or processes by which people of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence" (Park, 1930, p. 281)

3.1.1.3 Process Theory of Assimilation

According to Gordon (1964, 1978), immigrant groups conformed to a pre – existing and dominant Anglo core, in a multi-step process that started with giving up their cultural patterns and ethnic heritage. After cultural assimilation, immigrants and their children could incorporate to American social groups, assume an American identity, change their attitudes and behaviors, and become engaged in civics. This process was expected to take several generations. In this theory, cultural variables such as language and the celebration of ethnic holidays were primarily used to determine the degree of assimilation. Other scholars such as Otis Duncan, Peter Blau and Andrea Tyree (1967) also focused on socioeconomic variables and considered the assimilation process to be measurable by the social mobility that

immigrant minorities had in the new society and their participation in socioeconomic institutions.

However, Sharon L. Sassler, a sociologist in her article "School Participation Among Immigrant Youths: The Case of Segmented Assimilation in the Early 20th Century" researching the history of European immigration to the United States of America has revealed that in the 1920's, the educational achievement of third-generation immigrants from Germany and Ireland was way behind that of other Caucasians who were living in the country for more than three generations (Sassler, 2006). This view is further supported by Rumbaut (1994) who states that there are no concrete measurements to determine the full cycle of this complex process.

In this wise, the old theory of straight line assimilation by immigrants by the third or fourth generation may not be applicable, hence the need for new approaches in the study of assimilation among immigrant groups (Brown & Bean, 2006).

Furthermore, it is abundantly clear that as the immigrant population became more ethnically and racially diverse after the new wave of massive immigration post - 1965, and as the economic context changed entering a post-industrial era, such assumptions of Anglo conformity and assimilation to a unified white middle-class could not accurately describe the uneven experiences of the "new immigrants" and their children in the U.S. and is even less applicable to the situation in Europe. Another shortcoming of this theory is that it fails to recognize the reciprocal cultural influence from the immigrants.

3.1.1.4 Segmented Assimilation

Undeniably, immigrant groups may differ in the seemingly incompleteness of their assimilation process for different causes, including their educational background and the socioeconomic construct of their new society (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p. 2001).

Many different characteristics of assimilation also differ in completeness with an immigrant group during a period of assimilation. For instance, an immigrant would master the language of the host Nation in a shorter time than it would take to attain wage equity with natives of that country. In addition, incomplete assimilation could equally be impacted across immigrant communities if the economic and other operational changes diminish the majority opportunity to economic upward mobility. (Brown & Bean, 2006)

Rumbaut (1994) refers to this progressive nature of immigrant assimilation as segmented assimilation, where the immigrant group or individual goes through the assimilation process in stages. Brown and Bean (2006) also state that social scientists in the likes of Portes, Alejandro, Patricia Fernández-Kelly, and William Haller argue that:

"Children of Asian, black, mulatto, and mestizo immigrants cannot escape their ethnicity and race, as defined by the mainstream. Their enduring physical differences from whites and the equally persistent strong effects of discrimination based on those differences … throw a barrier in the path of occupational mobility and social acceptance. Immigrant children's identities, their aspirations, and their academic performance are affected accordingly" (Brown and Bean, 2006).

In supporting the segmented assimilation theory, several scholars (Portes & Zhou 1993; Portes & Rumbaut 1996; Bankston & Zhou 1997; Zhou 1997) pointed out that the new immigrants follow divergent pathways and assimilate to different segments of the society and recognized that while some assimilate and move upward to the middle-class, others are poorly assimilated and move downward to the marginalized and racialized bottom of society. In marked contrast to the process theory where the outcome of assimilation is positive, in the segmented assimilation framework the outcomes of the incorporation process are not always positive, but mixed, and they depend on both structural and individual factors and the interaction between them. (Portes & Zhou 1993; Rumbaut 1996; Zhou 1997; Portes & Rumbaut 2001). Individual-level factors such as parental resources (human, financial, cultural capitals), education, and values, map diverse pathways to downward or upward assimilation (Rumbaut 1996; Rumbaut & Cornelius 1995; Zhou & Bankston, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Portes et al., 2005). Trajectories of immigrant youth assimilation depend not only on the segments of the society where their parents are incorporated and the resources that their parents bring along, but also on how well the youth navigate the advantages and disadvantages of their family background and how they construct their ethnic and cultural identities in the new country.

3.1.2   Alternative Assimilation Theories

Joa`o Sardinha writes in the book entitled Immigrant associations, integration and identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European communities in Portugal: "that in modern multi-ethnic societies, the group with power may dictate the rate and form of immigrant assimilation, and thus power shifts from the majority indigenes in the receiving nation to the

minority and vice versa" (Sardinha 2009, pp 31-32). Moreover, in a multi-ethnic receiving society the concept and approaches to immigrant assimilation becomes a dilemma and I quote:

> In current academic as well as political discourse, a particular conception dominates as to how immigrants should be incorporated into the receiving society: they should be integrated, in due course and process, into multicultural states. While literature favouring this argument, in one form or another, is vast, a key question that lies behind this debate is – what sort of approach should be taken to immigrant? And furthermore, what other factors are at play? (Sardinha 2009, p. 31)

In the book, "The multicultural challenge", Brochmann (2003) asserts that the economically dominant sector of the population of a country dictates the ideology of the majority including the direction of policy making, education and the economy, hence the minority immigrant population has no choice but to assimilate into that society to survive (Brochmann, 2003). This school of thought opines that minority immigrants and their generations after them have to assimilate into their new society creating identity problems for the second generation.

Richard Park and E. W. Burgees defined immigrant assimilation as "A process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Burgees, 1969, p. 735)

Sardinha also defines assimilation as the process that immigrant minorities in a receiving country are consciously or otherwise transformed into the lifestyles, culture, behaviours and values of the majority group (Sardinha, 2009). This view according to Sardinha, in a way forces the immigrant minority group to adapt to the majority cultural values which includes language, if they so desire to have upward mobility in the new society (Sardinha 2009) and supports the view of Brochmann (2003).

Sardinha quoting from Parekh, (2009, p. 197) asserts that "As a custodian to society's way of life, the state is assumed to have the right and duty to ensure that its cultural minorities assimilate into the prevailing national culture and shed all vestiges of their separate cultures".

According to Sardinha the 1920's brought about the postulation of the concept of immigrant assimilation by Robert Parker from the Chicago School of Sociology, as he considered the

struggles and misery of new immigrants to Chicago in the United States of America and their struggles to endure the hardships of their new country (Sardinha, 2009).

In their article "Assessing immigrant assimilations: New empirical and theoretical challenges" published in the journal (Annual Review of Sociology 31:105 – 125), Waters Mary C. and Tomas R. Jiménez state and I quote;

> "The power of generation as an independent variable predicting degree of assimilation was tied, in ways a few social scientists recognised, to the specific history of the flows of immigration from Europe. In this review we examine some of the ways that immigrant assimilation itself is likely to be different under conditions of ongoing immigration, and we specifically argue that generation will become a much weaker predictive variable in the studies of that experience" (Waters & Jimenez, 2009).

The gap between first generation immigrants' assimilation and that of their second or third generations could change as receiving countries restrict immigrant flow either through the deportation of the non-documented first generation or the total absence of new comers.

According to Waters and Jiménez (2009) although some earlier sociologists condemned the theory of assimilation as presented by Robert Park as dehumanising, the current restructuring of the concept of immigrant assimilation by Alba and Nee (2003) and Bean and Stevens (2003) has resurrected the theory of assimilation and proposes the following four typical measurements:

1. Socioeconomic status (SES) meaning the educational attainment, occupational specialization, and equality in pay. A key indicator of the economic integration of immigrants is the labor market outcomes (LMO) of skilled immigrants, especially as more skilled persons have been emigrating over the past two decades, compared to relatively less skilled immigrants in the 1950s – 1970s.

2. Spatial concentration meaning the dissimilarity in spatial distribution and sub-urban living. Studies have shown that migrants often follow a traditional assimilation model with respect to residential location: initial settlement is in low-income immigrant enclaves which are occupied by their own and other visible minority groups, but they disperse in the long term, after being more affluent, to higher quality neighborhoods dominated by the local population.

3. Language assimilation meaning the ability to learn the language of the new country (and losing the mother tongue). An immigrant's primary means of social integration with the receiving or host country can be considered to be through that country's official language(s); if one cannot speak and read that country's official languages(s), it is hard to imagine how social integration with the local population can occur.

4. Intermarriage between the immigrants and the host nation or to other migrants who have assimilated into the new culture. (Waters and Jiménez, 2009: 301). It is generally considered that, immigrants with longer generational status, and longer span of time spent in the host country in their childhood and adolescence, have a higher affinity towards forming mixed unions.

In his book "The American Life" (1964) Milton Gordon who further developed Parks' assimilation theory also proposes a four step process in immigrant assimilation namely:

1. Cultural assimilation or acculturation

2. Structural assimilation which leads to fusion into the immigrant's new society

3. Identity assimilation (adjustments)

4. Civil assimilation

In the same vein assimilationist Sheila Patterson (1993) postulates that integration is part of the process of incorporation that ends in immigrant assimilation into the larger society.

"Reformation of assimilation emphasizes its utility for understanding the social dynamics of ethnicity in American society as opposed to its past normative or ideological applications." (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 829)

According to Nathan Glazer in his book "Is assimilation Dead" (e.g. Glazer, 1993) Alba and Nee (1997) mention that some scholars oppose the theory of assimilation because it imposes ethnocentrism by patronizing demands on immigrant minorities struggling to keep their ethnic and cultural identity. (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 827). Furthermore, Alba & Nee (1997) point out that some scholars had problems with the old assimilation theory because it classified some minorities as having inferior cultural traits opposed to that of the majority in the receiving nation (Warner & Stole, 1945, p. 286).

Recently, some sociologists including Barkan (1995), Kazal (1995) and Morowska (1994) have attempted to redefine immigrant assimilation theory making it useful for current

immigration studies (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 827). In addition, Alba and Nee (1997) state that: "If the ideology and implementation of immigrant assimilation were formerly used by Nations as a state imposed normative program aimed at eradicating minority cultures, assimilation has been justifiably repudiated" (Alba & Nee 1997, p. 827). In addition, Alba and Nee state: "as a social process that occurs spontaneously and often unintendedly in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups, assimilation remains a key concept for the study of intergroup relations" (Alba & Nee 1997, p. 827)

My focus in this thesis will be on assimilation although the other theoretical concepts mentioned earlier may apply, especially the theory of integration.

3.2   The Concept of Identity

The study of identity per se, as a field of inquiry in itself, is a relatively recent development from the latter half of the twentieth century (Edwards, 2009).

According to Jepperson et al. (1996, p. 59) in their paper titled "Norms, Identity, and Culture in national Security", it "refers to the images of individuality and distinctiveness (selfhood) held and projected by an actor and formed (and modified over time) through relations with significant 'others'". The cardinal importance of 'others' in defining identity is further expressed by Huntington (2004, p. 22) in the following statement: "So long as people interact with others, they have no choice but to define themselves in relation to those and others and identify their similarities with and differences from those others".

The Social Identity Theory (SIT) was first developed by Henri Tajfel (1982) on the basis of a minimal group of experiments that he performed. It's underlying assumption according to Hogg & Abrams (1999) is that people establish categories in the form of stereotypes in an effort to structure and systematize their environment. Thus, according to Hogg & Abrams (1999, p. 9), Tajfel (1982) established that stereotyping helped to asses and allocate social contexts and distinctions. This social categorization leads people not only to group people as members of specific categories, but also to subconsciously categorize themselves. From the SIT concept of Tajfel (1982), identity mostly means three things: identifying others, identifying one's self and identifying with others.

Huntington (2004, p. 22 – 24) highlights five key points concerning identities:

1. "Both individuals and groups have identities. Individuals, however, find and redefine their identity in groups. An individual may be a member of many groups and hence, is able to shift identities. Group identity, on the other hand, usually involves a primary defining characteristic and is less fungible."

