THE AMBIVALENCE OF CULTURAL IDENTITY:

A case study of cultural identity and challenges faced by Kenyan immigrants living in Oslo (Norway).

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ABSTRACT

Culture has been an all too a common subject in today's, private and public, discourse. This is due to the challenges brought about by the changes occurring to the world as we know it. Issues like globalization and world migration have brought about the amalgamation of people from all quarters of life. The host countries have had regular discourses on how to deal with the influx of immigrants that they face and subjects like integration and assimilation have been the talk of day.

But this is just one side of the coin. The immigrants have their own issues to face. They are subjected to adhere to the natives and integrate, if not assimilate, to the host country. They are expected to be more like their hosts in order to avoid any conflicts.

This discourse was the motivation of this thesis. The thesis probed, through the eye of the immigrant (that is Kenyans), what are the cultural challenges that immigrants face and how do these challenges reshape their identities.

In order for this research to be a success, certain strategies had to be taken. Interviews were undertaken on a face to face basis and observation was done in order to collect the non-verbal data, which is as important, in order to understand the anatomic factors of culture.

The research did indeed find out that culture is not static and that it is rather relative to its environs. This brought about the issue of identity change and what are its effects and affects.

This thesis is comprised of five chapters. The first chapter will be the introductory part to the study. Chapter two will discuss on the relevant literature, on the topic of culture and identity, used in developing relevant arguments. Chapter three will focus on the methodology used to carry out the research. Chapter four discusses the research findings, and chapter five will entail detailed discourse on the study.

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on three major issues. The first topic will be titled the background. This part will particularly focus on giving the historical background of Kenya as a nation and Kenyans as a people as the object of study. The second part will focus on presenting the topic and the motivation for the study. The last and third part will focus on the scope of the study.

1.1 Background

In order to understand the people under the case study (Kenyans), it is key to understand their culture and their environs. This is so because culture involves people and their surrounding environs.

1.1.1   Colonization and independence

Kenya was under the British colony since 1920 to 1963 (Ominde, Ingham,& Ntarangui, 2017, p. 14-15). The country gained its independence after an endeavor from native groups that were against the British.

The major aftermath of the colonization period was that Christianity was introduced to the system, their was a system of governance which was inherited by the independent nation, and a system of education was also introduced. This is in addition to supplemental works done by the British like construction of the railway and the likes.

This also affected the ways of life of the people. The natives had now annexed ideologies and worldviews from the British, which would over time, affect their cultures through education and intermingling with the British.

1.1.2   The people of Kenya

Kenya is home to over 40 ethnic native groups and several non-native groups, which include Arabs, Indians, Europeans, just to mention but a few (Kenya guide, 2016). This portrays a country that is multicultural and multilingual by its current nature. The main languages are English and Swahili but it is recorded that over 50 languages are spoken in the country (Kenya guide, 2016).

For the natives, English as a language, is studied through the education system and is used as the instruction language. According to THE WORLD FACTBOOK (2016), the literacy percentage is 78%. This means that those who have undergone through the education system can speak, if not write, English and a native language. Swahili, on the other hand, is a language most popular to the coastal region but is also popular throughout the country and is mostly spoken in urban regions, where there is a collection of different ethnic groups, more than in the rural regions where there is a concentration of a specific ethnic group. One does not need to go through the education system to be able to speak Swahili, even though its taught in schools as a language.

1.1.3   Social setting

The societies inherent in Kenya are comparatively group-oriented (Kenya guide, 2016). Families, friends, and even neighbors are part and parcel of an individual's day to day life. Communities are tightly bond together due to this very fact. In other words, whatever one does in the private is the business of the public. It will also serve justice to say that one has to be conversant with the norms inherent in the culture in order to avoid drawing negative attention to one's self.

There is a Swahili quote that says "*mwacha mila ni mtumwa"* which basically means that, the ones who deserts their culture, are outcasts. Due to the nature of the family bonds and structure, which are dense by their nature, culture and tradition are crucial and are sensitized from an early life through oral education (Ominde, Inghan, & Ntarangui, 2017, p. 9). Currently, the traditions of most ethnic groups have somehow diminished but some components are rather salient.

1.1.4   Religion/Beliefs

On the whole, Kenya is a religious country with Christianity being the most popular with over 80%, Muslims over 10% , and other religions and traditional beliefs cover the rest (the world fact book, 2016). This means that the country is not only multicultural and multilingual but also multi-religous. To further sensitize this point, the country commemorates the major religions by having special days on their calendar, for example, easter and christmas for the Christians, eid al-fitr for Muslims, and diwali for the Hindus (Ominde, Inghan, & Ntarangui, 2017, p. 9).

Typically, morals and values will derive from either religious beliefs or relevant ethnic beliefs or from both. This is well typified by the national anthem, whose first stanza is a prayer, and it is usual for public meetings to be opened by prayers. Religion is quite visible in the public space and everyone practices their beliefs wherever they find themselves. The separation of religion from the public space would then sound unearthly to most Kenyans since it is a norm to them to combine the two and religion is practical to them in their daily lives.

1.2 Presentation of the topic and motivation

Immigration has been a rather frequent topic in today's world. Reasons for people migrating range from people looking for greener pastures to asylum seekers. No matter the reasons, immigration has been at its highest record in the recent years. For example, it is recorded that more than a million migrants and refugees crossed to Europe in 2015 (Migrant crisis, 2016). This means that people and their various cultural identities come into a state of crash and clash.

Much focus has been laid on challenges faced by host countries while turning a blind eye to challenges faced by the immigrants. The research here, concentrates on the immigrants and specifically takes a study on their cultural identity.

As people move around the globe, the question of identity becomes inevitable. People can be said to be agents/carriers of culture (Lingenfelter, 2000) and will always present their cultural identity wherever they go, voluntarily or by reflex. The movement of people across borders has been as a result of globalization, which in itself, has disparate views all over the globe. Kastoryano has argued that globalization has led to "identity anxiety" (Modood, Triandafyllidou, and Barrero, 2006, p. 15). As people encounter other people with different cultures and worldviews, there is bound to be a clash and each one of them will try to defend their own identity.

In the event of identity contest, there are many possible outcomes. One major outcome may be that there will be integrating/assimilation or rebellion especially from the guest culture. Unfortunately, for every action, there is a counteraction. For example, "difference always

exists at the center of identity" (Hall & Gay, 1996, p. 94) hence the incompatibility of cultural assimilation is one of the basis of racism in addition to color differences.

Explicitly, this thesis has its concerns on challenges immigrants face in integrating and assimilating to new environs. This is specifically on their cultural identity and what are the effects and affects of such integration and/or assimilation.

To be able to understand this topic better, knowledge of where the case group (Kenyans) resides was pivotal. Some Norwegians would argue that they do not have a well defined culture (Bjørkøy, 2013), while some will stand to the fact that Norwegians are culturally homogenous (Moe, 2017). This shows the split in the question of defining the Norwegian's cultural identity. Despite the split, some characteristics inherent in the society are outstanding, and these may help in attaching some cultural identity to the Norwegians.

In an article by Karen Olaussen (2013), Norwegian culture is a collection of western civilization and that it is continuously changing over time. The article clearly demonstrates that the present Norwegian society is different and that the "old ways of life" are just part of their historical background.

For example, Norway has always had a State church until 2012 (Rasmussen & Banstad, 2016) when it became a secular state. Today, religion has become less significant to the society than it was in the "old days" (Religioner og livssyn I Norge, 2017). It has even come to a point that religious communities are being declared as a minority(Steinar, 2016) and have been under attack for their recognition by the State.

In short, Norwegian cultural values are not limited to either religion nor tradition, and "it is up to the individual" to decide the source of their values (Bjørkøy, 2013). To most Kenyans, this is totally unorthodox to their ways of life.

This is the main motivation for this thesis. It brings about the curiosity about how does the Norwegian society have an impact on Kenyan's cultural identity, to what extent are they affected by the new environment that they find themselves in, and what are the consequences.

It is the objective of the thesis to give a comprehensive report of the study and hopefully this can be tested to other immigrating communities. This can be used in understanding the immigrants, and even so, understand their environs and why they respond to them as they do.

1.3 Scope of study

This thesis will basically revolve around the concept of culture and cultural identity. It will further expound on five basic components of culture, that is, the symbolic, language, values, religion/beliefs, and norms.

The scope of this study will comprehensively deal with this issues through a critical research on the literature underlying the issues on culture and identity and give account of interviews and observations made for an empirical feedback from the subjects of the study.

It is, by intention, for the study to understand the life experiences of the interviewee in order to analyze and test the major theories and concepts that revolve around the subject matter of culture and identity. This, though, will be limited to Kenyans who are the subjects of study and their environment, which is Oslo, Norway.

2.0 THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

This segment will basically deal with the various theories and concepts revolving around the subject matter of culture and identity. The theories and concepts that will be discussed here will help the reader to understand more clearly what is involved when having a cultural identity discourse. The chapter will try to pull out all major issues that help in giving the term cultural identity its essence, and mainly so, when it is based on a cultural clash and crash scenario.

2.1 What is culture?

In the event of trying to define what culture really means, it is crucial to in fact note that different people will define the term relatively. The Merriam Webster dictionary defines culture as "the beliefs, customs, arts,..., of a particular society, group, place, or time". McGill further defines culture as "meanings embodied in symbols that people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (2016, Loc 256).

In accordance to these two definitions, culture will then be a collection of beliefs/religion, symbols, values, norms, and language. It is how members of a society view life, how they do what they do, and why they do it as they do. For example, in some societies, it is the norm to greet a person by handshake several times in a day. To other societies, handshake is left for sealing deals, first time acquaintances, and so on. This will portray what kind of societies they are.

So, in an effort to defining culture in more relative manner in connection to this particular research, two terms are of crucial observance. The two are worldview(s) and ethos, where worldview is concerned with the cognitive part of individuals/groups, that is, the ideological view of life, themselves, and the society (Paul, 2011, loc. 476). Ethos, on the other hand, is the element that deals with the guiding beliefs inherent to individuals/groups which build up their character (Paul, 2011, loc. 476).

An individual would then be said to, first, have a particular worldview which will then lead them to the believe in it (ethos) for them to be who they are and act in accordance to that fact. This thesis, would then preferably define culture as the worldviews and ethos immanent in societies or groups of people, that give them their identity in comparison to the other.

2.2 Worldviews

As mentioned above, worldview(s) is the ideological view of life, self, and society. This is a description suitable in extending discourse on how cultural identity comes into being. There are several types of worldviews, and this will depend on the subject matter. For the sake of this research and topic at hand, four of them will be discussed here. These four are Idealism, Realism, Pragmatism, and Existentialism.

2.2.1 Idealism

This is a view that matter is understood "through" and in form of "ideas" (Idealism, 2015). Plato's description of this view stressed that there exists an "unchanging idea or form" that helps individuals in understanding what they perceive (Lane, 2007, p.6).

In this worldview, then, the mind becomes more superior than the matter. Matter can only be understood in reference to that "unchanging truth". A practical example is religion. Religion dictates that there is a supreme being and that everything exists due to the existence of that supreme being.

Isaac Newton may have described this view more clearly by elaborating that science describes how the world operates but God is the only one who can say where the world came from in the first place (Hill, 2006, p.356).

Cultures with an idealistic worldview will always work towards creating a society based on the ideal perspective. For example, in a theistic/polytheistic society, the ideal society will be based on the existence of God/gods. The culture will have morals and values that are more religious/spiritual by their nature.

So, idealism dictates that the material world is just an illusion of reality. Individuals will always work towards reconstructing the ideal to real. This helps the society to have an ideal man, ideal marriage, ideal relationship within themselves and others, and so on and so forth.

Members of cultures that are well defined to idealistic worldviews may find it difficult to make a change over. They may even find it difficult in integrating with others. Members of such societies will tend be more devoted to their worldviews and this results to having fundamentalists and traditionalists. There may be a risk of one being cut off from a group or the society if there is suspected conversion.

On the other hand, not all that hold this worldview are inflexible. For example, if one holds the view that science has it place in the world and is religious at the same time, they are more understanding and liberal in their thoughts. This may be a Newton's worldview as described above. They may be individuals that are also open to other other worldviews and will, most probably than not, develop multiple or hybrid cultural identities (Hall and Gay, 1996, p.58)

2.2.2   Realism

Unlike idealism, realism is a worldview that stresses on the real and material world outside the illusion of the mind (Hiebert, 2011). This is a worldview that shares the idea of "what you see is what you get". Individuals tend to be more practical in their decision making based on the reality at question.

Realism will, hence, reject any worldview that is illusionary by its nature. Religion, spiritism, traditionism, and any other worldview that seems impractical may not be compatible to a realist.