2. "… identities are overwhelmingly, constructed. […] Identities are imagined selves: they are what we think we are and what we want to be."

3. "… individuals and to a lesser extent groups have multiple identities. These may be ascriptive, territorial, economic, cultural…. […]. The relative salience of these identities can change from time to time […] as can the extent to which these identities complement or conflict with each other."

4. "… identities are defined by the self but they are the product of the interaction between the self and others. How others perceive an individual or group affects the self-definition of that individual or group."

5. "… the relative salience of alternative identities for any individual or group is situational."

3.3   The Concept of Culture: classical and contemporary

Various scholars have used different approaches in defining and conceptualizing culture in academic discourse, on the basis of epistemological viewpoints. For example, must culture be described in terms of its internal elements and their functioning or in terms of an external scheme? These varied approaches have resulted in an unclear and sometimes, contended understanding of culture (Smircich, 1983; Martin, 2002; Zolfaghari et al., 2016).

Culture was originally defined by Tylor (1871) as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871, p. 1). Later scholars such as Malinowski (1944) and Parsons (1951) referred to culture as an instrument utilized by individuals in order to give meaning to the world around them and was determined by their history, and transmitted from one generation to the next. Subsequent authors favoured the culture as a science with attendant laws governing behaviour and as "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz, 1973b, p. 89).

Contemporary ideas, however, view culture as a tool that allows individuals to make sense of the behaviour of others. It is considered to be simultaneously manifested and interpreted in a

given social context, and in relation to others (Zolfaghari et al., 2016). Culture is, therefore, simultaneously made up of various elements (i.e., its basic assumptions, values, beliefs and meanings), the dynamic interaction of these elements with each other (culture as a problem-solving tool, transmitted system), and the context in which they occur (Hatch, 1993).

3.4   Cultural Identity

The interplay of the elements of culture, the interaction of these elements, and the context in which they occur, as stated in section 3.3.1 above, results in the creation of a cultural identity and indeed, a multiplicity of cultural identities (Sackmann & Phillips, 2004; Tung, 2008; Holliday, 2010, Leung et al., 2011).

According to Hauser in his 2009 paper titled: "Cultural Identity in a Globalised World?", Graumann (1999) refers to Harold Proshansky (1978) and opines that "any social identity […] not only is incorporated in an interpersonal – interactive framework, but also is related to locations and things and directed at symbols" (Graumann, 1999, p. 64). He goes on to further assert that: "What can be symbolized by locations and things ultimately are values, all of which define a culture" (Graumann, 1999, p. 67). Hauser (2009) referring to the work of Graumann (1999) in light of the SIT, states that: "Identification, and thus also part of identity, consequently is always value-related, representing identification with a community sharing these values. This provides us with a first idea of what is meant by cultural identity: identification with specific values and, in this way, at least partial membership in groups representing these values."

Cultural identity theory suggests a relationship between inter-cultural competence and cultural identity. It deals with the study of how individuals use communicative processes to construct and negotiate their cultural (group) identities and relationships in particular contexts. Cultural identity becomes evident through social comparison.

Culture and by extension, cultural identity is passed on from one generation to the next through the process of socialization.

3.4.1   Components of Cultural Identity

The cultural identity of a person depends upon various factors. The list of factors is as long as is varied. These include race, gender, sex and sexuality, nationality, age, religious beliefs, political beliefs, social class, language, ethnicity, ancestry, traditions, social structures, etc. The following components of cultural identity discussed below are by no means exhaustive.

3.4.1.1 Race/Ethnicity

Racial and ethnic identity are critical parts of the overall framework of individual and collective cultural identity. The concept of racial identity has been highly contested. Early meanings are derived from its biological dimension (Spickard, 1992). As a biological category, race is derived from an individual's "physical features, gene pools and character qualities" (Spickard, 1992, p. 14). Using these features as distinguishing characteristics, Europeans grouped people hierarchically by physical ability and moral quality, with Caucasians as the pinnacle, followed by Asians and Native Americans, and Africans last on the racial ladder (Spickard, 1992). However, looking beyond these characteristics, there are more similarities than differences between racial groups and more differences than similarities within these groups (Littlefield et al., 1982; Keita et al., 2004).

Race, as a social construct (e.g. Helms, 1995), is a group of people who share similar and distinct physical characteristics (Cartmill, 1998; Anemone, 2011) or "refers to a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1993, p. 3).

Sociologists recognize that the term "race" is frequently used in everyday language even though its academic use is increasingly rare.

Of more significance is the concept of ethnicity, which basically means a recognition that different people develop different forms of culture. Thus, ethnicity is now more often used to denote cultural differences between different peoples. Ethnic identity refers to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behaviour that is due to ethnic group membership. The ethnic group tends to be one in which the individual claims heritage (Phinney, 1996). Ethnic identity is separate from one's personal identity as an individual, although the two may reciprocally influence each other.

It is clear that people draw a sense of identity from the fact of belonging to a particular ethnic group and culture. This sense of belonging or identity is particularly evident when one observes relationships between (and within) ethnic minorities and the wider cultures within which they reside.

3.4.1.2 Language

Language is intrinsic to the expression of culture and the development of a cultural identity. It is the primary means by which a cultural identity, with its values and traditions may be preserved. As a means of communicating values, beliefs, customs and traditions, it serves an important function that cannot be overemphasised and generates feelings of group identity

and solidarity. In the words of Charlemagne (742 - 814 AD), ″To have another language is to possess a second soul.″

As Hall (1997) states, "language is the privileged medium in which we 'make sense' of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged". Hall further explains that language is a representational system stating that, "We use signs and symbols – whether they are sounds, written words, electronically produced images, musical notes, even objects – to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings". Hence, via representation, meaning is able to be produced and circulated in a culture and even across cultures. Language, is therefore, not restricted to oral or written language but exists in different modes (Zou, 2012). Hall sums up the nature of language and the roles of communicators in this social practice: "Language, then, is the property of neither the sender nor the receiver of meanings. It is the shared cultural 'space' in which the production of meaning through language – that is, representation – takes place" (Hall, 1997).

As stated by John E. Joseph in his 2004 book; Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious, "any study of language needs to take consideration of identity if it is to be full and rich and meaningful, because identity is itself at the very heart of what language is about, how it operates, why and how it came into existence and evolved as it did, how it is learned and how it is used, every day, by every user, every time it is used" (Joseph 2004, p. 224).

While it is acknowledged that there exists a relationship between language and (cultural) identity, its exact nature is contested. Some believe that a particular language is fundamental to a particular ethnic or cultural identity, in part because it is thought to "encode" a cultural worldview and traditional forms of knowledge (Bunge, 1992; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb – Kangas & Dunbar, 2010). Others find this concept to be unnecessarily essentialist, and hold the view that language is a contingent marker of identity (May, 2004, 2008; Edwards, 2009), or even that it is simply a "surface behavioural" feature, so that a specific language is easily replaceable by another with no change to the underlying or "primordial" aspect of that identity (Eastman, 1984).

Hall (1997) in exploring the relations between language, identity and cultural difference, makes the following observations:

1. A culture produces shared meanings. This sharing of meanings generates and reinforces the notion of cultural difference (identity). "To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and

can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other"

2. Language can embody the cultural difference. Hall suggests that language is a signifying practice. "It is a symbolic practice which gives meaning or expression to the idea of belonging to a national culture"

3. The cultural context gives meaning to things rather than a thing having meaning 'in itself'.

3.4.1.3 Territorial Origin or Nationality

The concept of a Nation and, as a consequence, the concept of nationality relates, geographically, to the idea of dividing the world into various States. For the purposes of this thesis, a state is considered to be "a cultural-political community that has become conscious of its autonomy, unity, and particular interests" (Smith, 1991) that is administered by some form of national government. Nation states are usually clearly defined in terms of geographic boundaries (Ghana, Norway, USA, etc.).

Nation-states are also in a sociological sense, what Anderson (1991) has termed "imagined political communities". In Anderson's view, a nation-state is a "socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group". Such a people who are born and live within certain geographic boundaries, therefore, imagine themselves to have a specific identity.

Anderson's concept of nationality as an imagined community is significant because it illustrates the way that various national characteristics - and by extension, cultural identity based on a sense of nationality are developed around the idea of physical region or territorial origin.

According to Hall (1992), every nation has a collection of stories, images and symbols about its shared experiences, which people draw on to construct and express their national identity. Examples might include a flag, a national anthem, festivals, national heroes and stories, national drinks or foods, national dress or music.

It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that when people talk about "being Nigerian" or "being Norwegian" they are saying that each nationality can be uniquely and distinctly defined in terms of various social characteristics. The contribution of nationality towards a cultural identity or national identity in itself is, therefore, derived not only from who we are (Ghanaian, Norwegian, Nigerian, American, etc.) but also, who we are not.

3.4.1.4 Religious Beliefs

With respect to the identity and cultural framework function of a social group, religion (as well as "race", and ethnicity) are different from other individual characteristics (Yang, 1997). The religious beliefs, affiliation and practices of the members of a group characterizes the group (Durkheim, 1965), epitomizes the common identity of group members (O'Dea & Aviad, 1983) and provides a cultural framework for them. Religious beliefs often have an influence over and above the tenets or foundation of that faith which distinguish them from most non-religious beliefs (Yang, 1997). Religion is important in several groups, and religious institutions frequently provide a focus for community life as well as religious belief. This strong parallelism between community and religious beliefs in faiths such as Mormonism and Sikhism (Scharf, 1970) highlights this effect very well.

In such religious groups, community life oftentimes centres around particular religious sect membership and influences to a large extent, the nature of social interaction between members and others. For example, Andrew M. Greeley (1982) reports in his 1982 book, "Religion: A Secular Theory" that: in studies conducted during the 1960s and 1970s, three-quarters of American Catholics reported that their closest friends were Catholic" (p. 127). The strength of religious beliefs can be so strong that an individual may define himself or herself primarily as a member of a religion (Swierenga, 1990), with other "components" of identity being subordinate. Indeed, it has even been argued by Richard J. Jensen in the book, The Winning of the Midwest (1971, p 89) that in fact"' theology rather than language, customs, or heritage was the foundation of cultural and political subgroups in America."'

Browne also (2016) asserts that many young Pakistani Muslims in British society wishing to assert their ethnicity as their main source of identity are likely to emphasize aspects of their minority ethnic cultures in their 'impression management' to others, in this case choosing their religion. This supports the work of Mirza et al. (2007), who suggest the growing popularity for wearing of the hijab (headscarf) by Muslim girls in Britain was not due to family or religious pressure or about preserving a cultural tradition, but mostly influenced by "peer behaviour or pressure and a sense that the headscarf marks out one's identity as a Muslim. This is a statement of difference, perhaps more than a desire to be religious. The hijab is essentially a statement of identity: 'this is who I am, these are my values, and this is the group I identify with'".

Religious beliefs are often instilled at an early age, transferred by family, and taught as part of a person's value system and are considered by many religious practitioners as a primary and integral part of their self-identity (Yang, 1997).

3.5   Identificational Assimilation and Social Mobility

Among immigrants, processes of cultural (with all its components) self-identification appear to interact with socioeconomic status in complex ways (Brown & Bean, 2006). Thus, cultural identification and the degree of assimilation do not necessarily relate in a straightforward way to social and economic mobility. Rather, ethnic (cultural) identification appears strongest among the lowest and highest social classes of immigrant groups (Wierzbicki et al., 2003).

In the view of Brown & Bean (2003), stronger racial and ethnic identification (and thus, a lesser degree of assimilation) can result from disparate mechanisms:

- Reactive identification: This usually arises from the repeated experience (or perception) of discrimination and contribute to the hardening of oppositional attitudes and the occurrence of downward assimilation. While this can develop across the entire social class, it is more prevalent among the children of immigrants in lower socioeconomic classes.
- Selective assimilation: This is more prevalent among the children of immigrants from higher social classes with better resources and socioeconomic prospects. In such instances more opportunistic, rather than oppositional orientation towards economic incorporation are promoted by their parents who generally have higher levels of education. Such parents and children usually belong to cultural networks that have enough resources to offer support unavailable outside the community.
- Symbolic ethnicity or cultural identification: This may emerge among those already largely incorporated economically. It seems most likely to occur among the children of immigrants of the highest class. But such individuals tend to rely on ethnic/cultural networks and expressions of ethnic/cultural solidarity less for instrumental reasons than for fulfilment of expressive, individualistic needs. For them, a distinct cultural identification has become relatively optional.

Class consciousness according to Centers (1949) refers to the perception that a class structure exists, along with a feeling of shared identification with others in one's class -others with whom one perceives common life chances. Social mobility refers to an individual's movement over time, from one of these perceived classes to another. Social mobility may be upwards or downwards. Social mobility may either be intra generational, occurring within a generation, such as when a person's class status changes as a result of a successful or failed business endeavour; or intergenerational, occurring between generations, such as when a child

rises above the social class of his/her parent (Anderson & Taylor, 2007). The extent to which social mobility is permitted varies in different societies. At one extreme end of the spectrum is the closed class systems in which it is near impossible to move from one social class to another. Closed systems are typified by caste systems which have been prevalent in many cultures all over the world at various times (Wilson, 1979; Richter, 1980; Dirks, 2001; Robb, 2007). In these systems, mobility is limited by the circumstances of one's birth. At the other end of the spectrum are the open class systems in which placement in a class is based on individual achievements rather than the circumstances of one's birth. Open class systems are characterized by loose class boundaries, high rates of mobility, and weak perceptions of class difference. According to Anderson and Taylor (2007), in the USA, African – American and immigrant groups are very strongly committed to upward social mobility through education. Smith (1989), and Pfeffer & Hertel (2015) further demonstrate that a considerable proportion of the gains made by African – American over time in the USA have been as a direct result of increases in educational attainment. This scenario is likely also true for immigrant groups not only in the USA, but elsewhere in the developed world. Societal factors often have greater influence on social mobility than an individual's characteristics (Anderson & Taylor, 2007). As such, "external" factors such as economic cycles, changes in occupational systems and demographic factors are of prime importance in determining social mobility, particularly in open class systems (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1985; Vanneman & Cannon, 1987; Hout, 1988).

3.6   Biblical Perspective to Immigrant Assimilation: Classical or Contemporary?

It has been stated by Robert Schreiter in his paper titled: Catholicity as a Framework for Addressing Migration that "the migration stories of the Hebrew scriptures are often the sites where God's revelation takes place and God's grace is revealed" (Schreiter, 2008, p. 34. In: Lefebvre & Susin (eds), 2008). If God uses migration to tell His story and prove His goodness and love to the weak, the defenceless and the poor of society, then immigrant receiving nations should have a similar view. The Bible stories of migration and assimilation reveals more of the ideas of the contemporary views of assimilation rather than those of the traditional theories.

As mentioned earlier. Joseph, Ruth and Daniel and his friends Meshach, Abednego and Shadrack kept their Jewish identity yet were fully acculturated into the new societies they found themselves in. In addition, we can look at Moses who run from Egypt to Midian and ended up in the house of Jethro the Midianite priest. Moses lived forty years with the family, married one of Jethro's daughter Zipporah and had two sons. However, Moses kept his Jewish

faith to point that when he encountered God at the burning bush he still remembered who God is.

Jacob, running from persecution from his brother Esau migrated to Haran to live with his mother's brother Laban (Gen 29 – 31). His migration lasted for over 20 years (Gen. 31: 38 - 41) he married two daughters of his uncle Laban, Leah and Racheal, and had 12 sons and a daughter Dinah with the two sisters and their maids. He worked for his uncle and received wages, spoke their language and lived a life (of trickery) just like the natives of the land (Gen 29 – 31). Jacob's assimilation into his new environment may, therefore, have been considered complete. However, he did not worship their gods nor did he allow his wives and children to do so. Rather, he kept his distinct identity as a descendant of Abraham the Hebrew by worshiping Yahweh the God of his fathers' Abraham and Isaac (Gen. 31). The similitude here is that just like his father Isaac and grandfather Abraham, Jacob the third generation from Abraham the immigrant in Canaan kept his identity as Yahweh worshipper and their customs of circumcision and fidelity in marriage.

Some of the challenges faced by migrants was faced by Jacob in the home of his own uncle a native of the land and his sons. In Genesis 31: 41 Jacob complained to Laban that has changed his pay ten times (income inequality); a problem faced by many migrants (most especially undocumented ones) in most countries.

"These twenty years I have been in your house. I served you fourteen years for your two daughters, and six years for your flock, and you have changed my wages ten times." (Gen. 31: 41 ESV).

A second challenge that sometimes force migrants to leave a particular nation for another or to their home country as in the case of Jacob is fewer jobs or the fear that migrants are becoming wealthier or more influential than the indigenes. In recent years, some politicians and indigenes of countries such as the USA, France, and Germany have complained that these countries are losing their distinct national identity due to the high influx of Mexican (in the case of the USA in particular) and Arab Muslims. In the case of Jacob, the complaint came from the cousins; "Jacob has taken all that was our father's and from what was our father's he has gained all this wealth" (Gen. 31:1).

Jesus a migrant from heaven to earth as the bible says, implores us to see that sometimes migration could be the rich or well to do migrating to leave in a poor country for a purpose. Some bible translators, missionaries, researchers, philanthropists and archaeologists have

migrated to remote parts of the world to study and also to help the poor who cannot migrate in their own countries. Like Jesus Christ, their main purpose of migration and assimilation is to bring their knowledge, experiences, technology and wealth to help the poor. They do so to help the poor live decently, have good education, jobs and new attitude to life. Jesus Christ for 33 years and 6 months lived on earth not as God but as a man (Phil 2:5 – 7), ate human food, was circumcised and dedicated, learned to work as a carpenter after his stepfather Joseph. (Mark 6:3) Jesus spoke Hebrew, Aramaic (Matt. 27:46) and possibly some street Greek (John 7:35).

"Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary and brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?" And they took offense at him". (Mark 6:3 ESV)

"And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matt. 27:41 KJV).

"The Jews said to one another, "Where does this man intend to go that we will not find him? Does he intend to go to the Dispersion among the Greeks and teach the Greeks?" (John 7:35 ESV).

Jesus may thus, be considered to have assimilated into Jewish culture and society in the broadest terms. In spite of this "assimilation", Jesus is revealed in Scripture as God and maintained his divine identity while on earth.

"Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men" (Phil. 2: 5 – 7 KJV).

Chapter 4: Research Findings

In this chapter, the relevant research findings obtained from the interviews which have served as the primary source material is presented. They are presented in three groups: church leaders, parents and the youths. This is not a transcript of the interviews but rather, the most aspects of the interview which were relevant for the discussion in the subsequent chapter. The full transcript of the conducted interviews is available as a separate attachment.

4.1   Research findings from church leader (Pastor John)

On how the church is aiding the second generation youth to assimilate into Norwegian society, Pastor John who is the senior pastor of his church explains that the church as an institution is very aware of the need for assimilation or integration of the youth in their adopted society, Norway. According to him the church employs two primary methods to achieve this.

Firstly, there is a focus on the parents by their participation in various seminars and training programmes conducted in the church under the auspices of the Men and Women ministries of the church. This is to educate them on the peculiar needs of parenting in a western society which they may otherwise not be fully aware of as first generation migrants. The church also actively encourages parents to take an active role in the development of their children. Emphasis is placed not only on spiritual development and maturity but also on the practical social and emotional needs of the parents, as well as the children or youth. This focus of the parents is because, in the view of the church, the parents are responsible for the spiritual, moral and social upbringing. The churches thinking is, therefore, that parents take a leading role while the church plays a supporting role in child rearing.

Secondly, the church has a mentoring programme in which some of its adult members (both first and second generation) who have successfully made positive inroads into the Norwegian labour market and are accomplished professionals, take on some of the youths under their wings. These mentor not only provide help in making life decisions, but also assist the youth in academic work, career choices and job searches. Examples of such mentors are medical doctors, academicians, lawyers and public servants. Some of these mentors are actually rather young men and women who came to Norway as master and doctoral students from Africa,

and have obtained jobs after completion. Pastor John states that such persons have been a great resource to the church.

Concerning their identification with both Nigerian and Norwegian culture and identity and which will prevail over the long term, Pastor John is of the opinion that the youth would maintain their original Nigerian identity. He believes there is a new awakening among Africans in the diaspora to better appreciate and reconnect with their culture. He further points to the emergence of African fashion among the youth today and points out that naming traditions are also changing, and that while it was common for African Christians (especially in the Diaspora) to give biblical names to their children, this phenomenon seems to be reducing with traditional African names being more chosen now. He further believes that their Pentecostal Christian faith and traditions will be maintained, and that one can be fully integrated into society, function in a useful way, and appreciate the cultural values of Norway while at the same time maintaining one's distinct Nigerian identity and Christian Pentecostal faith. He believes that a person's religion or faith is of cardinal importance and of more consequence than other components of identity such as race, ethnicity, nationality or culture.

On the language used in the church, Pastor John states that while English is the language used during their services, plans are in place to conduct portions of their programmes in Norwegian, specifically, bible study classes for the youth. It is the hope of the church that this will be of more benefit to the youth who may have difficulties in fully appreciating the English language. It is also the expectation of the church that this action may be an avenue by which the church will be able to draw in members of the indigenous population beginning with the friends and associates of the youth members who sometimes accompany them to church. It is not uncommon, however, for some songs to be sung in various African languages, especially during the praise and worship sessions. A lot of "traditional African" musical instruments are also used in addition to the organ or keyboard which is mostly typical of "western" churches.

According to Pastor John, it is the hope of the church that the second generation youths will grow up to be useful productive members of society contributing socially, economically and politically, and be cognisant of the fact they serve as ambassadors of their original country (Nigeria) wherever they find themselves. He also hopes that some will return to Nigeria someday and influence the development of the country with the skills, knowledge and experience they have acquired while in Norway.

4.2 Research findings from second generation youth

The pertinent responses obtained from the youth are presented below. These are grouped into their thoughts on their assimilation, identity (cultural and religious), marriage, challenges they face, their future outlook and return considerations.

4.2.1 Opinions on help obtained from parents and church leaders in assimilating

This section deals with whether and how the young adults are being prepared by their parents or a pastor to assimilate into the Norwegian society. For the sake of identity protection, I will refer to the first respondent as James, second respondent as Esther, and the third respondent as Salome.

All the young adult interviewed indicated that, they believe their parents are doing their best to help them assimilate into the Norwegian society especially in the area of education. They note that their parents encourage them to get better grades. They also relate that their religious background plays a helping role in encouraging them to assimilate into the Norwegian society. Esther for example reveals that the church supports them with counselling when they face challenges in school, and also serve as a role models to inspire them. She especially mentions a young lawyer in the congregation who is her mentor. It is their view that the church provides an enabling environment within which they can fulfil their full potential in life. They further highlight that a lot of adults in the church take an interest in their development and show concern in helping them function effectively in the Norwegian society.

4.2.2 Opinions on cultural identity and heritage

When asked "do you see yourself as a Norwegian or Nigerian?", James reveals that he sees himself as half Nigerian and half Norwegian, since that is how the Norwegian media refer to them. He also indicates that he feels like a Nigerian because he has been to his mother country Nigeria on several occasions, although he initially stated that he wasn't sure on how to call himself. Esther notes that although she had little knowledge of her mother country when she was little, she has since learned a lot about her ancestry and heritage and that she has never felt Norwegian but rather sees herself as a Nigerian. She also loves to read, and watch African movies particularly those in traditional settings, and encourages parents to show their children their own culture.

Salome on the other hand see herself as a Nigerian, born and raised in Norway, because she has lived in Norway since her birth.