Plato's view of idealism was challenged by Aristotle by the argument "logic reasoning" (McGrath, 2011, p.176). Aristotle argued that the world can only be understood by analytical and logical problem solving. This means that humans can only understand the world by analyzing the physical to better understand it. This will help them to prove their knowledge about what exists. Anything that cannot be proved would then not be of interest to the realist.

Naturalism would probably add a more understandable position to realism whereby it "presumes that nature is in principle completely knowable" (Encyclopædia, 1998). The by product of such a worldview is a society that is liberal and individualistic by its nature. There are no strong bonds between members of the society and they are not bound to be followers of any concept or supreme being.

Values and norms of such societies will mostly be individualistic and hence everyone's ideas are to be respected. The problem with this kind of worldview is that it is not as liberal as as it sounds. The fact that realists would not understand an idealist's worldview, creates a schism between them. The extremes of both worldviews presumes that they are not compatible and would rather assume the other, hence, encouraging grouping/segregation over integration.

Realists will most probably consider themselves as modernists and see the other as obsolete and more traditional by their worldviews. In a world where modernism and postmodernism is prevailing, the idealist would feel more of a minority and tend to be more passive in the public sphere.

2.2.3   Pragmatism

Pragmatism is the view where ideas, doctrines, and theories are put to action to verify their realities (Hookway, 2013). It is a more empirical way of doing things or solving issues. For example, this view will not plainly accept the idea of a theist. One has to verify that there is a god. To be able to this, this view stresses that one would live their life according to the doctrines of the god(s), and if it suits their life practically then they can claim the existence of their god(s).

The whole idea here is to test to find its practicality. This means that if two people test an idea and they disagree on the practicality of the idea, they will each stand with their own opinions. Another issue to be noted is that even if the idea suits an individual at a particular time, this is not fixed, the individual can find another more practical solution and can change their mind.

Simply put, the view encourages testing, experimenting, and applying. One is not bound to commitment but to practicality. One can change their faith whenever they feel it does not suit them, just as one can change their sexuality if they don't feel satisfied with the way they look.

It is a more individualistic view of the world and each person has a right to live their life as it suits them and according to their experiences. Culture, then, becomes less defined and actually may cease to exist since it is more defined than the idea behind pragmatism.

The main problem with this idea, in relation to multiculturalism and integration, is that it does not concretely propose the idea of one truth. James says "ideas become true just in so far as they help us to get into satisfactory relations with other parts of our experiences..." (Hookway, 2013).

Practically, people in the same situation may experience the situation differently and may opt to react different to the situation. This view gives each individual the right to find a way to cope with the situation as it fits them individually. An example would be where three individuals are having a headache. One would opt to take prescribed medicine, another would opt to pray to God for healing, and the other may opt to smoke a cigarette which calms their nerves. Each one has acted according to the own will and have the right to try something else if their first option doesn't work until a solution is reached.

2.2.4   Existentialism

This is a worldview with focus on humanity and its existence (McGrath, 2011, p.147). Kierkegaard, one of the founder behind this worldview, stressed on "the importance of individual decision and an awareness of the limits of human existence" (McGrath, 2011, p.148).

Human decision would be based on human experience. One will always make decisions based on their experiences. Each human being is regarded as important as the other. The idea that

they are alive gives them their existence and death is the limit of existence (McGrath, 2011, p.147).

This worldview is particular to humanity and individuals hence focuses on how individuals relate to their surroundings and to each other. The fact that every individual has their own experience, gives the individual the right to act as they do. Decisions made by individuals should be respected and one is not to be held hostage in the decision making process, they should be free of their own will.

If experience helps individuals in the decision making process, it would then mean that a religious person will be bound to make decisions based on their religious background. This is applicable to every individual since all come from a specific background. The traditionalist will base theirs from their traditional laws, the atheist will base their decision on human knowledge and so on.

This would then mean that individuals are bound by their experiences and would most certainly than not be biased to their own experiences and not very open to new opinions. It would sound like a more radical way of defining individuals based on their past experiences. For example, it would be assumed that an individual that comes from a war torn part of the world, they are more likely to act more ferociously than the rest.

The pro of this worldview is that individuals are given the freedom to make decisions based on their best know how, while the con is that assumption is build up from the second and third party in that actions and decisions will be seen to be products of an individuals experiences. For example, one will be accused to have changed their identity since they have lived long amongst people with a foreign identity. A Kenyan upon upon relocating back from living many years in Europe may be accused of being "westernized" on assumption that they have assimilated a new culture.

2.3 Ethos

As defined above, and for the sake of this particular thesis, ethos are the guiding beliefs that build up the character of individuals/groups. These particular guiding beliefs is what defines the culture in a particular society. By observation, they define how people in a society act in reference to the guiding beliefs. It is therefore in this sub-topic that these will be discussed in order to understand how different ethos affect how people define their own culture.

2.3.1   Hierarchialism and Egalitarianism

Hierarchy is an ethos best described by its "superior/inferior" relationship amongst people in a community (Lingenfelter, 2000, Loc. 903). The structure is whereby the inferior looks up to the superior for day to day issues and it is for the superior to give guidance whenever this is demanded.

Hierarchy is a product of the idealism worldview. For example, for idealists, wisdom comes with age and it is assumed that a younger person should obey their elders and seek guidance from them. This does not take into account the interests of the elder person in the guiding process, they are all wise and should be respected.

In a more traditional cultural setting, this is the ideal ethos whereby elders are more privileged than the younger populace in the community. The structure is adopted from the family setting to the public setting, where there is always a superior who gets things done and has full control over others under them.

Egalitarianism, on the other hand, is an ethos whereby "team play" is at the heart of its structure (Lingenfelter, 2008, Loc.938). This means that every member in a particular setting is equal and has a right to view their own opinions. There can be a leader and their role is to facilitate and oversee that all members are included and that they practice their right.

Knight, in his book, argues that egalitarianism should include equality to all, responsibility to all, and justice to all (2009). Not only does egalitarianism sensitize on equality, but that all have a responsibility to carry out their duties and all are liable to fair justice no matter what their rank is.

In a family level, this would entail that everyone member of the family is equal, may it be the parents or the children. The parents make decisions based on equal considerations and are responsible for the children. The children have an equal say to decision making, have their right in giving their opinions, but, they also have responsibility to do their tasks accordingly.

This ethos shows the practicality of equality, responsibility, and justice. It may however have its weaknesses. For example, even if everyone has a right to view their opinions, at the end of the day only one opinion will be considered. This may most likely be an opinion that suits the

majority. It would be, almost impossible, to included the wants of everyone and compress them to one solution. The majority here, will have the upper-hand.

Another issue comes in the practicality of egalitarianism. For example, in the event of racism, is egalitarianism practical to all races or to a particular race? This means that egalitarianism may somehow be relative to a certain group, therefore excluding some in the same community.

2.3.2   Individualism and Group-oriented

Juergensmeyer describes individualism as the autonomy of individuals and the "liberal attitude toward any expression of an individuals taste, feelings, or desires" (2008, pp. 237-237). This means that individuals will act and think independently from outside factors like religion, culture, or membership of a group.

Individualism is self centered and promotes privacy of the individual as well as autonomy. The individual here has a right to do as they wish as long as they don't break the law. No one is entitled to judge one's actions as long as they abide to the law of the land. It basically promotes the old saying "mind your own business".

Individualism has the danger of promoting egoism. Egoism is a concept that specifies that the individual's self interest comes first and above all other interests (Rae, 2009, pp. 70-71). Any action taken by an individual will be a means to fulfilling their own interests.

The problem with individualism, and egoism, is that there is an assumption that "a man is an island". That is, an individual can do without relating with others. This is not practical since one will always find themselves relating to others voluntarily or by reflex. If this is so, one has to develop tolerance and compassion towards the other.

On the other side of individualism is the group-oriented ethos. Just as the word group-oriented suggests, this is where individuals are identify themselves with particular groups and share the values and morals associated with the group. The groups become their source of identity and hence abide to all that the group stands for. This, though, is just but an idealistic view towards group-oriented ethos.

When, for example, there is a discourse on ethnic groups, it is well agreed that there are weak and strong ethnic groups (Verkuyten, 2014). Strong ethnic groups will have strong relationships and will tend to bind members to the group resulting to strong commitment to the group (Verkuyten, 2014). Members from strong ethnic groups will hence tend to be rigid to integrating with other cultures (Gilbert, 2010, p.61) and will always work towards asserting their cultural identity.

The main problem with group-oriented ethos is that one is hindered in exploring beyond the boundary of the group. Members will never know or understand why others act as they do and may create a "dome" that segregates them from the relative others. This may be so especially for strong ethnic groups who find themselves in another cultural setting than their own. For members who take the risk of exploring, run the risk of being excommunicated from the group. Such members find themselves finding new identities since being in a group, for them, creates a sense of security (Gilbert, 2010, p.71).

2.3.3   Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism can be described as "...the greatest good for the greatest number, the morality that underlay it must attend not to good will and duty, but to what all human beings desire, which broadly stated is pleasure and not pain" (McClendon, 2012, p.72).

At the heart of utilitarianism is to make the majority satisfied, by not limiting the satisfaction to morality, but to gratification. This is a product of an idealistic worldview where gratification is an assumption.

Hiebert, on the other hand, would challenge this statement since he considers morality to have been placed in the private sphere replaced by values in the public sphere (2011, loc.4113). The challenge becomes relevant since utilitarianism considers the greatest number, and not an individual.

It still becomes problematic, weather one uses the words morality or values, since both seem quite relative in terms of gratification and to whom it is applicable. For example, if a country declares itself as a secular state, the assumption is that all its citizen will be satisfied. The assumption that any religious matter will be excluded for the private sphere, is just hypocritical to the facts. Secularization ensures that religious matters do not affect decisions

made in the public sphere, with assumption that individuals in the public sphere will not base their decision making to their respective religions.

Morals and values have their a variety of sources and religion is one of the sources (Hiebert, 2011). This means that no matter how decisions are made, they will at one point or the other be based on religious values and morals, consciously or otherwise. This will provoke conflict not only between the secular and the religious, but even between the religious themselves who also differ in their definition of values and morality.

2.4 Cultural Identity

Cultural identity can be defined as "an individual's identity in its cultural aspects..." (Gilbert, 2010, p.2). This means that cultural identity is the empirical identification of an individual to a particular culture, therefore, this culture defines who they are in accordance to others in the society. The main intention for cultural identity is differentiation, that is, identifying oneself from the "others" (Hall & Gay, 1996, p.94).

Cultural identity becomes crucial in a multicultural setting. It has its role to individuals in the identification process within society and gives individuals a sense of belonging (Burke & Stets, 2009, p.10). It can be distressful for someone who cannot identify themselves culturally in a society where different cultures live side by side. This is so since this is a common question for people living outside their native environs.

Cultural identity, however, varies in its salience. Identity can vary from affiliation to label (Gilbert, 2010, pp. 82-92). Identification by affiliation is whereby individuals are identify themselves intensely to a group and its corresponding cultures. In terms of culture, these are individuals who will be identified at a glance to a particular culture due to their clothing, use of native language, practice of their religion even in public spaces, and have well defined values/morals that are significant in their daily lives. Groups of such intense cultural identity will also tend to segregate themselves from the common society in order to intensify relationships between them and to publicize themselves in an attempt to secure their identity.

On the other hand, identity by label is whereby identity is of particular importance and when that instance passes by, another identity takes over to assume position relevant to another instance. A good example is whereby Kenyan is awarded citizenship in Norway. They may

say they are Kenyan Norwegians while in the presence of Norwegians, and Kenyans while in the presence of their fellow Kenyans. This is because there is a discourse of interest in both instances.

The two extreme identities described above will again depend on if their primordial cultures are well defined in that there is room for flexibility (Gilbert, 2010, p.61). For example, if there is a risk of an individual to be excommunicated from a group, one may not be flexible to change. As mentioned above, well defined cultures are rigid and have undergone very little change from their "cultural codes" (Vermeulen and D'haen, 2006, p58), that is, their original existence. Most cultures have experienced a substantial amount of change with time since individuals are agents of culture and not vice versa (Gay, 1996).

This means that most immigrants may find themselves in an ambivalence on their cultural identity. They may have to diversely identify themselves culturally. A Kenyan may be obliged to identify themselves as Kenyan, Kenyan Norwegian, or even as an African. At the heart of the matter is to identify themselves culturally. They will try to associate themselves to cultures of the various groups where applicable in any particular instance.

2.5 Identity change Theory

As mentioned above, identity regards the individual and others in a larger setting. It also involves a self evaluation and some questions may arise such as "who am I, where do I belong, what is important for me, how am I perceived and valued, how do we differ from them" (Verkuyten, 2014, p.13). It is as a result of these questions that one identifies themselves with others. This, though, is not a simple process especially for immigrants who find themselves in a not so usual environment. Identity change becomes a challenge especially based with their cultural assumptions, and change and/or adjustments need to be made at some point of socializing with the new environment. This theory suggests four sources of identity.

One is changes in "situational meaning" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p.175). For the sake of this thesis, this can be expounded as the changes of the evironment and how the new environment functions. When one comes into contact with a new environment, they find that their ways of living are sometimes challenged with the new environment. For example, when an individual

comes from a group-oriented society to an individualistic society, their is bound to be conflict in the way people relate to each other. People from an individualistic society will tend to keep their business to themselves which is quite different from the group-oriented society where they are more social.

Most of the interviewees had a common answer when it came to the issue of socializing system in Norway. They all agreed that Norwegians are not very social people and that this has made them become antisocial too. As years pass by, they realise that they have withdrawn more from socializing. They claimed that they did not have as much friends as they did back in Kenya and that they have also lost much contact from friends and family back in Kenya.

This has to do with adjusting to the way of life here in Norway. They have had to adjust to be more individualistic in they lives and this has affected their own ethos, conciously or otherwise.

A second source of identity change is "identity conflict" and mainly on "roles and status" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p.183). An example can be in a situation where a man from a hierarchical society, whose identity is the "head" figure, comes to an egalitarian society where gender roles are not clearly defined since it is assumed that all are equal. The man may feel stripped away his identity as a man and all the roles that accompany it. It is normal for a man in Norway to make food for the family, and even guests. This is not a norm for Kenyans since this is a job associated with the women.

In a marriage situation, the man will have to conform to the idea that his masculine identity does not count and that he has to take the different roles that associated in maintaining a home. This will involve learning new things, like changing a wet diaper, in order to help his wife at home with the daily household chores. One of the findings in the interviews was that men who come from hierarchical societies, where masculinity is the top level, find it quite demanding to adjust to an egalitarian society. They are obligated to adjust in order to maintain their families and avoid any possible dissolution.

The third source of identity change is "behavioral conflict" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p.184). One Kenyan christian lady said that she has changed from being a conservative christian to a more liberal christian. Reason being that she would not have entered a pub or any place where they sold alcoholic beverages while she was in Kenya. All this changed when she came to Norway

and she had to follow her fellow Christians to pubs for social meetings. She admitted that she still holds on her ethos of not partaking alcohol, but she has been a frequent visitor of the pubs.

Behavioral change has brought about the terms like westernization, where people outside the west accuse their fellow countrymen of change in behaviors, which match the assumed "western" behavior. The socializing conditions may lead someone to change their own identity ethos in order for them to integrate and socialize with the hosts.

The fourth source of identity change is the presence of company (Burke & Stets, 2009, p.185). There is always the adjustments of actions in the presence of others in order to be more accommodating and, maybe, to avoid unnecessary conflicts. In a situation where there is a discussion on how a fellow worker got healed of their brain tumor, a Christian idealist would prefer to call it a miracle while a humanist realist would either term it as luck or base the healing to the proficiency of the doctors.

In such a situation, if the Christian idealist is the minority in the group, they may be forced not to air out their opinions. They may opt to go for the proficiency of the doctors in order to be on the same level of understanding with the group. This though is bound to change if this same topic is to be discussed at a later time with a fellow Christian, where they may discuss on the healing based on "God's healing hand". In short, this type of identity change may not be permanent by its nature. It is one that is used to avoid unnecessary conflicts between two or more people.

It would do justice, then, to mention that identities are applicable where necessary. It demands skills on how one can maneuver between the different identities and how this eventually affects their primary identity. Those who cannot change or rather adjust their identities in accordance to their environs, will tend to withdraw from the general society, and will normally give the impression of being immutable.

Summary

This chapter has discussed some of the theories and concepts that evolve around the ethos and worldviews of individuals. The discourses in this chapter have attempted to integrate these concepts into the concept of culture and identity.

It has been seen that these concepts affect how individuals define their cultural identity and that they have consequences when the environment changes. This is to say that culture and identity has something to do with the environment, and that change is always a pressure element in the event of integration. As the findings will account, these issues have challenged the cultural identity of the participants of this study and has redefined them over their stay in Oslo, Norway.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This chapter will discuss on the variuos issues on how the research was carried out. These are the issues that were considered in analysing, designing, developing, and evaluating of the research as a whole. The importance of the methodology chapter is to give credibility to the workmanship involved in carrying out the research.

3.1 Research Question/ Research purpose

The main question to the research was what are the challenges involved in defining cultural identity for Kenyans living in Oslo, Norway. This is in order to understand what are the cultural transformations, if any, that have occurred since they came to a foreign land with different cultural perspectives than their own. In the case where there is no transformation, why then is there a preservation of the "primordial" culture and how this is maintained, giving considerations to the new environment.

3.2 Research Strategy

This study preferably used the qualitative over the quantitative research strategy. Qualitative research strategy may be described as a strategy that seeks to find meanings that cannot be measured in terms of "quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p.14). In qualitative research strategy, "words" are the focus in collection and analyzing of data (Bryman, 2012, p.36) in contrast to using "numbers" or variable which is related to quantitative strategy (Bryman, 2012, p.335).

The nature of this study, being of a social science nature, was to study people, their characters, their environment, and how they interpret meanings around them. This meant that a study group needed to be selected and interviews needed to be done in order to get the

preferred data for analysis. Two considerations also needed to be heeded, that is, the epistemological and the ontological.

While considering the epistemological issues, the study preferred to take the interpretivist position. Interpretivism can be defined as the acknowledgment of the fact that people and their environs are different from the studies made from natural sciences (Bryman, 2012, p.28). The principle here is that human beings are "guided by abstract principles" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p.31), and this particular view encourages that the researcher has to integrate themselves into a social setting to be able to grasp an understanding from the "eye" of the inhabitant of the particular social setting.

As the researcher for this study, I conducted a series of interviews from a selected number of Kenyan immigrants, and also submerged into the Kenyan community, in order to make observations on non-verbal data that was relevant to the study. This was crucial in collecting of data in that I was able to block my assumptions and actually get raw data from a different perspective. As a Kenyan immigrant, there was the inherent problem of assuming that all Kenyans face the same challenges that I face, and it was of particular importance for me to deal with this issue by actually meeting Kenyans to maintain a subjective inquiry.

On matters to do with the ontological issues, the study opted to take a constructivist position over the objectivist position. Constructivism implies that "social phenomena and their meanings are continuously being accomplished by social actors" and for that matter "they are in constant state of revision" (Bryman, 2012, p.33). Taking the constructivist position was crucial in achieving the desired data for two reasons. One reason was that this study was focused on an immigrant group. Kenyans immigrants have migrated to a foreign land where they find themselves in a different cultural and social setting. It was of importance to find out how this change has affected them and re-defined their cultural identity, if any changes have taken place.

The second importance in taking this position was to have an open mind in conducting the research. This means that, I as the researcher, wanted to find new sequels from my data collection. To achieve this, I had to understand that my research was studying changes that have occurred to the Kenyan immigrant and that this may vary from person to person because of reasons that needed to be found out. This position was led by the fact mentioned above, the social world is in constant change to the social actors through interaction.

These two epistemological and ontological positions helped the study retain the basic principles for qualitative research strategy, that is, findings and/or observations results in construction of theories (Bryman, 2012, p.26). It is due to the fact that the humans are complex beings and need an interpretivist position to study them and a constructivist position to study the relationship between them and their social setting that guided the study in maintaining the principles of a qualitative research strategy.

3.3 Research Design

A research design is a "framework for the collection and analysis of data" in a study research (Bryman, 2012, p.46). The design helps in creating the structure within which the research study will be conducted and hence defines the boundaries within which on can work within. For this study, the case study design was opted. A case study design is where a case(s) are selected for study in order to understand the "why" or "how" question of the study (Yin, 2014).

The study for this thesis was to understand the challenges faced by Kenyan immigrants to Oslo, Norway in defining their cultural identity. The study seeks to understand if there is a re-defining of cultural identity from there native land, and if so, how this happened and why.

Yin also mentions that case studies are used when the relationship between the study item and its context are not clearly defined (2003). In this particular case, the item under study is the process of re-defining cultural identity in a situation where one relocates from their native land. This means that the research was based on first studying the primordial cultural identity of the immigrants and checking if there has been any change to it since they immigrated to their new environment.

The study used a single case explanatory study case design. The explanatory study case design seeks to address "how and why events occurred" (Yin, 2003, p.69). That is, as explained above, why there came about change in cultural identity and how this apparently happened. All these are analyzed by asking the question, "what are the challenges faced in defining cultural identity for the Kenyan immigrants in Norway".

Due to limited resources allocated to the research, this particular case study chose its location to be Oslo and the case study to be cultural identity. In order to have more and clear parameters, participants had to have lived in Norway three or more years. Participants were also solely Kenyans and their total number was twelve. Of the twelve participants, there were three couples. The participants came from different locations and this was divided in two, that is, those that came from the urban and/or the rural areas.

These parameters were intentionally sett in order to fully understand the diversity of their primordial cultures and to investigate how the complexity of their evolution took place when they relocated to Norway.

3.4 Research Method

A research method is the technique used in data collection (Bryman, 2012). For this particular study, a qualitative semi-structured interview method was opted. As the name suggests, this type of research method is less structures compared to the structured interview method which is mostly used in quantitative research approach (Bryman, 2012).

The nature of this research method is what prompted in it being a favorable technique for collecting data for this study due to several reasons. First reason was that it was crucial to get as much data as possible from the interviewee in order to minimize leaving out any unforeseen information. This needed a technique that is flexible and gives the much attention to the interviewee than to the assumptions from me as an interviewer (Bryman, 2012).

Second reason was that it was by purpose to make the interviewee become part and parcel of the study. This means that I intentionally wanted the interviewee to be active in the research and to accomplish this I decided to have a discursive kind of interviewing to allow "diversity" in the responses from the interviewee (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p.181).

Lastly, but not least, the interview was guided by an interview guide, but it was not bound to follow the guide to the book. There was room for allowing new discoveries that came up during the different interviews as long as they were within the scope of the study.

In preparation for the interviews, several issues had to be considered before the actual interview process. First, there was the preparation of the interview guide, which was printed out to be used as a guiding tool for the interview to avoid swaying out of context (Brinkmann

& Kvale, 2015). Secondly, there was the selecting of participants to be interviewed. As mentioned earlier, the interviewees had to have leaved in Norway more than three years, there was a balanced number of gender representation, they came from both rural and urban locations in Kenya, and they represented different tribes in Kenya.

All respondents were contacted well before time and they were informed what the interview was all about. The interviews were conducted in different locations according to the comfortability of the respondents, as long as it was a quite place since there was recording that took place.

In the event of the actual interviewing, a teacher model of the interviewee was active, whereby both the interviewer and the interviewee "raise questions and explore issue" together in an attempt to answer the questions at hand (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p.113). I, as the interviewer, approached the interview as a student who is curious to learn from the the interviewee (teacher). The interviews, as mentioned earlier, had a discursive nature where questions were asked and gave room for exploring all the possible responses to the question.

Scripting of the interview was done by recording. This was helpful in saving a lot of time in the otherwise manual scripting that can be used. For this issue, it was guaranteed to the respondents that the recording was only intended for the sole purpose of scripting and no one else but me would have access to the recordings.

Another major issue that was considered during the interview was the observation physical and psychological language. An interview is a communication of the "embodied" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p.115). This means that it is important to check the body language and emotions of both the interviewer and interviewee. It was important for me to be mentally prepared before the interview and to also check my body language during the interviews. On the other hand, it was likewise important to check the interviewee's emotions and body language in order to understand how they felt emotionally during the interview and how comfortable they were during the interview.

Apart from this, it was my intention to check for symbolic attributes crucial to the study. For example the dressing, and the home setting for those who I interviewed within the premises of their homes. These were important in collecting data related to symbolic attributes of culture.

3.5 Data Analysis

The preferred method of data analysis was the grounded theory. This is a method whereby theory is constructed from the data collected (Silverman, 2011).

The first stage was to transcribe data from the recorder to hard copies. This was followed by generating of codes from the transcribed data. Coding is a method in grounded theory whereby provisional codes are picked out from the data which will later help in generation of concepts or theories (Silverman, 2011). This was done through memo-writing whereby these codes were written separately in for comparison in latter stages of validation (Silverman, 2011).

In the case of this particular study, some of the codes that were salient were symbols, language, values, norms, religion, gender roles, and racism. These were crucial in the process of linking the data, concepts, and theories in an attempt to make sure no new data emerges. This is the concept known as theoretical saturation (Silverman, 2011).

For example, one concept that emerged from the data collected was that nationalism is not concept that is of any significance for Kenyan immigrants who have lived here for more than five years. This does not reflect the situation back in Kenya. There is a sense of nationality identity for most Kenyans and this is spearheaded by the president who will always be seen wearing a bracelet with the Kenyan flag as its decoration. By observance, the more recent immigrants have the same nationality identity and this is significant in their attires or/and ornaments.