Salome also acknowledges that her parent in helping her to maintain her Nigerian heritage by taking her to Nigerians gatherings such as birthdays, baby showers and dedications. She believes that attending such Nigerians gatherings helps her not to forget where she come from and to maintain her Nigerian roots. This she says, also allows her to bring Nigerian values or perspectives into the Norwegian values and form her own view on how she can be a Nigerian and live in the Norwegian society and not become a Norwegian and forget where she comes from. Salome explains that she has paid particular notice to a lot of Pakistani youths who regularly travel to their home country (often yearly), speak their native tongue fluently and are often seen proudly wearing their traditional dresses. To her, this is an indication that most immigrant groups will maintain their cultural distinctiveness in spite of integration into Norwegian society. Esther and Salome understand their parents' mother tongue and it is the language often spoken at home, while for James, English and Norwegian is the language of communication in his home.

On how, they relate to their parents' culture, James notes that he is very open to the culture of his parents and has learnt a lot from them. Esther on the other hand reveals that relating to her parents she notices clashes of culture since her European background gave some privileges such as speaking up when she finds something wrong. Salome mentioned that every kid had challenges with their mother or parents and relate that she was basically raised by her mother who had a very strong woman view of the world and how to behave.

On whether the second generation Nigerians will keep their cultural heritage, James believes that Nigerians in Norway are quite aware of their heritage. He mentions Ezinne Okparaebo who he notes has impacted the Norwegian sports scene immensely and has always talked about her roots and where she comes from. He therefore thinks Nigerians will keep their heritage. Esther reveals that she sees more people becoming more interested in their culture although she also sees like more of a mixture anyway rather than "assimilation becoming more like people just pairing with Europeans". She observes an improvement in youths of African ancestry wanting to know more about their culture and likens the situation to a child who may have a parent that wasn't there and getting more curious about the identity and location of said parents as the child grows older and begins to question things. On the issue of whether her identity as a Nigerian influences her decision making as she interacts with the

Norwegian society, Esther does not consider it to be the case. She believes herself to be more influenced by her parents but, however, accepts that her Nigerian background may colour her decision making. Thus she notes: "I have to think of my culture, where I am coming from and where I am heading to. It's quite important not to forget my roots because wherever I am, I am representing my culture".

4.2.3 Opinions on religious identity and Pentecostal heritage

On the issue of religious identity and their Pentecostal heritage, all three respondents are of the belief that their Christian Pentecostal faith plays an important part in how they define themselves, and that they expect to maintain their faith traditions throughout their lives. They further contend that living and integrating into Norwegian society does not necessarily mean that they must abandon their Pentecostal traditions.

James asserts that although he has his ways and thoughts of things, and opinions. He is also open to the Norwegian system. However, his Pentecostal background may prevent him from doing certain that the system demands. Salome on the other hand opines that she was raised by both her God-parents who were Norwegians and her Nigerian mother who taught her that both school and Church are important. Salome further states that her faith sometimes wanes but she finds a way of building it up again.

To Esther, her religious identity is paramount. In her words: "I am a Christian I believe in Jesus, so my friends would always know that's what I believe. So I don't care if you are a Muslim, Jewish or whatever. Everybody knows I am a Christian. I am who I am."

On the role of religion in their social success, James notes that, I think religion is something very personal, something you as an individual has to understand in order to understand things happening around you as well. If you are a religious person, you are a Christian, you see things differently. You are not like a part of what is happening around you. You are on your own even though you are in the world. If you are a person that is not religious, you don't care a lot about things happening around you. You are not aware of things happening. So I think religion and social success is something that can be looked at as almost the same, because when you are part of a religion, you want to achieve success in that religion as well. You want to achieve a goal or a higher calling so I think it's quite the same. Salome believes religion

will define her success. Salome believes that religion plays a most important role in helping achieve success in any endeavour.

4.2.4 Opinions on interracial marriage with indigenous Norwegians

The three respondents had different views on marriage with indigenous Norwegians; one is opposed to it, another would consider it, while the last is ambivalent about it. Although James has not seriously thought of marriage yet, to him, the nationality of his future spouse is irrelevant so far as the person is a Christian. According to Esther, while she initially felt that the nationality of her future spouse was unimportant, she has since realised that she would prefer to marry prefer to marry someone from her Nigerian culture as there would be greater understanding among them and less likelihood of cultural clashes and conflict. Salome's first preference for a spouse is an African Christian raised in Europe, and then a Norwegian Christian. She also believes there would be greater understanding between them in the first instance and hopes that in a marriage to a Norwegian, his Christian background would help mitigate some of the potential conflicts that may arise.

4.2.5 Opinions on return considerations

All the respondents have visited Nigeria several times. Esther is quite excited about visiting home (Nigeria) and is thinking about moving there actually. This is because she sees a lot of opportunities, change, growth, as well as movement. To her, the job market in Nigeria is so varied and she sees jobs which she never knew existed are in Nigeria. She also perceives the Nigerian economy to be growing, and does not believe in the term developing countries. She concedes that obviously Africa is not the same continent as Europe, Africa is different in terms of climate, etc. She also thinks that African development should not be always contrasted to European standards and Europe should not be a benchmark for Africa. Salome is not in favour of permanently relocating to Nigeria due to the standard and quality of life as compared to Europe, and also due to the climate there. She would prefer to visit often and regularly to do some work there.

4.2.6 Opinions on the challenges they face

On the question of challenges, they face in school, James relate that one of the challenges is been a different person in school and different person at home. He further relates that in his school everyone is quite open and they don't care about where you come from, the Norwegian

there are quite accepting. James assert that, although people are general accepting, the system is quite tough. But he notes that such subconscious institutional challenges may be overcome by the youths making considerable efforts to learn heard, read more books and get more knowledge. He also thinks their obvious physical and cultural difference is also a limitation, because even though one may be excellent in school, "your colour speaks a lot, even though you speak the Norwegian language". James also believes the second generation will be able to navigate through because they have the mentality of working hard hence believe they are capable.

Esther on the other hand reveal that she wasn't really challenged during primary till secondary school. She relates one incident in which she had a presentation on Adam and Eve and she got a lot questions from her classmates which was intended to frustrate her due to her Christian background. Salome states that she has been to four or five different schools as child. At age six to thirteen she was basically the only African in her class in a small town called Volda (in Møre and Romsdal county and a population of about 6000). She reveals the difficulty she faced thus "it is hard, because you want to be like a Norwegian, dress like that, speak like them to be integrated into their communities… it was basically hard from time to time."

4.2.7   Opinions on their future educational outlook and upward socioeconomic mobility

All three respondents appear upbeat about the future, both for themselves individually, and also for the collective body of second generation Nigerian migrants. James was of the view that projecting towards the next 15 years, the second generation Nigerian Norwegians, would be well established people in the Norwegian society. He foresees politicians, great leaders of society, and high achievers in sports. Salome believes that, in the next fifteen years, she would had finished her bachelor and masters, living in her own house, and maybe got married. She however she opines that she first needs to have a stable relationship and get very close to God like she is to her mother.

James hopes that the second generation Nigerian/Norwegian impact the society positively. He believes they have a lot of visions and aspirations and if only they can speak out and act more, show more of themselves to the world and the Norwegians society, he thinks that they would have a lot of chances to impact. Salome hopes for more avenues of collaboration between Nigerians in order to deepen the faith and spiritual experience, as well as motivating each other to greater heights in their secular endeavours.

Esther's hope for the second generation Nigerian migrants is that they manage to achieve whatever they wish to become. She believes that this is possible with help of God and their parents showing confidence in them. She points out that a lot of people (parents) don't encourage their kids (no matter what it takes) to be what they want to be. She believes that it is not right for parents to impose career choices on their children but rather, the children should be encouraged to explore their own paths and interests, and that it is better to be mentally and spiritually fulfilled in one's own endeavour that striving to follow your parent's dream which ends up making one unhappy. Esther further contends that, success to her, is when you are able to accomplish the task you set for yourself, and that it should not be defined only in terms of material possessions and money as is often the case.

4.3 Research findings from parents of second generation Nigerian youths

The findings obtained from the interview with parents are presented here. Four individuals were interviewed in this section; one couple, and two single parents. The couple are referred to as Mr and Mrs Adam, while the single parents are referred to as Mary and Martha respectively. The findings are presented under the following sections: their efforts at helping the youth to assimilate, their views on their children's cultural and religious heritage, the communication language in the home, marriage and relocation, and the future outlook for their children. Mr and Mrs Adam have lived in Norway for a period of 42 and 41 years respectively. The Adam family has three children all of whom were born and raised in Norway. None of these children were interviewed as part of this study.

Mary first came to Norway when she was 18 years and has since lived in Norway for 35 years and has three children all of whom were born here. They are aged 26, 22, and 20 years respectively. None of Mary's children were not interviewed as part of this study. Martha has lived in Norway for 21 years and has a daughter aged 20 years who was born and raised in Norway. her daughter was also interviewed as part of this study and was referred to as Salome in section 4.2.

4.3.1 Parents views on how they are helping their children to assimilate into Norwegian society

Martha believes that a good education is essential in integrating into Norwegian society and as such, has made a lot of effort in encouraging her daughter to study hard and excel in school.

Martha also receives some help from the Ibo Progressive Union in Oslo with provided free additional tuition in certain subject for children who needed additional help to cope in school. This

The Adam family considered it essential that their children assimilated into Norwegian society and were fully integrated within it. They took an active interest in their children's development in school and emphasized the importance of the Norwegian language to them This is because they considered it impossible to be properly assimilated into a society in which one cannot speak the language. We also allowed them to fully participate in a lot of the extracurricular activities in the school. This according to them made the children feel a part of the school community as they took part in all activities that the Norwegian children did. They, therefore, did not feel different from others and so right from a tender age, they were already assimilating into the society. Mr. Adam recall that initially, his African upbringing and culture conflicted with the way he was raising his children and what he expected of them but as he gradually learnt to adopt Norwegian mechanisms, it became easier for the family.

4.3.2 Parent's views on their children's cultural and Pentecostal heritage

According to Mary, her children behaved a lot as Norwegians when they were younger because they had not been going to Nigeria often. On growing up, however, they have actively sought to know more about their culture, and have learnt the language. To her, although they refer to themselves as Nigerian – Norwegians, they reflect a strong Nigerian identity.

Martha is of the opinion that although her daughter identifies with both Nigerian and Norwegian cultures, she identifies more with her Nigerian ancestry. She has encouraged her to take positive elements from both cultures while discarding the negative ones.

The Adam family thought it important that their children embrace their own (parents) culture in order not to forget their roots. Although they wanted their children to effectively be African children, they found that this was easier said than done. In their estimation their children may be considered more as Norwegians than Nigerians. They cite instances when on doing things a particular way, the children would often remark: "mamma! you are not in Africa now, you have to think like a Norwegian." They believe that children born to immigrant families are often conflicted with which identity to primarily identify with, but that they often make a conscious decision from about 15 to 16 years, do identify chiefly with one cultural identity, while the other

takes a subordinate role. In the case of their children, they chose and identify more with their Norwegian identity (except their daughter) although they have not completely discarded their Nigerian heritage. The daughter to the Adams unlike her brothers, however displays a very strong Nigerian identity, and in the words of her mother: "embraces things of Nigeria". She speaks several dialects of their Nigerian language and appears completely at home when she travels back to Nigeria.

According to Mary, she has tried to raise her children in a Christian way through the help of the Holy Spirit. She states that she has done this by dedicating them to the church and always going to church with them. Furthermore, she prays together with them at home and has encouraged them to relate with others using Christian principles. She has also sought to end relationships her children were involved in, which she considered to be worldly. She states that, when they were younger, the children considered her to be imposing on them but have realized, on growing up that she wanted the best for them. She believes her children, therefore, appreciate the effort she put into raising them the way she did. She says further that her children aged 26, 22 and 20 years, have all found God for themselves, and she is convinced that they will all maintain their Pentecostal faith and traditions.

Martha considers her Pentecostal background to have been particularly useful in raising her child. She believes that the church helps the parents with training on child rearing through the word of God, as well as advising the youth on how to live their lives and to tell them the consequences of wrong actions, as well as providing positive role models for them.