This concept generated from the symbols code. It was a frequent issue that came up during the interviews on the issue of identity .This came up as a result of the question of public identity as Kenyans. Most Kenyans, from this particular sample, take no significance in identifying themselves as Kenyans if it is not necessary.

So, theoretical saturation, comparisons and were made from the raw data collected from the interviewee, the coding (for example symbols), and concepts (for example nationalism). This was in an attempt to come up with concepts and theories from the data other than from existing concepts like nationalism is part of identity (Paul, 2010).

3.6 Ethical and Moral Considerations

In qualitative research, it is crucial to consider both the ethical and moral issues of the research. The moral pertains " the means as well as the ends" of inquiry (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p.83), while the ethical pertains the virtuousness of the study (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The whole idea is not to differentiate between the two but to, simultaneously, work with both of them throughout a research study process.

For this research, and on the part of the interviewee, there was the usage of informed consent (Silverman, 2011). First of all the participants had to give consent to participate to the various interviews conducted. They were also briefed on what the study was all about and what it attempted to achieve. They were informed that this study had the aim of understanding the challenges that immigrants face in defining their cultural identity and what are the consequences of the same.

The participants were also briefed on the process of interviewing. They were informed in advance that participating in the interviews was by free-will and that one had the right to withdraw if they felt they changed their mind. I also made it clear that probing questions may be asked to clarify issues that I would find not clear, but they had the right to not answer questions that they were uncomfortable to answer. On the other hand, participants were asked to ask questions for clarity too, in order to give appropriate answers.

The issue of confidentiality was also taken into consideration. There was a general agreement amongst the interviewees to use anonymous names in documenting of the findings. This served two major reasons. The first reason was to enable them to be as honest as possible in answering to the research questions. The second was to maintain privacy and anonymity of the participants.

The participants had the right to choose the location and time for the interviews. Considerations that were taken into place was that the locations had to be interruption free from unconcerned parties and noise due to the recordings. Time schedule had to be agreed upon based on their availability within my own working schedule. They were also made aware of the recordings that would take place and had to give consent.

On the part of the study itself, I had to make sure that the study was not going to damage the image of the case subjects as a whole, that is, Kenyans. The findings documented had to be in

an informative and educative nature. It was crucial for me to realize that I had taken an initiative in interfering with the "private" and taken it to the "public" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p.85). I took the obligation to be both ethical and moral in the whole process. To accomplish this, I did a process consent (Silverman, 2011) by giving two of the interviewees a copy of the thesis to read through before it was handed over to my supervisor and school. The purpose for this undertaking was to get feed back on whether the thesis had obtained its objectives and to also verify that it had not breached the informed consent agreement.

3.7 Challenges and Limitations

The research process did stumble on a few challenges and also had its limitations. One challenge was that it proved difficult to get hold of participants in an environment where everyone is has a busy schedule. This particularly was a problem due to interview location and time schedule. My time and participants' time would, more likely than not, collide. This problem was solved by giving notifying participants on the interviews well in advance.

Each interview session lasted between 45 minutes to 1 hour. It was a challenge to make sure that the interview achieved all its goals within this time schedule, keeping in mind that the participants were also on a tight personal schedule. In order to avoid time wasting, I stuck to the subject at hand and would avoid being sidetracked. Maintaining a subjective interview session was also helpful especially since some of the participants were known to me and there was a danger of being distracted at this point.

Being a Kenyan immigrant to Norway, there was also the risk of doing a presumptuous and objective research. This would have limited the research to my own presumptions and not to what actually the participants had to provide in the interviews. Adopting to an inductive qualitative research model (Bryman, 2012) was core to solving this problem. My findings had to be strictly based on the information gathered from the participants.

On the part of limitations, one major issue that was apparent was the number of participants. This study interviewed twelve participants in total. This was due to the preconditions of time schedule and the total scale of the thesis.

Another limitation was the background of the participants. There was diversity in the ethnic background of the participants but it was not exhaustive given the actual number of ethnic

groups in Kenya. There was also the issue of religious background, which was crucial to thr study. Out of the twelve participants, ten of them had a Christian background and two came from the Islamic community in Kenya. It proved difficult to get a hold of participants from different religious background and the study had to work with those who were available given the limited duration.

This study was conducted mainly in Oslo. All participants live within the localities of Oslo county. Oslo, by its setting, is a multicultural. Participants' information was based on this locality and limited to it. Due to limited resources, the study focused on Oslo unlike stretching out to localities that the native culture is more dominant than Oslo.

Summary

The methodology chapter has dealt with the systematic and technical issues considered in undertaking this study. These issues helped in designing, operating, executing the different stages of the research process. This was to ensure that the study has a frame work that can account for the different processes and also to ensure that the study focused on its intention while holding to high ethical standards.

4.0 FINDINGS

This chapter will document the results of the different interviews that were undertaken. These results were outstanding in relation to the study research. The selection of the results was strictly based on relevancy to the study and some details that were important, yet not relevant, had to be left out. The discussion chapter will then have a discourse on these results in detail in order to find out how applicable they are in general. It is also important to note that the names that were documented on this thesis are anonymous, something that was agreed upon with the participants.

4.1 Participants' Background

During the interviews, it was found necessary to inquire of each participant's background in order to understand how many years they have been in Norway, there place of origin in Kenya, their marital status, and so on. All this information was helpful in clustering the participants in order to check variables and constants which would eventually result in substantial findings.

The first cluster was the number of years the participants have lived in Norway. This was crucial in checking the changes in culture and identity change over the years. For this particular study, the years varied from four years to twenty seven years.

The second cluster was based on the place of origin of the participants, that is, where they came from and where they have been brought up in Kenya. The reason behind this is that people who have been brought up in rural setting differ from people who have been brought up in an urban setting. For example, a person who has been brought up in the rural area will have interacted more with people from their own ethnic group. This is because the rural areas in Kenya are notably distinguished to specific ethnic groups. On the other hand, urban areas are more multi-ethnic in their nature due to the rural-urban migration caused by economic unbalance.

The third cluster was based on current marital status. This was crucial in analyzing gender roles and family settings of the participants. In Kenya, most family settings are traditional in the sense that men and women are attributed to different roles. The degree to which this is applied varies from the ethnic groups and localities.

These clusters were examined against other significant issues that emerged from the interviews in order to give a critical analysis.

4.2 Moral Values

Moral values are crucial to understanding the actions of individuals. They are what compel human beings into acting as they do. It was, then, of significance to find out what are the values held by the participants in order to analyze challenges faced in maintaining them.

It was basically found out that most the participants regard themselves as religious and this was also the main source of their values. It was also noted that traditional ethical values played a role especially when it was based on the general upbringing by their parents. The traditional ethical values, though, were not as salient as the religious values did.

Naomi replied to the question of moral values by saying "...my religious beliefs are the main source of my day to day moral values. This does not mean that I disregard my traditional

beliefs. For example, the way I associate to married men basically reflects my traditional beliefs in that my ethnic group does not allow me to have a close relationship with a married man".

Fatuma also replied by saying, "as a Muslim, it is very difficult for me to distinguish the difference between religious values from ethnic belief values. For me, and probably most Muslims, religion is the source of my moral values. I was brought up to follow my religion and that my actions and the way I lead my life should be purely based on my religion".

Frank, though, had another view on his source of moral values, "with time, I regard myself liberal. This means that the sources of my values are diverse by nature. For example, my family values come from my ethnic background." He continued to mention that every situation in his life would trigger a different action which signified the different sources of his values. He would not regard religious values are more salient in his life.

The above responses reflect, a more or less, response from all the participants in general. It was quite difficult to get some practical examples where one's values were challenged and, therefore, I decided to ask a "test" question in order to get a deeper understanding of what was their source of their values. Every participant was asked to give their opinion on homosexuality in accordance to their present values, comparing them to their opinions before immigrating to Norway. The following were some of the responses that I collected.

Dennis said that "I try to separate the act of homosexuals from them being human beings like any other person. I relate with homosexuals as human beings but will stand for the act as a sin". He then continued to narrate that this was not his stand while he was still in Kenya. He narrated that, while he was in Kenya, he would not want to be associated to a homosexual. It was down right for him that homosexuals were not to be allowed to view their opinion and were also not allowed to practice homosexuality.

Patricia also narrated that "I don't want to judge and being gay is a choice and I respect other people's choice". She, however, narrated that this was not her stand while in Kenya.

It was, though, interesting to hear Mahad's opinion, where he said, "my religion has zero tolerance on homosexuality. It even feels like a taboo to discuss about it. The minute a realize someone is gay, that immediately breaks down my association with them. This, though, would

not be reflective in my social life since my boss is gay and I have to have that professional relationship at work. I would never interact with my boss outside the work environment though".

Naomi, even though had the same opinion as Patricia and Dennis above, she was worried on how she would actually react if a family member "came out of the closet". She said that "even though a more liberal stand on homosexuality, I don't know how I would react if it actually happened in my family".

It would seem like most of the participants had a more liberal opinion on homosexuality but this was as long as it did not affect them personally.

Fatuma preferred to give her opinion on homosexuality by an example. She narrated that "I had never met a homosexual ever in my life before I came to Norway. One of my very first friends was a Polish girl who we met in a Norwegian language class. We became friends for approximately one year but this came to an end when I discovered she was a lesbian. It's like she became a total stranger to me. I would not let my family know that I had a lesbian friend. This unfortunately is my stand until today. I would not have a relationship with a homosexual, unless it's purely professional, since the society here has given them their rights.

It was very clear that the Norwegian society has "softened" the primordial moral values of the participants. They have become more liberal and hence more tolerant in how they apply their values in a day to day situation. Even if both Mahad and Fatuma seemed to have a more conservative stand on homosexuality, they still narrated that they cared less if one was a homosexual, "it is their choice" was their common response. For them, they respected this choice, as long as they would not have a close relationship with them.

4.3 Societal Norms

One issue that came up repeatedly on the issue of norms was time. It was found out that Kenyans have a totally different concept of time compared to the Norwegians.

Jack said "Kenyans have no sense of time especially when it comes to social appointments. When you have an appointment with a friend, they can come as late as one hour late".

Andy mentioned that "...the only thing that is forbidden when having a date with a friend is not to turn up at all, that is rude".

It was also found out that Kenyans don't keep time on informal appointments but are punctual in formal appointments. As Andy, and others mentioned, being late on formal appointments shows one's luck of commitment. Jack also mentioned that "I would not be late in my school days because it meant that I would be punished for it and at work, it may cost you your job considering how many people are out there applying for the same job. One cannot afford to lose a position, may it be as a student or employee, since the competition is high".

The issue of time may then assume putting relationships first and activities second. It means that one would try to understand their friends and their excuses in order to maintain their relationships. Unlike in Kenya, Norwegians are seen as punctual in all occasions and this can be difficult for a Kenyan who is in the habit of not keeping time especially on informal appointments.

Still on the issue of time, Patricia lamented that "...it feels like there is no time here in Norway. I even have to book an appointment when I want to meet a friend, people are so busy with their careers, education, and immediate families". She was lamenting on the aspect that time is of essence here in Norway than it is in Kenya. This reflected the individualistic life style in Oslo, Norway.

Another issue on norms that came up frequently was that of relationships that was mentioned above by Patricia. "Visiting friends is not a norm here, especially if you do not have an appointment. I used to pop in and out to my friends back in Kenya and they would do the same with me, which was quite normal" said Naomi. She continued to say that the biggest percentage of her life is when she spends time alone. She described her daily schedule revolving around school, work, and home. This has resulted in her losing contact with friends both here in Norway and in Kenya. "I remember I used to call my friends quite frequently when I came to Norway, but as time passed by, this reduced and I rarely call them any more.

One issue that was raised also by Larry was "Here in Norway, everybody minds their own business. I come from a community whereby you know almost everything about your neighbor".

In all these comments noted by the participants, it emerged that they all came from communities that are group-oriented and they view Norway as more of an individualistic society. They have adapted to this and experienced some consequences. Their social lives have changed in that they concentrate more on their own personal goals and activities rather than relationships.

Fatuma laments on the consequences of individualistic life style by saying "As a single mother, my career, my child and our welfare comes first. I rarely call home to find out how people are doing and this has made me not to miss going back there. Whenever I call my parents, they are always saying to me that I have let go off my family. I used to ask the welfare of everybody and now, I rarely ask how they are doing. I don't like what I have turned out to be, but this is who I have turned out to be, more individualistic in my way of thinking".

Loise also mentions something to do with the family by saying "Families in Kenya stay together. This includes the extended family and it is a challenge to maintain this idea here in Norway". She mentioned this while trying to describe the challenges that she has experienced and changes that have evolved since she came to Norway. She said that she perceives herself to have moved from the group-oriented thinking to a more individualistic thinking. The most important for her at the moment is the most immediate family and that this is something that she struggles with constantly since family is still crucial to her.

Patricia quoted that "when you go to the Romans, do as the Romans do. The Norwegians are accustomed to the individualistic life style, so as immigrants, one has to adopt to the new life style. It can be traumatic and depressing not having people around you, as it is the norm back at home, but one gets used to it". It became clear that Kenyan immigrants have become less connected to each other and being individualistic meant that life revolves around themselves and this includes their decision making and how they lead their lives.

4.4 Symbolism and Identity

By observance, Kenyans have began to wear ornaments and clothing with either the national flag as the emblem. This though, is a recent development, which is worth being researched on. For example, the president is well known to wear hand bands with the Kenyan flag decoration, and the vice-president is also known for his all too famous hat with the Kenyan

flag too. I was interested in finding out if Kenyan immigrants in Norway find the need to identify themselves as Kenyans.

"Kenyans have no strong symbolic identity" said Dennis. This was a common comment from most of the participants. They argued that Kenyans can hardly be identified by any symbolic identity. It so happened that the participants compared themselves with the West Africans who are well known for their "dashikis", which is a more traditional attire in West Africa.

Lydia also added to this by saying "it is not important for me to identify myself by my nationality". She argued that it does not, in any way, help for other people to know that she is a Kenyan.

Mahad, on the other hand said "I am always being mistaken to be a Somali. My parents are of the Somali descends but I regard myself Kenyan since I was born and raised in Kenya. I have never been in Somali and therefore have no connections with Somali. For me, I always have something on me to identify myself as a Kenyan, and for that matter, am a proud Kenyan".

Jack, amongst the participants, has been in Norway the least years. He commented that "back at home, it has become a norm to see someone with a hand band or any other ornament with the national flag as the emblem. People wear this even in the offices, something that was not so common ten years ago. When I came to Kenya, I took with me ornaments and clothing with the Kenyan flag so that I could be able to identify myself as a proud Kenyan. Today, I only wear the hand band. Kenyans here in Norway don't seem to be interested in identifying themselves, something that I have adopted unconsciously".

The above comments reflect the general attitude from all the participants. Three issues came up regarding symbolism. One is that some Kenyans are not very proud of the current situation in Kenya. These issues reflected the political and/or social issues in the country. They felt like they had no motivation to publicly identify themselves as Kenyans. Another issue is that their goals are more important than their identity. They saw themselves as any other human being trying to make ends meet and hence identity issues were secondary to their purpose. The third issue was that their "black race" gave others the idea that they come from Africa and identifying themselves as Kenyans was not so important since they are treated wholesomely as "blacks" or "Africans".

It was at the last issue about race that the issue of racism and/or discrimination came about. All the participants agreed that racism and discrimination in Norway was not that salient but its something that exists. Of the twelve participants, seven lamented that they experienced more discrimination/racism from non-natives. All the participants also felt that the "black" race was taken for granted with the assumptions connected to the African continent. So, the main question was how they reacted to racism/discrimination and what were the effects involved to the same.

Loise said that "I would never let anyone discriminate me knowing very well that they are just human as I am. I came to this country and have worked hard to be where I am. Most of those who tend to discriminate have nothing to show of their "superiority".

Naomi on the other hand prefers to deal with matter of discrimination "subjectively rather than objectively". She commented that some people react with the assumption that they are being undermined while not taking into consideration "what is really happening in a particular situation"

Frank also commented by saying that "I rarely react, am very passive, as long as it does not harm me it doesn't bother me". He says that if he was to react, he would react everyday and this would affect him emotionally and prefers to assume and go on.

Two major findings were made in connection to the issue of reacting amongst the participants. One is that those who have been raised up in an urban setting were noticed have a high level of reaction to discrimination/racism unlike their counterparts who have been raised in a rural setting. Another issue affecting the level of reaction to this issue are religious and traditional cultural beliefs. Those that hold a strong religious belief of being "peaceful" would react less. As mentioned by some of the participants, in a case of conflict, some ethnic cultural beliefs dictate that proper channels should be used to solve any conflict. This may be by contacting the elders who have the power to dissolve conflicts. For those who hold a strong belief on this kind of problem solving, they will tend to react less and maybe contact someone who can intervene in case of conflicts.

As mentioned above that those from the urban setting would tend to react more than those from the rural setting, is all connected to latter where the religious and cultural beliefs are salient. For example, in the urban areas, there is a mixture of religious and ethnic groups. People will have to loosen their beliefs in order to associate well with the others. Another issue is that there are limited resources in the urban setting and one has to be more aggressive to be able to achieve their goals. For the rural setting, there is a concentration of a particular ethnic group and also religious group. People tend to be more relaxed there and even more passive to conflict since there are clear guidelines on how to solve conflict in the existing communities.

Nonetheless, racism and discrimination has resulted in weakening the integrating process. For example Loise, who has been in Norway for more than twenty years, said that she has a couple of Norwegian friends but the way they relate to each other is not the way she would relate to a Kenyan friend. The reason behind this is, as she says, "I tend to act more like them and less like my true self". Frank, who has been here in Norway for more than ten years, said "I would refer calling my Norwegian friends acquaintances since our friendship is based on something else other than our relationship". By this he meant that he has made friends from his work place and other functions that have to do with his work.

4.5 Language

"Language is a vehicle of a people's culture which carries that people's values" (Le and Le, 2011. p.57). It was this idea, that language is part of culture, that prompted the inclusion on the subject in this particular study. First and fore most, it is important to remember that most Kenyans can speak at least two languages, and this number of languages spoken went up to at least four for the participants of this study. It is also important to keep in mind that if a language is part of a people's culture, it then means that it defines how these people think, their values, and their worldviews.

All the participants have undergone the process of learning Norwegian, owing to the fact that they came to Norway with the intention of working and advance their education. These very motives are what prompted them in learning the native's language. This, though, has had its challenges and this also owes to the fact that they had their own language upon arrival, hence a different culture all together. All the participants lamented on the difficulty of learning a new language as an adult since they already possess values and worldviews that are quite difficult to change when one is an adult.

The very first challenge they experienced, and still prevails, is the fact that they have to translate Norwegian language to their native language in order to understand the meaning. As Jack commented, "I still have to translate Norwegian to my mother tongue in order to understand the meaning. The problem is that it doesn't always give the correct meaning, and in some instances, misunderstanding have led to conflict in some conversations I have had earlier".

Yvonne has also experienced a similar situation of misunderstanding. She said, "when I was new in Norway, I once said sorry to an old woman when her handbag slipped off her hand and fell on the ground. What confused me was when she said, you don't have to be sorry its not your fault. I immediately thought that she was rude to me while I was just being nice to her. I have now learned when to say sorry and when to keep it to myself. I only say sorry when one is hurt and my sorry is directed to the pain one is experiencing and not what happened to them".

In the process of obtaining meaning, there can occur a clash in the meanings and it takes time to understand what other people mean, especially if they come from different cultures other than ours.

Another challenge that was noted was that Norwegian has corrupted the participants own language. As Fatuma explained "I have adopted a more direct way of conversing from the Norwegians. They do not go around the bush in their conversations. When a Norwegians says no, you bet they mean no. My mother has noticed this when we have conversations with her and she thinks that I have become rude and proud. For example, when she tells me of a family members who needs financial help and I feel I cannot help, I will rightly tell her that the issue is out of my hands and I cannot help. To me, this is just being frank to her,but to her it means something totally different. Someone from my ethnic group would prefer that I said I would think about the matter, even if I won't help eventually. I find it disturbing since I will be forced to help even when I feel it is burden for me. I guess I have changed".

This is a paradox for most immigrants. First, one has to struggle with understanding meaning, when this has passed they adopt the new meanings into their world and practice them as well. If one adopts an individualistic way of life, it becomes part of them and they are perceived

differently by members of their own respective groups. They struggle in balancing between their "primordial" and their "present".

One would assume that, with time, language issues become a thing of the past. As it was found out, language is a challenge that never seems to end, and one has to conform to that fact in order to appreciate it. Loise, who has lived in Norway for more than two decades, had this to say, "I still cannot express myself in Norwegian satisfactorily as I would in English. This is something that I have come to terms with and I sometimes have to excuse myself to explain something in English, just to clarify my meaning."

Due to this very fact, immigrants may struggle in clarifying themselves to the natives in the native's language and may be termed incompetent due to this very fact. This then may, unfortunately, be directed to the immigrants' culture. Mahad said, "I feel left out when I go to Norwegian parties because most of them, if not all, partake of alcohol and I don't. I have to main reasons why I don't. First of all, my religion does not encourage the drinking of alcoholic beverages, even though some of us do in it. Secondly, I like to have a drink that suites my taste, and none of the alcoholic beverages that I have tasted suite me. I find it hard to explain this in a polite way in Norwegian in that it sounds rude in my mind when I try to say it Norwegian. I then opt not to attend most of these parties".

Not only is it difficult to express one's inner most views in a foreign language and leave the audience satisfied, but it may hinder the integration process with the natives as well. As Larry summarized, "I don't feel like Norwegians understand my inner most expressions. I feel like they take for granted what I say".

4.6 Gender Identity

Gender was one of the crucial topics that became apparent in the process of this study. Gender identity, at least for Kenyans, goes beyond the basic definition of the different sexes. All of the participants reflected on their upbringing and this was a reflection point on how Kenyans define men and women.

Partricia commented that, "what my father says at home, has to be followed just because he is a man". The man is deemed to be superior and hence unquestionable.

Dennis also said that, "in my ethnic group, it is a taboo for a man to be found in the kitchen...". This defines the clear cut gender roles, especially in the family setting.

Yvonne also commented and said, " even though I rally for equality in the sense that men and women should be given equal opportunities, I still believe that keeping the woman identity is important since we do things differently and think differently". This was a comment on the pride of keeping the woman identity.

The comments above served as the base of my findings on gender identity and, when explored, they produced some of the challenges that Kenyan immigrants face in Norway. Loise commented that "women feel empowered and independent when they are in Norway". She was referring to the fact that women become emancipated from the ideology that its "its a man's world". They are motivated to go to school and build careers without the interference of the men in their lives.

Mahad, though, had something to add on to this by saying that "it is a good thing that women are empowered but some get so drunk of it that they forget where they come from and start behaving weirdly that no Kenyan man would want to be associated with them". He was giving an example of a married Kenyan couple where the woman follows her career and totally neglects her family and the man is forced to take over all the responsibilities.

Dennis also said that, "I feel less of a man now than when I was in Kenya. I always try to work together with my wife but most often find myself falling back to the old habits". He was making a comment on how difficult it is for men to adjust to the equality idea than it is for the women since it favors the women and all they have to do is take the advantage, while for men it demands some changes from them without any excuses.

Fatuma also commented that, "as a single woman, I get all the help I can get from the government. I was able to go to school and I have a career which enables me to take care of myself and my son. I rarely think that I need to have a man in the house to help me since I have learned to do most of the manly things on my own. I am, though, constantly reminded by my mother that I need a man in the house, something that is quite secondary for me due to the past experiences with men which cannot be favorable for me now". This was a comment that reflected how she has become independent and that it would be very difficult for her to have a

man, especially from her ethnic group and religion, who would appreciate the idea of equality that she has adopted.

Larry also commented on his family setting by saying that, "my wife and I still have that conservative family setting and we have adopted some of the Norwegian family setting that dictates equality. I help my wife with chaos at home but she is still the care taker in the sense that she decides what we eat, keeps order in the house and so on. I help her where she needs me to, even by preparing dinner and taking care of our daughter's needs". He was reflecting on the roles setting for his family and it was one where they get to help each other but still maintain the role of the woman as the main home care taker.

It was interesting, though, to find out that even if the Kenyan women demand for equality, they also wanted to maintain their "woman identity" especially in regards to roles and values. Naomi commented on this by saying, "I expect to remain a woman just as I expect the man to be a man". She was narrating on the importance of maintaining the identities since, as Kenyans, the pride of the identities are also defined and this is taught as early as from childhood. "It is the pride of a woman to be praised of her home and the pride of a man to be praised for his family". This indicated the role of the woman to ensure the best of the home and the man to ensure the happiness of his family.

It was found out also that if a couple comes from Kenya and they do not work out how their family setting will have to change, it would most probably than not, lead to separation and even divorces. The men are seen to play a major role here since they are the ones expected to change and conform to the demands and settings of the Norwegian society. As Jack commented, "Norway is an expensive country. My wife and I have to both work to make ends meet. We cannot afford to employ a house help like we did back in Kenya and it only makes sense if we work together for the sake of our family". This means that not only does the society demand equality but the lifestyle demands that a couple has to cooperate to make it work for them.

4.7 Religion

Religion plays a major part for most Kenyans and it seems important for them to identify themselves with a particular religion, and denominations particularly for Christians.