To the Adam family, their primary vision and main motivation in raising their children is that the children should understand something about God. To them, this is not purely a spiritual vision as they believe that knowledge of God and a good relationship with him is essential to success in whatever endeavour one undertakes, be it social, political, business, etc. While all the Adam family children are Christians, they do not share the Pentecostal traditions of their parents. The Adam family ascribe this to be because at the time the children were growing up and were in their formative years, they (the parents) were not firmly rooted in the Pentecostal tradition and had at various times belonged to other denominations.

4.3.3 Language of communication in the home

In Mary's home, there is no standard language of communication, but rather, a combination of English, Norwegian and Ibo. Mary explains this to be because she did not teach her children

her native language when they were young, so they often spoke English at the time. As they grew up and attended kindergarten and school, they learnt to speak the Norwegian language as well. The kids on growing up, learnt the Ibo language by their own initiative.

According to Martha, although her child does not speak her (Martha's) native language excellently, she has very good control of the language and understands everything. They often speak the Ibo language at home although they sometimes speak English and Norwegian as well. Martha does not believe that her child will ever lose her native language.

While the language of communication between Mr. and Mrs. Adam and their daughter is Ibo, they speak English or Norwegian with their sons. Even though the sons do not speak the Ibo tongue very fluently, they understand the language perfectly and are not uncomfortable with it.

4.3.4 Parents views on interracial marriage and return considerations

According to Mary, one of her children is already married to a fellow Nigerian. However, the most important criterion in choosing a marriage partner is whether the person is a Christian or not, rather than race or colour. She, however, adds that she thinks that the willingness of a potential spouse to relocate to Nigeria at some point might be an important factor in any decision made by her children on a marriage partner.

The daughter to the Adams has married a partner from Nigeria because she believed it would be "challenging" to marry a Norwegian. Their two sons are still unmarried and do not appear as far as their parents know consider race, ethnicity or culture to be an important factor in choosing a partner.

According to Mary, all three of her children are considering relocating to Nigeria in the medium term. Her stepson who is studying to me a medical doctor also intends to take his housemanship in Nigeria. She wonders why this is so considering that she did not actively expose them to Nigerian culture while they were growing up, and surmises that it is possibly due to their blood ties to Nigeria and a sense of not truly belonging in Norwegian society even though they were born and raised here.

Mr. and Mrs. Adam believe that although none of their children have expressed a desire to resettle back in Nigeria, they are not particularly averse to it. The children they say, often spend their holidays in Nigeria, rather than in Europe. They believe that if the children will consider resettling in Nigeria in the future, it would primarily be because of business opportunities and considerations rather than cultural reasons

4.3.5   Parents views on the future outlook of their children's future

Mary is hopeful about her children's future, and that of second generation Nigerians in general. She expects them to break new grounds and contribute immensely to whichever society within which they are and make a positive mark on Norwegian society in particular.

Martha hopes that the second generation Nigerians can emulate the Pakistani population in Norway who have made inroads into all professions in Norway, and can contribute in all areas of Norwegian society. She adds that the youth must, however, be willing to work hard in order to achieve this. She adds that several first generation immigrants sacrificed their education and careers plans in order to work hard and give the second generation a solid footing. It is her hope that the second generation would make effective use of the opportunities that are available to them in Norway.

The Adam family is of the hope that second generation Nigerian migrants would be able to make appositive mark on Norwegian society. They point out that for this to happen, parents have to be more invested into the lives of their children. They highlight the neglect by parents of religion and parenting due to working excessively long hours which are not beneficial to the children.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1   Identity issues facing the second generation Christian Pentecostal Nigerian migrants.

The first research objective of this study was to determine whether second generation Nigerian Christians identify themselves Nigerians or as Norwegians. This section will also explore some of the factors that might have contributed to the development of this Nigerian or Norwegian identity.

5.1.1   The family as an agent of Cultural Identity

For the children of immigrants, or the second-generation, the ties that bind them to the culture and places of birth of their parents are often not as strong as those of their parents. The expression of any identity be it cultural or otherwise, that is distinctly different from that of their "adopted" country may, therefore, be attributed to the level of influence exerted by their parents with respect to that identity.

It is undeniably clear that in spite of the variable degree of assimilation of the parents interviewed in this study, and the length of time they have lived in Norway, they (the parents) all identify themselves as Nigerian. Although, all the interviewed youths referred to themselves as "Nigerian-Norwegians", it is clear that their cultural identity leans more towards the Nigerian "side" than the Norwegian. This is evidenced by some of the responses given by the respondents:

"What I would say is…. Well wherever you feel at home, is where you are. The thing is, I have never felt Norwegian, that I fit in here so I have never really considered myself a Norwegian but at the sometimes I don't know how much, I mean my background and everything. I am Nigerian but I don't necessarily say it. But I am proud to be a Nigerian and an African like that." (Esther)

It is interesting to note that whiles several identified themselves as Nigerian Norwegians and others Nigerians, none of the respondents identified themselves exclusively as Norwegians in spite of the fact that they were all born in Norway and hold Norwegian citizenship. It is, therefore, reasonable to say that the second generation born to Nigerian immigrants identify themselves as Nigerians. This may in no small measure, be attributed to the influence of the

parents who identify themselves as Nigerian. It was observed that the interviewed parents engaged in "surface culture" experiences with their children to teach them about their ethnic identity. These experiences included exploring food, dress, music, arts and drama, dance, literature, and language (Derman – Sparks & Edwards, 2010). It must, however, be noted that the display of this surface cultural interactions between the parents and young adults varies from family to family. The expression of any deep culture was not immediately apparent. The degree of identification of the youths with this Nigerian identity is, however, variable. Moreover, there seems to be a concerted effort to engage their children within Nigerian social circles. This is evidenced by the statement made by Salome that her parents often take her to Nigerian parties, baby dedications and other social gatherings in a bid to keep her in tune with her Nigerian roots. This measure appears to have paid dividends as she further states that, that has helped her not to forget where she comes from. She goes on to say that she, therefore, tries to bring her Nigerian values into the Norwegian values and form her own independent world view.

Based on the above considerations, it is reasonable to say that the second generation Nigerian youths see themselves more as Nigerians rather than Norwegians.

5.1.2 The role of language in defining Cultural Identity of Youths

The responses of one respondent appears to indicate a degree of conflict or uncertainty as to which culture he identifies more with. It is interesting to note that the respondent who displayed this uncertainty does not speak the native tongue of their parents.
This is best exemplified by the response of James to the question of whether he saw himself as a Norwegian:
"I'm not quite sure how to call myself …whether Nigerian or Norwegian. I guess I'm a bit of both. I have Nigerian ancestry but I'm also very much Norwegian in many many ways"
In the case of the respondent highlighted above, this perceived conflict or uncertainty may be explained by the fact that the language of communication in their home is Norwegian or English as he doesn't understand the native language of his parents.
Language has been generally theorised in terms of two main functions by several scholars (e.g. Edwards, 1984, 2009; Rubio – Marin, 2003; Joseph, 2004; Sheyholislami, 2010): instrumental and symbolic.
The instrumental function refers to language as a means of communication (the ability to understand, and to make oneself understood by, other individuals), which is its most obvious

and often taken-for-granted function. The symbolic function of language refers to the representational meanings it carries, most especially, as a marker of culture and identity. In its symbolic role, language acts "as an emblem of groupness, a symbol, a psychosocial rallying point" (Edwards, 2009, p. 55). It is, therefore, representative of ethnic or cultural traits - such as the Sami language, as opposed to Norwegian, in parts of northern Norway - or of other kinds of distinct groupings (such as regional, religious, social class, etc.) within the same language, distinguished by vocabulary, accent or pronunciation. This symbolic function of language emphasises linguistic oneness in terms of collective identity within a group, as well as helping to define the linguistic community as a distinct group with respect to other groups. While language may not be universally recognized as a necessary component in defining identity, it is still an important factor as illustrated above and may explain the observation that the respondents who speak the native language of their parents see themselves more as Nigerians than those that do not.

This line of reasoning resonates with the position of Bunge (1992) who believes that "a nation's language is a system of thought and expression peculiar to that nation and is the outward expression and manifestation of that nation's view of the universe" (Bunge 1992, p. 377). This close link conceived between a specific language and specific culture thus implies that ethnic (cultural) identity is somehow rooted in the language traditionally associated with that group.

It must, however, be noted that the view of Bunge (1992) is not without critique and has been considered by some to be absolutist, essentialist and incompatible with the non-fixed and multifaceted nature of identity (Owen, 2011).

Furthermore, scholars such as Eastman (1984) and Anderson (1991) hold that, while language may indeed be an important symbol of collective identity, it does not matter in the end which language is used or associated with which group. Eastman (1984) distinguishes between primordial and behavioural aspects of ethnic identity and claims that language use is just one surface form of ethnic behaviour or performance; which does not impact the fundamental nature of that identity. In the opinion of Eastman (1984: 261), "when we stop using the language of our ethnic group, only the language use aspect of our ethnic identity changes; the primordial sense of who we are and what group we think we belong to for the remainder remains intact".

Other scholars notably May (2004, 2008) and Edwards (2009) adopt a middle-ground approach positing that language as a cultural or identity marker may be experienced to varying degrees among different groups. In the words of May (2004, p. 43), "Particular

languages clearly are for many people an important and constitutive factor of their individual, and at times, collective identities. In theory then, language may well be just one of many markers of identity. In practice, it is often much more than that".

It is my considered view, especially with respect to this study that it is rather difficult to fully identify with a particular cultural, ethnic, or national identity when one neither speaks nor understands the language of that group.

5.1.3   The church as an agent of Cultural Identity

The one element of cultural identity that I see as a big challenge to full assimilation or integration is religion. A person's religious beliefs is often a major factor in one's identity as a human and plays a prominent role in that individual's willingness to accept a new culture. For instance, a Christian migrating to a purely Muslim country will find it difficult to abandon his primary religion for a new one. In the same way a Muslim moving to a Christian or fully Jewish community will find it difficult to abandon his primary religion. Norway being a folk Christian country and at the same time open to religious pluralism and liberty makes it easier for all immigrants to practice their home religion which abides by the laws of the land without intimidation.

As previously stated, most of the youths to varying degrees, expressed a Nigerian identity for themselves during the interviews. It is my belief that their religious affiliation has played a notable role in the strong expression of this Nigerian identity.

When asked how about the church was preparing her to assimilate into Norwegian society, Esther provided the following answer:

"Yes, you always hear that you should not be afraid of who you are or showcase what you believe in. but as of preparing us for society, I don't feel that, cos you know when you are in church, sometimes you feel like it's very heavily Nigerian culture but that is not really Norwegian culture which does not really matter."

The importance of the strong African culture prevalent in the "African" Pentecostal churches in Oslo, and their influence on the perception of self – identity by its members cannot be overemphasized. To all intents and purposes, there is very little if any perceptible difference between a church service in a Pentecostal church massively dominated by African members in Oslo, and a typical Pentecostal church in say, Lagos (Nigeria) or Accra (Ghana).

In order to fully appreciate this scenario, a brief history of Nigerian Pentecostalism and, how and why it is so markedly different from the main protestant/Lutheran Christian traditions of

Norway and Europe in general, and its contribution to the self – identity of its adherents as "African" is necessary.

While Christianity did not originate in Africa, it is the dominant religion on the continent, save northern Africa where Islam is dominant. Today, Pentecostalism and independent Christianity are the fastest growing forms of Christianity on the African continent, and Nigeria is no exception.

The Christian faith in Nigeria is often considered to have begun with the evangelistic mission of the Portuguese in the 15th century (Isichei, 1995). Initial attempts by these catholic Portuguese missionaries in proselytizing employed a "church-state relationship" with kings (traditional rulers) targeted for conversion and churches built around the palaces of the converted kings (Makozi & Afolabi, 1982) which was the early missionary strategy used in the conversion of Europe to Christianity.

This Christianity of the 15th – 18th centuries in Nigeria has been described as "palace's diplomacy with the West," by D. P. Ukpong (2006) in his online paper, "The Presence and Impact of Pentecostalism in Nigeria". Ukpong further explains that as "the African monarchism of the period was inseparable from the traditional religion, the kings were not really converted to Christianity, but they only allowed a few and sporadic incorporation of Christian elements into the royal cults". While the traditional rulers were considered to be converted by the missionaries, the people considered them only to be in a diplomatic relationship with the western missionaries. This situation can, therefore, not be considered an authentic Christian conversion of several people (Isichei, 1982) in the true sense of the word. Christianity did not make any appreciable inroads among the population during this period.

Between the 19th and 20th centuries, a new group of protestant missionaries who preached the abolition of the slave trade which was closely linked to earlier missionary endeavours in Africa, and sought to separate Christianity from colonialism (Isichei, 1982; Egbulefu, 1990). This new approach sought to identify with the lower classes of society and connect the population to the sense of communalism which had hitherto, been broken by colonialism in general and the slave trade in particular (Ukpong, 2006).

Over the years, the awareness that the core Christian message stripped of its European cultural appendages could be made to easily conform to the African cultural milieu of the people resulted in the development of an "African" form of Christianity. This awareness and conviction prompted an African form of Christianity, considered to be a real faith encounter with Christ, that is permeated with authentic African values, customs and mores, resulting in an independent Christianity in Nigeria in the late 19th century (Kalu, 2007). The first

independent church as a result of this religious revival was the Aladura (prayer mongers) congregation in Yorubaland (Gaiya, 2002). These revivalist movements resulted in new churches breaking away from the Catholic, Anglican and major protestant denominations established by western missionaries at the time. In the words of Musa Gaiya (2002) in his occasional paper (of the Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen) titled: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria; "They adopted the African religious spirituality and charisma without the traditional cultic paraphernalia. They were puritanical; they preached the importance of prayer and fasting and renunciation of all forms of idolatry." These revivalist movements championing an experiential manifestation, and ministry of the Holy Spirit in the believers' life may be considered to be the beginning of Pentecostal Christianity in Nigeria (Ukpong, 2006). The Pentecostal and independent groups may, therefore, be considered to be at the forefront in decolonizing Christianity and making it a participatory and genuine faith encounter in a local context by fostering Christian principles that are "culturally liberating, anthropologically enhancing and religiously fulfilling" (Ukpong, 2006) in the African context. This Pentecostal movement in Nigeria coupled with the global Pentecostal explosion in the 20th century has seen Pentecostal traditions strongly influencing mainstream denominations in Africa.

It is within this strong "Africanized" Christian Pentecostal setting that the Nigerian migrants in this study; both first and second generations, have been raised. Although the church from which the subjects for this study have been drawn comprises of persons from various nationalities, the membership is almost entirely African and dominated by Nigerians. Indeed, while English is the language of use in the church, it is quite normal that songs are sung in the various Nigerian languages. It seems to me, that it is inevitable that these youths who adhere to this "African" brand of Christianity would express a strong Nigerian self - identity.

5.2 Assimilation of second generation Christian Pentecostal Nigerian migrants into Norwegian society.

The role of families in helping the second generation youths to assimilate and the determination of their cultural identity is here discussed. It is clearly evident that the family is a principal agent of socialization and by extension assimilation. It is the first social institution and group that shapes individuals' selves and personality. Although the above statements are seemingly obvious, the impact or influence of family on an individual's self-formation is not universal due in no small part to the great diversity of family size and structure.

5.2.1 The role of parents and their social class in assimilation of youths

All families belong to one social class, racial and ethnic group or another. The initial social positioning determined by families is not only central to self-formation, but also to an individual's "life-chances". According to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986), from our families, we inherit our habitus, that is, the set of dispositions that mark us as part of our social class: manners, speech patterns, vocabulary and articulation styles, bodily behavior and postures. Our habitus in turn, defines the type of social interactions in which we feel comfortable.

Bourdieu (1986) further highlights that families also transmit different forms of capital (resources): economic capital (money), cultural capital (parents' education level), and social capital (network of social connections to which a family has access). In this sense, from the moment we are born, our life-chances are affected by our family's position in the social structure.

It may be argued that children born to first generation immigrants who are themselves relatively well integrated into their new society (often middle-class) would be conceivably better assimilated into that society than children born to parents who are less integrated in their new society (often lower/working-class). The importance of the family or parents as an agent of assimilation can, therefore, not be overemphasized.

Anette Lareau (2003) in researching the impact of social class on child-rearing, and using Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and social class in a micro sociological perspective, discovered that middle-class and working-class parents tend to follow two different approaches to child-rearing. Middle-class parents tend to practice concerted cultivation whereas working-class parent tend to practice accomplishment of natural growth. Concerted cultivation refers to the child-rearing approach where parents are heavily involved in their children's education and in their extra-curricular activities. In middle-class families, parents make sure that their children participate in structured activities to give their children a wide range of experiences. Parent-children discussions and negotiations are common in middle-class families where the opinions of children are actively sought after by the parents. Such children usually grow up asserting their self-identity and interest, and voicing out their opinions. According to Lareau (2003), such children display a sense of entitlement: "[Children] acted as though they had a right to pursue their own individual preferences and to actively manage interactions in institutional settings. They appeared comfortable in these settings: they were open to sharing information and asking for attention" (Lareau 2003, p. 6).

The accomplishment of natural growth model which is favoured by working class parents involves a more unstructured leisure time. Working-class parents establish clear boundaries between adults and children and enforce them through directives rather than negotiation. They expect children to obey adults and to interact more intensely with kin. From this approach, working-class children grow up with a sense of constraint in institutional settings: "[Children] were less likely to try to customize interactions to suit their own preferences. Like their parents, the children accepted the actions of persons in authority" (Lareau 2003, p. 6).

The qualities often displayed by children raised by concerted cultivation are not only valued by both the educational systems as well as sought after by employers who value autonomy, creativity as well as assertiveness, but also generally considered to be favourable by western societies.
In sum, for Lareau (2003), these different child-rearing approaches simply lead to the transmission of differential advantages: middle-class children are equipped with cultural capital necessary to function well in the educational system as well as in the well-paying segment of the labor market. Working-class children are transmitted cultural capital valued in low-paying jobs.

The observation by Anette Lareau on the relationship between social class, upbringing methods and social mobility is demonstrated to an extent, by my own research findings. Whiles the methods of raising the children appears to be uniform among the various parents interviewed, their "social standing" is quite diverse, ranging from upper middle-class to lower working class. The extent of social success and assimilation of the youths seem to be comparable in spite of the varying social standing of their families. Although these two different models of child upbringing may be largely considered to mirror the typical approaches to child upbringing employed in the Norwegian and African (Nigerian) cultures, it seems apparent from the interviews conducted that most of the parents employ the concerted cultivation model, albeit to different degrees. Whether the adoption of this model is a deliberate informed choice or as a subconscious one based on their own experiences and interaction with Norwegian culture is, however, debatable. What is not in doubt, is that all the youths who were interviewed considered their parents to be a positive influence who provide strong motivation and encouragement in their assimilation into Norwegian society, particularly, with respect to their educational endeavours.

For example, when asked how he thought his father was helping him to assimilate into Norwegian society, 16-year old James answered that:

> "I believe my parents influence me a lot. After I've come back from school, they ask me what I've learnt even though I am 16 years old. So they influence me a lot and they always try to encourage me to get better grades and yes I am quite pleased with that as a son."

To the same question, Esther responded that:

> "I think they did their best and I think my mother may not have been as assimilated as my father. I think it has to do with our culture that is wanting to keep or hold on to your culture. My mum didn't adapt to the language straight away but my father tried as much as he could to get into it. But I think they prepared us. They did what they could do."

Although Salome did not elaborate on how her parents are helping her to assimilate, she concedes that:

"I think my parents are helping me more to assimilate into the Norwegian society"

The family is, therefore, considered to play a hugely important role in helping second-generation children of immigrants assimilate into the society and climb the social ladder.

5.2.2 The role of the church in assimilation of youths

From the responses given by church leaders, parents and youths in this study, it seems apparent that the church plays an active role in the assimilation of the second generation youths.

The religious space primarily provides the role of spiritual, social and cultural activities for its members.

The first way in which the church aids the youths in assimilating to Norwegian society may be considered as indirect; as it focuses on the first generation parents rather than the youths themselves. On the church's role in preparing the second generation youths in the congregation to live and assimilate into Norwegian society, Pastor John relates that the church

adopts a multifaceted approach in which the church provides support and training to the parents in order for them to effectively aid their children in facing the challenges they encounter, as well as having a mentorship programme in place which makes use of the rich human resources available in the church. Throwing more light on the need to focus on the parents rather than the children exclusively, he further stated that:

> "Well the Bible tells us parents in the book of Proverbs, to train up a child in the way he should go, so if we can help the parents become more aware of the challenges their children may be facing in school and life in general, and give them the tools to help their children resolve these challenges, then the battle is already half won" …… "Because children are the core responsibility of the parents. In spite of whatever, the church or any other body or organization may do help the integration or educational success of a child, the primary responsibility rests with the parent. We don't take that away from them. … and we find that active participation by parents in their children's lives is good for the family as a whole."

This approach taken by the church in providing support for church members in how to train their children, and also educating them on aspects of Norwegian society that the parents as first generation immigrants may not be aware of is crucial. This is especially so, for those parents who immigrated to Norway with little or no formal education from their home countries and may not otherwise fully appreciate the challenges their children may face in the society. Most of the parents report that the training sessions and seminars that they have been part of, in various grouping of the church have been very beneficial in helping them raise their children and being better parents.

The mentoring programme that is also carried out in the church is not only useful in helping the youth make good career and professional choices, but also aids in assimilation. This is because most of the church members who serve as mentors are not only accomplished professionals, but have also lived in the country for a long time, and in some cases longer than the parents to the youths. They are, therefore, a treasure trove of both professional and social experience from whom the youths can learn as they try to make a headway within the society. By pairing these successful mentors to youths whose own parents are of generally lower class, or may be particularly challenged themselves (e.g. single parents), the church through this programme gives the youth a decent chance to be fully engaged in society, rather than remain

on the fringes. The use of the excellent human resource available in the church is particularly commendable.

This concerted support from the church and parents, coupled with strong internal motivation (also greatly enhanced by the church's mentoring programme) is likely responsible for the high degree of youth retention in the church, and supports the assertion by Larson et al. (2004) that positive development and participation in out – of – school time (OST) activities by youths is depends greatly on adult support and internal motivation.

The active involvement by the youth in church activities and programmes is also particularly significant as it is generally known that when youth are authentically represented and feel ownership of programs, they are more likely to be attracted to and stay in those programmes. A significant factor in the role of the church in assimilation is that the youth express a very high level of trust in the church leadership, and this makes it more likely that they would identify with, and actively participate in non-faith church activities.

I have previously argued in section 5.1.3 that the church by virtue of its "African" character, reinforces a strong African or Nigerian identity among the youth. However, it is interesting to note that the church is itself taking steps to reach out to the main indigenous Norwegian population. This is borne out by the fact that it (the church) is not only considering having some of their activities using the Norwegian language, but actually hope that it will be an avenue through which they will win new members from the indigenous population, particularly, the youth. This is significant as it illustrates that the church in itself understands the necessity of adapting within the society if it is to remain relevant over the long term and evolve into an "international" church rather than an "African" or "Nigerian" church. This scenario of the church's attempts at assimilation or integration is not necessarily at odds with its Nigerian Pentecostal identity. One may, therefore, say that while the church is deeply rooted in Nigerian Pentecostal traditions which subconsciously reinforce a Nigerian cultural identity in its members (especially the youth), it is also making deliberate and conscious efforts at assimilating into the Norwegian society.

5.2.3   Identificational Assimilation

Due to the limited sample size, it is inadvisable to test the theory of Wierzbicki et al. (2003) that racial, ethnic or cultural identification appears strongest in among the lowest and highest social classes of immigrant groups. Moreover, no systematic data or information was collected on the social class (s) of the respondents.