Andy, who was born and raised in an urban setting said that, "I am a Christian because I believe in what Christianity teaches. When I was under my parents care, I would join them every Sunday to church. This was a routine and it grew in me that it is important to go to church. This is why religion is part of me".

Jack, born and raised in a rural setting, said that, "I am a Christian, and specifically a Catholic, and I follow the teachings of the Catholic church. The village where I come from in Kenya is predominant Catholic. This has been so for many years and we all meet at the Church masses mainly on Sundays and other days during the week. If one would visit or relocate to my village from a different denomination, they would feel left out".

Fatuma also had something to comment on this, and she said that, "I am a Muslim and this has been so since I was born. Being born in a Muslim family, it automatically makes you a Muslim. I have attended the *madrasa* where I learned all about Islam as a religion. This is my identity and I don't think it will ever change".

The above findings are a general response from all the participants. From these comments, one can deduce some crucial facts about religious identity for Kenyans. One is that religion, for most of them, has been relevant from birth. Secondly, being part of a religious community, has been an influence from either their parents or the general community where they have been raised from. Third point is that religion is part and parcel of their identity. This means that Kenyans will normally identify themselves, first as Kenyans, their ethnic group, and religion becomes part of this identity.

To reinforce the importance of religious identity, Andy said that, "I consider myself as a Christian because this is as close as it gets for me. I was not raised up in a religious setting. I rarely attended Church services, and neither did my parents. I would, although, attend to Church services when I visited my grandparents back in the village and it was then that I learned about the basics of Christianity. I believe there is a God and I do pray, every now and then. It is very difficult for a Kenyan living in Kenya to declare themselves atheist. One will normally identify themselves to a particular religion even if they don't really belong there".

It was clear that, religious identity is part of the crucial identities for the participants, and Kenyans in general, and that the biggest majority have had an affiliation to a particular

religions in their lives, and this is enough for them to identify themselves with that particular religion.

The above discourse is on the facts based on the participants' life in Kenya. It was then found favorable to find out what were the difficulties they may have encountered after immigrating to Norway and how these challenges have shaped their current religious identity.

Mahad had this to say, "Norway, being a secular state, has challenged the way I practice my religion on a daily basis. For example, while in Kenya, I would make my prayers at least three times in a day no matter how busy the day would turn out. Here in Norway, I cannot do this because the society does not recognize the importance of this. While in Kenya there are public prayer places sett aside for this particular intention, here in Norway one cannot even ask permission to hold a prayer at work. This has affected how I practice my religion and it feels like I have let go some of the requirements of my religion. My level of practice has gone down, if I may say".

Naomi also said that, "I used to be a committed Christian back in Kenya than I am now. By this I mean that I would attend Church meetings during the week and would rarely miss the Sunday service. Here in Norway, I only attend Church services only on Sundays because I am very busy with work the rest of the days. I must admit that my level of commitment to my religion has been overtaken by other events".

Loise on the other hand said that, "my relationship with God has strengthened because it is more personal. What I mean is that in Kenya I may have been a Christian because of the influence of people around me, while here in Norway Christianity has become individualistic to me. I rarely go to Church now than while in Kenya, but have adopted selv study and I follow teachings through the media. I feel I am more committed to my religion in the sense that I have no pressure from society to affirm my commitment and I have improved my sincerity towards what I believe in".

Lydia also commented and said, "nothing much has changed since I came to Norway. I was not a Church goer while I was in Kenya and neither am I today. I still believe in God and in the teachings of the bible and I do my personal study at home when I have time".

Patricia also had this to say, "it can be challenging to remain a committed Christian here in Norway. For example, in Kenya most Christians when they meet, they give testimonies of how God has been good to them. Christians support each other and remind each other that they are Christians and should hold to that fact. I rarely meet my fellow Christians here in Norway apart from Sundays. I must admit also that I sometimes forget the fact that I am a Christian because there is nothing to remind me of it. The daily schedule is busy and tight and it takes away this part from my memory. I feel less committed to my religion and it is a major challenge".

Jack also mentioned that, "the fact that I would not identify myself as a Christian to strangers, not unless this topic arises, makes me think and act less as one. For example, I don't partake alcohol because of my Christian beliefs. If I am at a party I would not say that I don't drink alcohol because of this reason, I would rather give a more rational reason".

These comments reflect the general findings on the issue of challenges of religious identity from the various participants. Several issues emerged. First, some of the participants felt less committed to their religion because they realized that they practice it less that they did in Kenya. Practice here is used as a reminder of who one is and if they don't practice their belief, it means that they think less of it. Secondly, some have been challenged by the secular society but it has, to them, turned to be something positive since it has strengthened their believe in the course of struggling to maintain their belief. Thirdly, those who were not very committed to their religion while in Kenya, have not changed and this is due to the fact that they are in a secular society and this becomes a suitable environment for being passive in matters to do with religion.

Fourth, their current lifestyle has been overtaken by their careers and education and religion has, once more, become secondary to their schedules. Lastly, most participants admitted that they would not identify themselves as Christians since it was not of importance to others in the public space, especially strangers. They have adopted a more rational way of thinking and this has become part of their lifestyle.

All in all, it was found out that the religious identity level of the immigrants has gone down compared to their previous level before they migrated to Norway. This has been contributed overwhelmingly by the fact that they now live in a secular society that discourages matters to do with religion in the public space.

4.8 Identity Challenges

Identity issues developed to be a major discourse during the interviews. As the findings listed above, it clearly shows that culture and identity go hand in hand. One of the findings that was apparent is the fact that people change over time and some do not change due to reasons that force them to be rigid.

Jack, who has lived in Norway for four years, said that, "I strongly identify myself as a Kenyan and I am proud of my identity. One things that is for sure, is that some of my cultural traits have changed over the years, and I have adopted some of the Norwegian culture".

Dennis also commented that, "when I first came to Norway, I used to be very proud of being a Kenyan. I came with clothes that would identify me as a Kenyan, clothes that I rarely wear currently. I don't have the same pride I had then because of how things are back in the country".

Yvonne also commented that, "even though I am a Kenyan, I don't hold the same general cultural traits as Kenyans living in Kenya. I do things differently now than I used to do back in Kenya. Having lived here more than twenty years, I guess I have changed".

Fatuma, who has also lived in Norway for fifteen years, said that, "I don't think I have changed so much, though some changes have occurred. For me, I am first identified as a Muslim. This makes me to live as one, that is, to show that Islam is not what the world has generalized it to be. I try to live a trustworthy life and this becomes my first identity, that is, my religion. I will normally say I am a Kenyan to people who really want to know where I come from, which rarely happens".

Mahad, who has lived in Norway for over ten years, said that, "I would say that I am more identified as a Somali, because of my looks. I feel that I always need to make a clarification that I am a Kenyan. I always have my wrist band on that has a Kenyan flag to make a non-verbal identity. Secondly, my religion becomes my personal important identity. This is because it holds my worldview and I would not claim to be a Muslim and yet act as an atheist".

The above comments give a general response from all the participants. Out of these comments, some facts were eminent. One fact is that, with time, changes are inevitable. Most of the participants admitted that their identity with Kenya, as a country, and being Kenyan does not reflect their passion of the matter as when they came to Norway.

Some don't feel the need to actually identify themselves as Kenyans because they are not as proud of the country as they used to be when they came to Norway. The realization that the political and social life are not something to be proud of, makes them less proud to be identified with the country.

Others so no need to identify themselves as Kenyans because there is a general assumption that, as long as one is black, they come from Africa. They see then, no need to go further and identify themselves as Kenyans since it won't make any much difference to the assumptions associated with the continent. This then drives them to define themselves with their accomplishes in life and helps them focus more on themselves as individuals and their goals.

As it was found out from Fatuma and Mahad, religion may be the salient identity. For this particular case, the Muslims, who are a salient religion in society by their appearances and way of life. This does not live them with many options, its either they reinforce their religious identity or fall back by neglecting them all together. As the participants narrated, they are would not trade their religion for anything else because it is not only a religion, but it is what defines them as a people. The difference between a Christian and a Muslim is that, at first instance, one would probably easily identify a Muslim than they would a Christian. It would then motivate the Muslim to present themselves as Muslima and actually defend their religion and their beliefs.

Another point noted was that the participants declared that they felt less "Kenyan" than they initially came to Norway and this brings about the disparity of defining their cultural identity. It was common for them to note that they would not be identified as Kenyans by Kenyans living in Kenya. The most probable identification would be that they have been "westernized". At the same time, they would not be completely identified as Norwegians because of their physical appearances (racial issues) and their cultural traits, which do not fully align with the Norwegian culture.

It was found out that even if there is a change in cultural traits for the participants, they had adopted a hybrid culture. By this I mean, they still inherit some of their primordial culture from Kenya and have adopted some of the Norwegian culture. This has happened either consciously or otherwise. It is an adaptation that has helped them to cope with the new environment, to create a conducive environment for themselves and the people around them.

Summary

This chapter has documented the findings as assessed from the participants of this study. It emerged that there are changes evident in their cultural traits and cultural identity. The most significant issue that emerged, is that even though changes are evident, there has not been a complete changeover. The participants displayed a give and take kind of situation whereby they have abandoned some of their own cultural traits for some of the Norwegian cultural traits, while still maintaining some of their most crucial cultural traits that guide their morals and value as such.

5.0 DISCUSSION

This chapter is a discourse between the findings and the research question. The chapter will dwell on a discourse that reflects the challenges that the Kenyan immigrants face and how these challenges can reflect challenges faced by various immigrant groups in general. It is important to note that this study focused on the Kenyan immigrant in order to reflect their specific life challenges in light to immigrating to Norway and how their current status has been shaped by these challenges.

5.1 Worldviews and Ethos issues

Worldviews and ethos, as discussed earlier, reflect the imperative to culture in societies. These will normally clash when individuals find themselves in a rather disparate culture. All these has been facilitated by globalization, where people have the opportunity to move around the globe and mingle with other cultures. The event of culture clash has resulted to cause and effect situations, which is at the heart of this study.

As the findings have reflected, most Kenyan immigrants had an idealism worldview and a group-oriented, hierarchical ethos upon migrating to Norway. These cultural identity attributes have undergone some challenges and some adjustments have been made through the years the immigrants have lived in Norway.

In reflection to the interview participants, all of them demonstrated the significance and influence of religion as part of their identity. They, however, have had some challenges in maintaining their religious identity in a secular society. To some, the challenges have led to a weaker religious identity, while to others it has been a source of re-enforcement of their religious identity.

One remarkable observation was that, whatever the changes they claimed they have undergone, religious identity is salient in defining their values and morals. The salience of religious identity, however, depends on the current identity status.

For example, Andy admitted that his values and morals are a mixture of his religious identity and a pragmatic view. He was reflecting on the fact that religion was a sole source of his value and morals while in Kenya, but this has been challenged in his stay in Norway especially due to the people around him. He said that the apparent lack of practice of his religious beliefs in the public sphere has led him to a more pragmatic way of doing thinking and doing things, though, they have some reference to his unconscious religious identity.

Dennis, on the hand, claimed that being in a secular society has challenged his religious identity in that it has strengthened his religious belief. He clarified this by saying that he has developed the sense of pioneering his religious beliefs by actually remaining firm to his beliefs in an effort to affecting people with other views.

Another major observation was the fact that Kenyans come from a group-oriented society which has a strong hierarchical structure. They now find themselves in society that is more individualistic with a egalitarian structure.

All of the participants claimed that, in Norway, people are busy with their own lives and they attributed the individualistic society to this issue. Being busy here was defined to career development which was further broken down to work and education. Unlike in Kenya where

one is surrounded by family and friends, in Norway one may not even be familiar with their own neighbor, as claimed by some of the participants.

It was clear that the participants have now adopted the more individualistic lifestyle and it has impacted the way they relate to other people, may it be here in Norway or back in Kenya.

5.1.1 Impact of changes to life style in Norway

There was no doubt that changes have taken place in the participants' lifestyle, which is a reflection of cultural identity changes. For the married participants, the men and women had their view on what changes have taken place over the years. The men said that they have had a reversed roles change in the family setting. For example, Dennis said that, "I usually do chaos in the house that I would otherwise not do if I was in Kenya". The men have become more involved in the house in simple matters like helping with the children and the general chaos of a household.

It would then reflect that the men have become more involved with their families and, hence, creating a more closer relationship between them, their wives, and children. Equality in this sense has been a major change where there are no rigid roles for the man and woman the house.

The women, on the other hand, feel that they have been emancipated from the conservative ideology inherent in the Kenyan culture that women are the sole "caretakers" of the homes. They have been able to follow and advance their careers and this has empowered them from being dependent to independent in the sense that they, too, have a say in the society. They are no longer dependent on the men, but, instead can make personal decisions that are actually appreciated by the men.