Nonetheless, certain observations are worth noting in light of the interview responses. It appears from the responses by both parents and the youths that the mechanism most likely at play in the ethnic or cultural identification and assimilation of the second generation Nigerian youths is selective assimilation. In this mechanism, opportunistic orientations rather than oppositional ones are developed by the youths. It is also important to note that all the parents interviewed belong to a social grouping or association defined by their ethnicity and nationality. These cultural networks which appear to be well resourced offer critical support to the youths and their parents which are essential in their assimilation process. An example of these cultural support networks at play is evidenced by the mentoring programmes provided by the church as well as the various church programmes which aim to empower the youth to succeed in Norwegian society. One respondent is also a member of and the Ibo Progressive Union, which also provides free additional tuition in certain subject for children who needed additional help to cope in school, and organizes other activities such as camping trips and excursions for the children of its members. The two single parents who were interviewed in this study stated that they had benefitted immensely from the support of these cultural support networks, particularly, as single mothers.

Although, this mechanism according to Brown & Bean (2006) is most often prevalent among the higher social classes of immigrants with a high level of education both from their home countries and adopted countries, it appears to be the dominant mechanism at play here even though not all, or perhaps none of the respondents may be considered to belong to the upper class. This phenomenon may be attributed to the unique social character of the Norwegian society. This aspect will be explored in the section under research question 4.

Furthermore, none of the youths described any incident of explicit discrimination perpetuated against them that results in reactive identification and the developments of oppositional attitudes which invariably lead to downward assimilation. Some negative social scenarios were described though as given below:

Question (to parent): When she (daughter) started school, did she come home with any challenges that you had to help her through? Because she is a Nigerian or an African?
Response: When she started school, there were challenges initially. She was being teased and sometimes because you are not fair coloured, she is not allowed to enter into their click. Then she comes home so I try to encourage her. I can sometimes go to meet the school authorities and sometimes talk to them, that since we are all living here, for us to adapt into the system,

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we have to be accepted. So the teacher normally takes control or talks to the students in charge. So in that case it has been better and I try to encourage her that, they are not better than you. You are also one of them. You are a child like they are a child. That you live here in the society, doesn't mean that they should bully you. So you have to try to fight back.

The following also transpired with one of the respondents (youth):

Question: What do out think are the limitation or challenges now?
Answer: Well, with limitation, I think it is the system, the system is quite tough but since we are born here, we just have to learn hard, read more books and get more knowledge.

Question: What do you mean by the system is tough, education or social or cultural?
Answer: I think the culture as well, <u>because even though you are excellent in school, your colour speaks a lot</u>, even though you speak the Norwegian language very well (emphasis mine).

Question: Do you think the 2nd generation will be able to navigate through?
Answer: Yes, I think so because we have the mentality of working hard so I believe we are capable.

While this respondent also spoke about an incidence of bullying at school, it does not appear to have been motivated by race or ethnicity but perhaps a case of "normal" conflict that occurs among adolescent children in school.

In any case, neither of these scenarios do not appear to have developed into a "siege" mentality of "us against them" within the youth which would lead to reactive assimilation. From the interviews, there does not appear to be a strong perception by the youth of discrimination towards them. Indeed, there seems to be a general consensus among both the youths and their parents that Norwegian society is generally very accommodating and welcoming towards persons of different backgrounds. As one of the respondents (a youth) puts it,

"At my school, everyone is quite open and they don't care about where you come from and they are …. The Norwegians there are quite accepting".

The sample size and the ages of the youths did not allow for any exploration of the impact of symbolic cultural identification among the youths.

5.3 Interracial and intercultural marriage considerations among the second generation Christian Pentecostal Nigerian migrants.

When selecting a life partner, values, beliefs, and other cultural and religious factors are evaluated in a filtering, stage-like process called Stimulus-Values-Roles or SRV (Murstein, 1986). According to Murstein, the SRV process is as follows:

- In the Stimulus stage, couples are attracted to each other.
- In the Values stage, couples analyze each other's values and beliefs, including cultural and religious traditions, to determine whether they are similar to or different from their own.
- In the final Roles stage, couples determine how various roles (e.g., childrearing, division of household chores, breadwinner, etc.) will be carried out in the relationship and whether or not the fulfillment of these roles can produce an enduring relationship.

Couples determine partner-compatibility in each of these stages through filtering out potential partners who don't match their criteria (Murstein, 1986).

Research by several scholars (e.g. Mahoney et al., 2001; Ellison et al., 2002; Schramm et al., 2012) indicates that couples are generally more satisfied with their marriages when their belief systems are more similar or homogamous. Concerning racial or ethnic identity, Seshadri & Knudson-Martin (2012) report that, "couples of different racial and ethnic backgrounds tended to view their differences primarily as cultural rather than racial, with the exception of when they were initially attracted to their partner, or if they had experienced incidences involving prejudice or discrimination".

While no statistics are provided here, it is a commonly held view that interracial or intercultural marriages are more prone to divorce than same race marriages. The most – oft cited sources of stress on intercultural marriages are as follows:

- Major differences in cultural and world views
- Macro cultural reactions (negative responses from society and family) and micro cultural differences (values, beliefs, and traditions within the couple)

- Communication styles

- Religious and ethnic beliefs

- Having an unbalanced view of their intercultural marriage (i.e., they distort or deny the differences, rather than integrate the similarities and differences into an overall balanced perspective)

Considering these factors and the commonly held view that intercultural marriages are relatively more challenging, the willingness of a migrant to marry an indigenous person may be taken to be an indicator of the degree of assimilation of that migrant.

One youth completely ruled out the chances of her entering into an interracial marriage while another had the following preferences in order of importance; an African Christian raised in Europe or a Norwegian Christian.

On the part of the youth, I consider the willingness to marry an indigenous Norwegian to reflect a confidence in their own level of assimilation and integration into Norwegian society. This is quite understandable given the fact that they are second generation, rather than first generation. This perceived high level of assimilation is not necessarily at odds with the pronounced Nigerian cultural identity that they expressed. Having been born and raised within the Norwegian culture, these youths perceive themselves to better appreciate the culture, gender roles in marriage, and fully function within a Norwegian cultural and social set-up while at the same time maintaining or expressing their Nigerian cultural identity and heritage. The respondent who opposed interracial marriage had this to day:

> "When I talk to my older siblings I feel that my view has changed a lot. I used to argue that you can marry an outsider from where you live for example. But now my views have changed a lot. Now that I have grown older, I see a lot of cultural differences. I feel more comfortable like marrying someone of a Nigerian decent."

It is interesting that this same respondent expressed the strongest Nigerian identity by saying: "The thing is, I have never felt Norwegian, that I fit in here so I have never really considered myself a Norwegian".

The opposition to marrying an indigenous Norwegian expressed by two out of the three interviewed youth is per their own responses borne out of a recognition of the peculiar challenges faced by interracial couples with respect to cultural differences. This is particularly significant given the fact that these two respondents expressed a strong affinity with their Nigerian identity. However, the fact that Salome prefers an African Christian raised in

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Europe, rather than one raised in Africa suggests that she recognizes the fact that even though she considers herself a Nigerian, the Norwegian environment within which she has been raised has changed her world view somewhat and that marriage with an African Christian raised entirely in Africa may not necessarily be without its attendant problems.

The respondent who was most agreeable to marrying an indigenous Norwegian was also the person who expressed the "weakest" affinity to his Nigerian identity.

The recognition of significant cultural differences in within interracial or intercultural marriages by these young adults is especially significant. This is because, both the classical (e.g. Park's cycle of race relations) and contemporary theories of assimilation such as those expounded by Milton (1964), Bean and Stevens (2003), Alba and Nee (2003), as well as Waters and Jimenez (2009), all consider intermarriage between the immigrant population and the receiving population to be necessary for complete assimilation. Bearing this in mind, it is reasonable to say that the second generation Nigerian migrants in perceiving inherent cultural differences between themselves and indigenous Norwegians, are perhaps, not "completely" assimilated into Norwegian society in the true sense of the word, and do not see themselves primarily as Norwegians. That is not to say, however, that they are not well integrated into the society. In fact, it is within reason to speculate that their views on marriage with indigenous Norwegians may well change by the time they are of marriage age. Furthermore, civil assimilation or intermarriage according to both classic and contemporary assimilation theories, is the last stage of assimilation and its absence does not necessarily imply that a migrant population has failed to assimilate into a particular receiving society.

5.4 Future educational and upward socioeconomic outlook among the second generation Christian Pentecostal Nigerian migrants.

As previously stated in chapter three (3), Brown and Bean (2006) have pointed out that that processes of cultural (with all its components) self-identification appear to interact with socioeconomic status in complex ways. The cultural identification and the degree of assimilation of an individual and its relationship to social and economic mobility is complex rather than straightforward.

While it is an undeniable fact that social classes exist in all human societies, it is pertinent to note that the lines between these classes are not always sharply defined in all societies. A

striking feature about Scandinavia in general and Norway in particular is a strong egalitarian outlook and the absence of conspicuous social divisions.

Chan et al. (2011) in describing the Norwegian context of class and status, point out that compared to other developed nations in the western world, levels of economic inequality are relatively low in Norway (Kalleberg and Colbjørnsen, 1990; Barth and Zweimueller, 1994; Moene and Wallerstein, 1997; Bratberg et al., 2007). Despite the rise in economic inequality in the Nordic countries in the 1980s and 1990s, income distribution remains more equitable in Norway than in most other countries (Atkinson et al., 1995; Esping – Andersen, 2000). Although the social class origin of Norwegians (and by extension immigrants in Norway) invariably affects their life chances, relative mobility rates are relatively higher as compared to other developed countries (Ringdal, 1994; Mastekaasa, 2004; Hjellbrekke and Korsnes, 2004). Raaum et al. (2007) also report that income mobility is also significantly higher in the Nordic countries than it is in the UK or the USA.

The youth cognizant of this situation, are very optimistic about succeeding in their educational endeavours and upward economic mobility. This is highlighted by their responses to this particular research question, and their thoughts on their ability to positively impact Norwegian society, an extract of which is presented below;

Question: Projecting into the next 15 years, how do you see the young adult, second generation Nigerians in Oslo?

Answer: I see them as well established people in the Norwegian society, I see politicians, I see great leaders of great people in the sports industry as well.

Question: Looking at the life of Joseph in Egypt, Daniel becoming great in Babylon, what are you hopes for the 2nd generation?

Answer: I hope that we can impact the Norwegian society positively you know we have a lot of visions and aspirations inside of us and if only we can speak out and act more, show more of ourselves to the world and the Norwegians society, I think we have lots of chances to impact.

Furthermore, most of the interviewed youth pointed out that an important motivating factor in their quest to be successful in Norwegian society is the presence of several role models who

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they look up to, not only among the larger Nigerian community, but also within their own churches that they have direct access to. The presence of positive role models within their own church with whom they may interact with on a frequent basis is extremely important as they can provide critical guidance to the youth in making life decisions. As the youth are faced with peer pressure, economic adversity, unsupportive environments and tough decisions, a role model can provide input and advice to a young person who may not have any direction or support from other sources. It is interesting to note that most of the role models described by the youth are within their immediate environment (family or church) and are, therefore, better placed to provide the necessary support to the youth when needed.

Lockwood et al. (2002) in their work titled; "Motivation by Positive or Negative Role Models: Regulatory Focus Determines Who Will Best Inspire Us" published in the Journal of personality and Social Psychology, distinguish between positive and negative role models. According to their work, positive role models are individuals who have achieved outstanding success in their various fields of endeavor and are often showcased in an attempt to enhance people's goals and aspirations. They may be well accomplished athletes, musicians, academicians or renowned businessmen or women (Lockwood et al., 2002). On the other hand, negative role models are those individuals who have experienced some form of failure or misfortune due to life choices they have made, and are also showcased in an attempt to discouraging others from following a similar path, or to motivate others to take the necessary actions in order to avoid similarly unpleasant outcomes in their lives. An example of a negative role model may be a driver who have been severely injured or lost his or her life as a result of driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs (Lockwood et al., 2002).

Indeed, while positive role models can inspire one by projecting an ideal, desired self, and highlighting possible achievements that may be attained, and illustrating an avenue for achieving them (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997, 1999), negative role models can also inspire one by illustrating a feared, undesirable self, pointing to possible future disasters, and highlighting mistakes that must be avoided so as to prevent them (Lockwood, 2002). It is worth noting that the type of role model chosen by an individual is by no means static, but that individuals may at different times, be differentially receptive to either positive or negative role models (Stapel & Koomen, 2001).

In their research, Lockwood et al. (2002) report that: "Promotion-focused individuals, who favour a strategy of pursuing desirable outcomes, are most inspired by positive role models,

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who highlight strategies for achieving success; prevention-focused individuals, who favour a strategy of avoiding undesirable outcomes, are most motivated by negative role models, who highlight strategies for avoiding failure".

Perhaps, of more cardinal importance is the finding that after priming promotion and prevention goals and then examining the impact of role models on motivation, it was found that participants' academic motivation was increased by goal-congruent role models but decreased by goal-incongruent role models (Lockwood et al., 2002).

When the choices of role models of the interviewed youths are examined in light of the findings by Lockwood et al. (2002), it is interesting that all the role models may be considered as positive role models. Most of the youths described role models within their church environment as either medical doctors, scientists, engineers and other accomplished professionals. Role models in the public sphere (outside their immediate environments) who were cited are Chuma Anene (a 23-year old Norwegian professional footballer born in Oslo to Nigerian parents) and Ezinne Okparaebo (a 28-year old track and field athlete born in Nigeria but living in Norway since age 9, and a naturalized citizen). As all their role models are considered to be positive as per the criteria of Lockwood et al. (2002), it is safe to assume that the youths themselves are "promotion focused" individuals. This is consistent with their high confidence in their own ability to climb the social ladder and participate fully and successfully in all aspects of Norwegian society.

This is not only as a result of the help and motivation they get from their parents and church, or their confidence in their own abilities, but also as a result of the open nature of Norwegian society in itself (open class system) and the confidence of the youth in that when all is said and done, hard work and excellence is rewarded by the society.

5.5   Return to homeland (Nigeria) considerations among the second generation Christian Pentecostal Nigerian migrants.

All the respondents to whom this question was asked expressed a willingness to resettle in Nigeria at some point in the future (or were at least open to the possibility). The respondents cited the fact that they would like to be able to contribute meaningfully to the development of Nigeria as a reason for this. This fact is particularly interesting because, where one feels at home, whether in one or multiple places, and how the surroundings react to different articulations of belonging, is at the centre of contemporary discussions about integration and social cohesion in Europe (Erdal, 2014). Most research on 'home' within migration studies

has emphasized identity and belonging, as motivating for migrants' practices across transnational social fields, and playing a role in their lives both 'here' and 'there' (Al Ali & Koser, 2002). It is the opinion of Erdal (2014) that how migrants relate to 'home' in the context of questions about the possibility of return is a tangible avenue into migrants' identity construction work, and in this study, not only applicable to the determination of the cultural identity of the respondents (whether Nigerian or Norwegian), but also gives some insight into the extent of assimilation.

Recent literature on the interactions of transnationalism and integration (e.g. Schans, 2009; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013) have, however, broached the fundamental question of whether an individual can really belong in more than one place, and it is argued that belonging can be multiple, it is not an either 'here' or 'there' issue. Irrespective of whether an individual's 'home' is multiple, or either 'here' or 'there', I am persuaded by (Frye, 2012) that the question of return intentions is interesting conceptually, as it clearly highlights identity and belonging as important. The willingness of the youth to resettle in Nigeria, therefore, is taken to reflect their sense of belonging and identity with Nigeria. Although Salome in her response, did not appear eager to relocate to Nigeria, her reluctance was borne out of the standard and quality of life in Nigeria as compared to Norway and the African climate rather than a sense of not belonging there. She also did not appear to have a particular attachment to staying in Norway as she would consider moving somewhere "closer" to Nigeria if she chose not to live there. Furthermore, she was also willing to do volunteer work on a regular basis in Nigeria as opposed to living there permanently.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

For several years, most of the studies concerning immigration has focused on the socioeconomic impact (and more recently, the perceived security risks and considerations) of immigration on the receiving communities. In Norway, studies which have considered other aspects of immigration have also been centred on large immigrant populations (e.g. Erdal, 2014; Huang et al., 2016; Pustulka et al., 2016). In Norway, the body of research on African migrants is near non-existent. Furthermore, as is unfortunately common, researchers who broach the subject of African immigration have often spoken of Africa as a whole forgetting that Africa is not a single country but rather, a whole continent with different cultures, political and socioeconomic situations in different parts of the continent. The peculiar circumstances that bring Eritrean, Zimbabwean, Somali or Nigerian immigrants to the western world are wildly different and their collective experiences within a single receiving community may be more different than similar.

In this study, I sought to explore the identity issues faced by children born in Norway to first generation Nigerian migrants of Christian Pentecostal background. I also studied the extent of their assimilation and integration into Norwegian society. I considered this to be a relevant topic partly because of the recent terrorist attack perpetuated in some European cities by children of first or even second generation migrants to Europe. The important questions that initiated my interest in this topic were whether the alleged perpetrators of the terrorist acts really identified themselves as European citizens or primarily identified themselves in terms of their supposed radical versions of their religions. Furthermore, did these attacks result from a real or perceived systematic exclusion of these persons from their societies in Europe? While these questions are not the goal of this thesis, they piqued my interest in how other the other second generation descendants of migrants define themselves. To which country do they have a sense of belonging; their parents' countries or the countries in which they were born? While this thesis is by no means an attempt to answer this rather complex question in the broadest terms, it seeks to consider this problem among the second generation Nigerian Christians in Oslo and attempts to find the reasons which have most contributed to their preferred identity.

In undertaking this task, I employed the qualitative research method which I considered to be more suitable since the strategy was to talk to participants through the administration of a questionnaire in a semi-structured interview setting in the study. Different but related questionnaires were developed for the church leader, parents, and the young adults. These

participants comprised of a church leader, four parents and three young adults. The qualitative research methodology as described by Bryman (2012) was applied as far as was permissible. In the course of the study, several challenges were faced, notable among which was the change in the topic due to the unsuitable responses obtained from the interview. The total number of intended participants could not be attained due to several reasons.

The classical theory of assimilation was based primarily on studies of European immigrants arriving into the United States in the early parts of the 20th century. These studies advocated that immigrant's full assimilation was progressive and inevitable and was considered to be complete within the third to fourth generations. This concept, formulated by Richard E. Parks, at the University of Chicago in the early 1920s, pertained to immigrants in the United States, and was known as the "race relation cycle". The cycle has four stages: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. The first step is contact followed by competition. Then, after some time, a hierarchical arrangement can prevail – one of accommodation – in which one race was dominant and others dominated. In the end assimilation occurred Guibernau (2007). Contemporary assimilation theories contend that while immigrant minorities in a receiving country are consciously or otherwise transformed into the lifestyles, culture, behaviours and values of the majority group (Sardinha, 2009; Waters & Jimenez, 2009), the immigrant groups do not necessarily have to completely discard their original identities. The concept of identity referring to the perception of selfhood projected by a person and formed through relations with significant others (Jepperson et al., 1996) was also explored. Various components of cultural identity which were considered pertinent to the problem as defined in this study such as race or ethnicity, language, religious beliefs, territorial origin and nationality were also briefly discussed.

In order to effectively collect the data and achieve the aim of the research, the following research questions were formulated:

- **Parental role in the assimilation of the second generation Nigerian Christian Pentecostals in Oslo**

This was a secondary question which sought to assess the level of assimilation perceived by the young adults themselves, as well as parents and church leaders. The responses obtained shed important light on what the youth and their parents perceive to constitute assimilation. All the respondents were of the view that they were well assimilated into Norwegian society

and that both parents and the church had played leading roles in this. It was also found that most parents had consciously adopted parenting styles which are generally closer to Western styles than traditional African upbringing methods. It was seen that most of the respondents consider educational attainment to be the surest means od assimilation and upward social mobility.

- **Interracial and intercultural marriage considerations among the second generation Nigerian Christian Pentecostals in Oslo**

I considered this a relevant question because it is generally accepted that cross cultural and interracial marriages are often more challenging than homogamous ones. I, therefore, took the willingness or eagerness of these young adults to enter such civil unions to be indicative of the degree of assimilation and their confidence in their own ability to effectively relate well with indigenous Norwegians in an intimate manner over the long term. While most parents did not express any racial preference in the choice of spouse for their children, the youth themselves were of different opinions. One was strongly opposed to it based on potential cultural clashes, another would consider it as a second preference if the Norwegian was a Christian, while the last respondent did not consider race and ethnicity to be relevant in the choice of a spouse.

- **Young adult's perception of their own future educational and upward economic mobility**

This was considered a relevant marker of assimilation because it sought not only to gauge the level of self – confidence of the young adults, but also of the confidence they placed in the Norwegian "system". The responses indicated that most the second generation migrants are upbeat about their chances of future success. They rightly consider Norwegian society to operate as an open class system where merit and hard work is invariably rewarded. They, therefore, recognize that the only limitations they face are those that they place on themselves. While a few reported some challenges, one does not get the impression that they consider these to be as a result if institutional or systematic discrimination towards them.

- **Return (to parents' homeland0 considerations among the second generation Nigerian Christian Pentecostals in Oslo**

Return considerations were considered to be relevant because it provides insight into where the respondents consider to be home. This fact is particularly interesting because, where one feels at home, whether in one or multiple places, and how the surroundings react to different articulations of belonging, is at the centre of contemporary discussions about integration and social cohesion in Europe (Erdal, 2014). The cardinal question of whether an individual can really belong in more than one place is not considered to be especially relevant in this study. I sided with the opinion of Frye (2012) that return intentions is conceptually useful, as it clearly highlights identity and belonging as important. The willingness of the youth to resettle in Nigeria, therefore, is taken at face value, to reflect their sense of belonging and identity with Nigeria. Most of the youth were found to be actually considering to resettle in Nigeria over the long term suggesting a high level of affinity with their Nigerian heritage.

Do the second generation Nigerian Christians consider themselves more as Nigerians or Norwegians?

This was the main research question. It was hoped that the responses to the questionnaires would shed light on this, as well the factors which have influenced the dominance of the preferred identity. All the youths interviewed and the children (who were not interviewed) of some parents (respondents) expressed strong Nigerian identity to varying extents.

Most of the young adults still retained their mother tongue of their parents, albeit to different extents. It was found that generally those who were more abreast with the native language of their parents showed the greatest affinity to the Nigerian culture.

Most of the young adults were also found to maintain the strong "Africanized" versions of their Christian Pentecostal faith traditions. Apart from language considerations in determining the affinity of the young adults towards their Nigerian identity, it is argued that the Pentecostal traditions of West African churches which have been transplanted to Europe, and within which these young adults worship, also contributes to their Nigerian identity. This is because these Pentecostal faith traditions although Christian, may be construed as an Africanization of the Catholic and main protestant denominations brought to West Africa by the colonial powers. As Christianity took roots in these places, there was a conscious effort by

African preachers to adapt it to African spirituality and charisma thereby, making it culturally liberating. This brand of Christianity was not only a spiritual faith experience but also a politico-cultural repudiation of the colonial masters whose own preferred practice of Christian worship was almost discarded in its entirety, although doctrinal differences were not as different. To all intents and purposes, there is very little difference between a Pentecostal service in Lagos, Abuja, or a Nigerian dominated Pentecostal service in Oslo. This distinction serves to reinforce an African cultural identity among its participants.

So while, the young adults in this study are found to be generally well assimilated and integrated into Norwegian society, they still maintain a distinct Nigerian cultural identity and character, as well as the Christian Pentecostal faith and traditions of their parents imported from their (the parents) motherland. It is, therefore, concluded that while assimilation and integration are essential for social success, it do not, however, require that an individual loses all vestiges of his/her original identity while assuming the host identity in its entirety.

This conclusion contrasts very sharply with classical models of immigrant assimilation which require that the immigrant must take on the cultural, social and political identity of the host or receiving nation in order for assimilation to be considered complete.

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