It is crucial to keep in mind that, for this to actually happen and work out, there has to be a consensus between the man and the woman. In the absence of this, two things are likely to happen. One, the couple will carry on with the conservative ideology, which will most likely fail eventually. Two, the couple might find themselves at a stand still which may lead to either separation or divorce.

What was most remarkable was the fact that all the participants claimed that they had adopted to a more individualistic lifestyle. This means that they have cut off the ideology behind

group-oriented societies. They lead their lives based on a more pragmatic view and this is based on how favorable decisions made are to their lives.

Their careers, immediate families, and close friends are what matter most to them. As Patricia claimed, "I have live a more individualistic lifestyle and this can be traumatic and depressing if one does not have anyone to relate to. My husband and child are my very close ones and my friends, who are mostly from my Church, fill in the gap of friends and extended family".

5.1.2 Impact of changes to families and friends in Kenya

The cause and effect of changes does not only apply to the immigrants' life in their current location, but has some significant consequences to their country of origin, as observed by this study.

The deterioration of relationships with family members and friends, was a general confession amongst the participants. As Fatuma claimed, "I used to frequently call my family and friends when I came to Norway. I rarely do this any more. The people who I call most are my parents. I have lost contact with most of my friends over the years, and those who we still have contact is through the mass media".

These confessions reflect that as people from a group-oriented society advance to a more individualistic lifestyle, relationships in terms of masses, decline too. The concentration moves from group focus to individual focus.

Another observance made was that families and friends to these immigrants detect changes that have occurred. Larry commented this by saying, "my friends always say that I have changed. For example, one time they came to visit me and my wife while on holidays in Kenya. They would not understand why I was busy serving them food and clearing the dishes while my sat with them. They view me as a stranger with a different culture".

The changes that have occurred to the participants makes them foreigners in their own country. Many of them came to Norway with the idea of moving back to Kenya after a while.

The more they live here in Norway the more this idea deteriorates. This is caused by the fact that moving back to Kenya means undergoing an integration process once again. This discourages most of them to relocate back home.

Due to these changes, the participants also view Kenyans as having a rather "different culture" to them. It is important to recognize that, these changes do not reflect a total change but a give and take process, whereby the immigrants still hold to some of their primordial cultural traits but at the same time they have lost some in order to accommodate for the new cultural traits adopted from the Norwegian society.

In the event whereby one is required to relocate back, they may find themselves being criticized as to have been "westernized", a claim that none of the participants was in accordance. Accepting to be westernized would then mean to completely deny your own for the western culture, something that has it negative perception back in Kenya reflected by the Swahili quote earlier mentioned on this paper.

5.1.3 A cultural change?

The inherent state of change to cultural traits, from the interviews conducted, is undeniable. After a close analysis to the matter on change, it was discovered that, the issue of change is not as simple as the word itself may suggest. The participants expressed a state of ambivalence to the changes apparent.

For example, the emancipation expressed by the women participants may quickly impel someone to think of them to have adopted a feminism view. As it was found out, equality to the women meant that they should be respected as the equal for men and should not be subjected to particular roles. They expressed the need for men to appreciate their views and let them endeavor to achieve their dreams. On the other hand, the women expressed their need to hold on to their identity as women. For example, even though they demand a helping hand from the men with the household chores, they still have the pride to be the major caretaker of the home. This can be attributed to the fact that they have been taught this from their childhood ages, something that men were never taught in their childhood upbringing.

Another example may be reflected on the religious beliefs. It was observed that for those who had a conservative religious worldview, they have been compelled to adjust to a more liberal

and individualistic religious worldview. Loise said that she was a conservative Christian when in Kenya in the sense that she would not have engaged with people who were not Christians. She expressed her more liberal state by saying that she now views people as human beings and as that, they deserve to be respected and understood before making any judgments. She said that she would, for example, be in the presence of people consuming alcohol but this doesn't bother her any more as long as she does not partake of the same.

These observations, then, portray a push and pull kind of process that help the immigrants to adjust and align to the society in Norway. What I mean by this is that as much as they have let go some of their primordial cultural traits, these traits are not completely lost, they are buffered and serve as a reference point from time to time.

Change, then, is not as definite as the word supposes but rather adaptation becomes more relevant. Adaptation here comes with the idea that there is the movement of back and forth to meaning and expression in order to align to the society and to the identity standards (Burke & Stets, 2009) inherent to the individual.

5.1.4 Relevancy of cultural identity

Cultural identity, as mentioned earlier, is the affiliation to cultural aspects. At the end of every interview, there was a question for the participants to give their current cultural identity. None of the participants had a fixed cultural identity, and most of them admitted that this is not something that is inherent in their mind and lives.

As a way to describe his cultural identity, Frank said that, "I am a Norwegian in a Kenyan body". He went further and explained that he feels that he is not fully accepted Norway, just because he is an African by physic, and not fully accepted by Kenyans with the assumption that he has been "westernized".

Again, none of the participants admitted to being westernized because it would mean that they have fully adopted the Norwegian culture and abandoned their own. Most of them said that they don't have a concrete cultural identity, they claimed that they were somewhere in between.

Munoz-Calvo discribes this state of disparity as the clash of two or more cultures, and the result is a hybrid culture (2008). The hybrid culture is characterized by a mixture of different cultures and cannot be definitely ascribed to a specific identity (Munoz-Calvo, 2008).

The description provided by the participants fits the description defined by the hybrid culture. As this may be difficult for one to ascribe themselves to, it would then not be meaningful for them to ascribe to it thereof.

Cultural identity, as found out from the participants, has no relevancy and this impels them to be more passive to the issue. As Larry said, "I don't think of myself as a Norwegian and neither as a Kenyan. I live my life to the best man I can be, targeting my goals in life".

On the other hand, identity becomes important when there seems to be a misapprehension. For example, Mahad claimed that he usually identifies himself as a Kenyan because most people mistake him for a Somalian. This, he said, is common to both Norwegians and immigrants as well. It is not this identity that really compels his lifestyle, but the small adjustments that he has made to his lifestyle, that neither reflect the Norwegian culture nor the Kenyan culture.

The fact that identity plays no major roles to the immigrants, it impels them to an individualistic lifestyle where their needs become their goals and that they identify themselves with their accomplishes.

5.2   Culture and Modernization

As defined in the Merriam-Webster dictionary, to modernize is "to make something modern and more suited to present styles or needs". The modern is the contemporary. This chapter seeks to find the inter-relationship between the culture and modernization in the view that modernization generally means the process of transformation from the traditional to the contemporary.

For most immigrants, the west signifies the modern. This claim maybe a reflection that modernization began in Europe (Kumar, 2016). For this reason, when immigrants move to the west, they have this idea in their minds, they are moving to the "modern" world. For this reason, they are either bound to rebel or conform.

5.2.1   From the traditional to the modern

All the participants admitted to have changed from their known Kenyan culture to the Norwegian culture. To them, there is the change from the "traditional" to the "modern". The traditional here, does not necessarily mean as the word suggests, but rather the change of cultural concepts.

Coming from a country (Kenya) that was colonized by the British, there is the idea that the "white" man reflects the modern. Colonization came with the education system, governance system, religion, and change of worldviews to sum it all. This, today, is what can be termed as westernization. That is, being transformed to the worldviews of the west.

According to the participants, they would not accept being westernized, but rather preferred to use the word liberalized. This indicates that being westernized is a "taboo" in the sense that one has abandoned their cultural identity for the western cultural identity. It would reflect a conformance to the neo-colonialism, an idea that is met with defiance.

In the analysis of this particular matter, it is one of the basis that the participants demonstrated the blending of two cultures that now signifies their current cultural identity. The act of defiance is a mixture of tolerance to the new cultural environment and an abstinence of their primordial culture in the act of preserving their primordial identity.

5.2.2   The modern culture

What is the semblance of the modern culture? This is the question to which any immigrant would want to seek in order to differentiate from their own culture. This motivates them in, either adjusting or rebelling.

The participants of this study reflected an act of tolerance by adjusting to their new environment. The adjustments are an act of placing themselves in a more acceptable position in the new society. This, though, is with the mentality that acceptance is relevant to them abiding to the law of the land and their integration skills. For example, most of the participants mentioned that they don't have many Norwegian friends. As Frank described his Norwegian friends as acquaintances, he referred to the fact that these friends were mostly

from his work place and it did not reflect so much to their relationship in the social informal setting.

The modern culture can have various definitions, and this would reflect the differentiation between one's own culture from the, assumed, modern culture. From this study, the modern culture as portrayed by the participants of the interviews, has two main significances. One is that the modern culture has adopted to pragmatic and existentialistic worldviews.

All the participants narrated of how they moved from the idealistic to the more pragmatic worldview. This was, for example, reflected on their view that they have become more tolerant to the issue of homosexuality. This, though, does not mean they support homosexuality but that they view them as human beings and deserve to be given their identity as such. This is a mixture of a pragmatic and existentialistic worldview where the is only practical to accept people as they are in order to get along and avoid discrimination based on personal beliefs.

Another significance, as reflected by the participants, is that the modern culture is predominantly individualistic. This due to the fact that they came from a group-oriented culture and society setting to a more individualistic society where the individual is at the core of focus.

Combining the two, it has led the participants to reflect and re-organize their life styles. They have become more tolerant to other cultures, adopting to some of them while holding on to some of their primordial cultures. So, even as this reflects their current identity, it also reflects the post-modern culture, whereby, individuals will have a hybrid of cultures due to the effects of globalization. As the world become less defined by boundaries, cultures are bound to clash and therefore, the emergence of hybrid culture.

5.2.3   Identity in the modern age

"Most people in non-modern societies think in relational, functional categories" (Hiebert, 2011, loc. 854). This means that identity to relations is crucial to the "non-modern" societies. For Kenyans, they fall under this category of relational, functional societies. It is for this matter that a wife and a husband are identified with their roles in the family household. It is also important for one to identify themselves with their family and maybe their clan.

Participants of this study also claimed this is true. They each mentioned which tribe they came from in Kenya and were very specific when it came to matters of gender roles as described by their relative cultures.

This, though, does not reflect their current life styles and worldviews. Being in Norway for a couple of years, they claimed, has its consequences in that some of these identity issues become secondary or cease to matter at all.

For those who are married, they claimed that gender roles do not work in this society. The life style has required that they adopt to a more pragmatic view. As they mentioned, the woman is no longer the household care taker. Both the man the woman work together to get tasks done. This contrasts the norm back in their primordial cultures.

The women also have had a sense of emancipation in that they are no longer bound by the men and their assumed roles as wives. They can now work towards developing careers and having a social life without the thought that they are bound by other roles, other roles that men can also partake.

Being in an individualistic society, gives the individual choices on how to live, unlike living in a group-oriented society that may hinder this by abiding to the given conditions of the group. For example, most of the participants claimed that, they were expected to help family members and friends back at home financially. This urge to help, though, declines as one realizes that they cannot help everybody. Due to this change of heart, they have been able to concentrate more on their lives and achieve their life long targets. This comes with the cost of loosening one's tight bonds to the families and friends.

It is then true to say that identity is not crucial to the modern culture. It's not a daily appendage to the individuals, it's only drawn to attention intermittently for example to clarify ones originality. As most participants mentioned, they do not discern the need to identify themselves as Kenyans, not unless they are asked to identify themselves as such.

5.2.4   Popular culture

In this modern age, it is impractical to ignore the inevitable existence of popular culture. With the various developments of communication technology and mass media, popular culture has spread all over the globe.

Popular culture is the reflection of generations with their latest trends from music, food, art, fashion and so on, that affects the way that particular generation presents themselves (Danesi, 2015). For example, there will always be new trends in fashion, new trends on diet and so on, that will be emulated differently around the globe. In this sense, popular culture defies the traditional definition of culture and its boundaries (Danesi, 2015).

Popular culture will normally try to transform the normal to the "fashionable" within cultures. For example, in the case of women, there can be a certain that indicates "a strong and independent" woman. This can be a development from the feminists. Another aspect is that popular culture is used to give identity to certain groups. For example, one may be termed as homosexual due to their attire. These attire change trends and within the groups, it indicates one's keep up to the latest trend.

As mentioned by Danesi (2015), most of popular culture is ascribed to the youth, who will naturally grow out of their youth and carry on the popular culture traits. For someone coming from a more conservative society, they find their age mates dressing and acting in a peculiar way that does not reflect their age.

As Fatuma mentioned, "it is difficult or Muslims to come to Europe and suddenly change their religious attires to the trends in place in the western society". She reacted to the question that I raised since she did dress the hijab, which is traditional to the Muslim women. She responded by saying that, "I usually dress the hijab in prayer sessions and in Muslim functions only. Having a stylish headscarf that covers only my hair, has made me to be less criticized because of my religion". One would not acknowledge her immediately as a Muslim, for those who are well conversant with their attires, since she dresses normal from her shoulders down. She said that she followed the new trends in fashion also and did not want to be outdated.

5.2.5   The stimulus to change

By observance, not all immigrants undergo cultural change as indicated by the participants of this particular study. It was important to analyze the findings in order to find the pattern that may give answers to this question.

One factor was that the participants did not have a strong connection to their own group, that is, Kenyans. As mentioned by Hiebert in his book (2011) group-oriented societies demand group control. This means that one has to abide to their group's worldviews and ethos, otherwise, they may run the risk of being excommunicated.

Most of the participants portrayed the change from group-oriented mind view to a more individualistic mind view. Each one of them has created their own worldviews and ethos that they believe helps them integrate into the Norwegian society. The most important aspect for them is integration rather than belonging to a certain group. This may be the rationale behind their own loose identity as Kenyans in the public space.

Another observance made was the reason behind their migrating to Norway. They each had a story tell about how they migrated and why. Nine out of the twelve participants came to Norway to further their education. The other three migrated to reunite to their families here in Norway. What is common to all of them is that they all embarked to advance their education here in Norway.

In the process of getting education, they lost much contact to their friends and families because, as they narrated, one has to work while studying which is quite demanding. It is only natural that they were in quest of establishing careers, which was their priority. It is for this reason that they used the word "busy" so often, to give the impression that they are busy accomplishing their goals.

In group-oriented oriented societies, relationships are crucial (Hiebert, 2011). Members within the group rely on each other for help and it may bind one's advancements since priorities are primarily to the group. When this ethos changes to the individualistic, one shifts priorities to themselves and close family and/or friends. They are no longer bound to any group and hence the liberation.

It is also logic that if one is to succeed in the integration process, they have to loose some of their own cultural identity in order to accommodate some of the foreign identity. This stimulates the idea of change, either consciously or otherwise.

5.3 Secularization and Religious Identity

Secularization is still a foreign word to most outside the West. Immigrants have to adjust to this idea and a re-configuration of how one views religion is inevitable. Immigrants have to either conform or rebel to the idea of secularization, which to most, becomes a point of discrimination. For those who conform, a transformation of their religious identity occurs, while for those who are defiant, a re-affirmation of their religious identity takes place. It was of substance to have a discourse on religious identity since, as found out from the participants, it's part of their cultural identity where religion is of significance in the formation of their identity.

5.3.1 Role of religion in society

Religion has its roles in society and, these roles, maybe the determining factor of its relevant to that society. In Norway, for example, the Church was a unifying factor to garner people to oppose the German occupation to the land (Furseth, 2006). At this moment, the Church membership increased, due to the purpose it served and the membership slayed back when the need lapsed.

According to the participants of this study, Kenyans see religion as the unifying factor in that it is where people from different tribes and communities as a whole meet. Mahad also mentioned that, "the mosque is where we all meet. This is where friends and enemies are forced to meet since one would not opt out just because someone else who they don't like is attending for prayers". It can be used as a place of conflict resolution if applied for this reason.

Religion can also play a role as the "safe haven". Just as the Church membership in Norway increased during the war, people ran to the Church for safety and communion with others. Patricia mentioned that Norway can be a lonely place if one does not have friends. She said that most of her friends come from her Church congregation. One of her reasons to go to Church every Sunday is so that she can be with friends and this helps her forget her busy

schedule for a while. She also continued to say that, "we discuss any pressing issues with my friends and help each other where possible when we meet in the Church".

Religion is also a source of identity. Fatuma said that Islam is her identity and that how she lives her life should always reflect this identity. Lydia also said that, "I rarely go to Church but I am still a Christian in my belief".

> "One's religious identity has been shown to stabilize most often prior to the advent of adulthood, and religious involvement remains relatively stable through one's adult life"
>
> (McGill, 2016, loc. 705

Yvonne said that going to Church, in Kenya, can be termed as part of the culture. One would be attend Church services because the rest of the community does so, and not attending would mean that they are "outcasts". It may be reason why all of the participants identified themselves with a particular religious identity. They have been involved with their religions from an early age and this has become part if their identity.

Religion can be a source of morals and values, which build up one's worldview and ethos. All the participants admitted that religion is the fundamental source of belief, morals, and values. It was even mentioned, by ten out of the twelve participants, that religion was more significant than their own ethnic cultural beliefs. This was basically because they were brought up in a more Christian environment than the traditional ethnic environment.

All these gives the participants a rather strong religious identity. Their religious identity becomes challenged in a secular environment which limits the practical application in the public space.

5.3.2   Stimulus to secularization

As Furseth mentioned in her book (2006), after the war, Church membership deteriorated. This marked the end of the decisive role of the Church. One of the stimulus to secularization is the indecisive role of religion in the public space.

An example of the indecisive role of religion is the emergence of Human Rights. Human right are more pragmatic in their nature and do not take into account any particular religious group

(Haas, 2008). They are based on what is seems to be best for all individuals without consideration of their culture, belief, or even race.

In this light, matters to do with the public are now dealt with pragmatically, giving the individual choices and liberating them from the idealistic worldview. People are given the liberation to chose from what suits them best, as long as, they don't trespass the rights of other individuals. Human Rights, have then been supportive of the individualistic ethos, which contrasts the religious/idealistic worldview that is more group-oriented.

Another stimulus to secularization is the need for an egalitarian society. The fact that people can be viewed as equals in the public space, becomes more idealistic that when identities are based on specific religious background.

The need for egalitarianism has increased due to globalization that has resulted to multicultural and multi-religious societies. Secularization, then, becomes one of the key tools used to ensure that conflicts based on religious beliefs are retained.

Immigrants who come from religious societies may find this challenging. This is so because they may be accustomed to practicing their religious beliefs in the public space. For example, those participants who claimed to have had a rather conservative religious background back in Kenya, admitted that they have become more liberal. This meant that they have become more pragmatic in their decision making and the way they hold their views on issues. They realize that holding their religious views in the public space may come at a cost. Larry said that, "I would not express myself based on my religious beliefs because it may even cost me my job".

The practicality of secularization is debatable since every individual in the public space has their own worldviews and ethos. One may not fully express them, but decisions made and action put in the public space are as a result of these worldviews and ethos.

5.3.3 Effects of secularization

In the advent of secularization, it was appropriate to analyze how this has shaped the society. It is also important to analyze how secularization has shaped the religious identity of the immigrants.

All of the participants, though they claimed to have a particular religious identity, it was clear that this identity is not definite as it was when they were in Kenya. This is mostly due to the environment that they find themselves in, that is, a secular society.

They draw on religion, mostly, when they are in the company of their fellow religious associates. Practicing of their religion in the public place does not happen and it becomes one of the reasons why they are not very active in their relevant religions.

Due to this, secularization has prompted for individualization of religion, hence the individualization of morality (Furseth, 2006). One cannot claim an act of goodwill due to their religion and on the other hand, one cannot point immorality due to lack of religious values. Both individuals having different opinions on what is moral meet in the public space and have to respect each others opinions. The public space is defined by rationality, and as long as one can defend their act rationally, it has to be respected.

Frank expressed his view on this matter by saying, "I really don't care any more what other people do as long as it has nothing to do with me personally". This is an attitude that was felt amongst most of the participants. It indicates the passive stand that they have taken in matters to with what happens in the public space. On assumption that most of the people in the public space share the same attitude, it would reflect the deterioration of morality since its reference would then be based on rationality.

It is, otherwise evident, that some religions such as the Muslims may feel discriminated due to the fact that their religious identity in the public space is still very visible, unlike most Christians. This is so due to their religious attires that self identify their religious identity. The Muslims, and any other visible religion in the public space, may find themselves as a point of discourse and may be perceived as rigid to the idea of a secular society.

Fatuma, who may be perceived as a "modern Muslim" due to the fact that her religious identity is not as visible as to most Muslim women, felt like secularization tends to interfere with religious traditions. She was reacting to the fact that Muslim women tend to be forced to change their religious attires in order to conform to the idea behind secularization. She said, "the attires are in correspondent to the beliefs on how women should present themselves in the public eye as a sign of dignity. When Muslim women are forced to wear otherwise, it

means that they should neglect this belief and hence undermining a basic human right of religion".

On the other hand, privatization of religion may trigger the affirmation of one's religion. As Dennis said, "in practice, the level of Christianity has gone down, but in conviction, my Christianity has been challenged and it has helped me to grow more". Loise also mentioned that she felt obliged to attend to Church and even pronounce her religion because of her peers. Now, she feels a true Christian due to the fact that she has individualized her belief and her belief result from pressures of those around her.

These claims, therefore, disclaim any idea that secularization may scrap away the face of religion. Secularization may in fact be a stimulus to solidarity to the religious quarters and, in future, the come back of religion may be much stronger than ever witnessed in the public space.

5.4   Culture and Identity

In this chapter, I seek to discuss the relationship of culture and identity. In his book, Friedman Jonathan say, "we attribute cultures to others as part of our own self-identity" (1994, p.71). In this sense, culture will always bring out the issue of identity even at the presence of the modernist identity who views themselves as "an autonomous bounded totality" (Jonathan, 1994, p.95). This chapter, has its goal to put on view that culture is at the pivotal point in identity categorization, and hence the indubitable significance of cultural identity.

5.4.1   Generalization of identity

The participants of this study admitted that being "black" is part of their identity and that whenever they meet the "non-black", there are a couple of assumed attributes to it. It then goes without saying that there is a generalization of identities. These may be based on the skin tone, "the immigrant", and others that give the other a certain first impression.

This mentality then disputes the modernist identity that "the identity of the individual exists prior to and external to his membership in a social or better, cultural group" (Jonathan, 1994, p.38). It is this generalization of identity that helps individuals decide on how to behave and handle the other based on the individual's morals and values.

One will always draw the identity card when placed in a position of a "stranger". How the succeeding incidents develop, are based on one's morals and values towards the issue of humanity.

This means that for all immigrants, the fact that they are immigrants becomes their own self identity and based on this, they will either try to justify their identity, consent to the others assumptions on their identity, or alter their identity in the attempt of portraying similarities with the other.

The later, seemed to be the attitude of the participants of this study. The fact that portraying their Kenyan and religious identity is not primary, gives the perception that they tend to assimilate more of the host's identity in an effort to integrate with them other than categorize themselves from them. The reasons behind this negotiation between the "host" and the "guest" will be discussed later in the succeeding chapter.

Culture becomes, thus, a pivotal point to identification because the generalization of identity is as a result of assumed cultural attributes to the particular identity.

So, what are the ramifications of generalization of identity? Reflecting back on what Frank termed as acquaintances, it becomes a fact that individuals will, most likely than not, associate more with fellow individuals who understand them and share a sense of commonality. This means that generalization of identities results to segregation, rather than integration of individuals, based on these identities.

For example, as a Christian immigrant, one will probably associate themselves more with the Christians. This may not necessarily mean that they only associate themselves with Christian immigrants, but the relationship level may differ, hence such names as acquaintances.

Due to the relationship level issue, they may further examine these relationships and based on the level of commonality, they may further segregate themselves within their religious groups and hence the emergence of charismatic churches under the name "international Church". An international Church displays the presence of diversity based on nationality. Still on the example on the Christian immigrant, they may further segregate themselves based on race and hence the emergence of the "African Church".

In short, generalization of identities results to segregation of these identities and further to, what I term as, sud-identities. The emergence of sub-identities is as a result of cultural identity. The collaboration of these sub-identities and the main identities is situational. By this I mean, the collaboration of the Sunni and the Shia as Muslims, is based on the situation that demands this collaboration and this may be as a result of pressures from other quarters that demand justification of the Muslims as a whole.

As much as the preceding discourse denotes the negative ramifications of generalization of identities, this very process has a positive turn out. The positive side of it is that cohesion is a given possibility, especially across races, religions, and cultures.

For example, in a situation where justification of identities is required, cohesion may demand the collaboration of individuals from different quarters. The religious may collaborate against the atheist, the immigrants against the hosts, and so on.

The acts of solidarity are as a result of categorization of identities and this is on the positive note. This means that identity, as opposed to the modernist, is of significance. One may claim to be neutral to the idea of identity, but at one point or the other, the identity card will be pulled, may it be by reflex or voluntarily.

Due to the factors discussed above, generalization of identities becomes part of human experience. As mention earlier, the output of this generalization is based on the morals and values towards an individual's sense to humanity. The output of generalization of identities may be positive or negative based on the individual's intentions.

5.4.2   Racism and Discrimination

Merriam-Webster dictionary describes racism as "poor treatment of or violence against people because of their race". This is what I would term as the categorization of races. Whenever there is categorization of any entity, there is bound to be qualification of those entities. In this case, categorization of races prompts the qualification of the same, and hence some races being assumed to be better than others.

As a result of categorization of races, discrimination is inevitable. Any individual that has experienced racism and discrimination have their own assumptions as to why this happened. The participants of this study, though they all claimed that racism in Norway is not so visible,

admitted to have experienced racism and discrimination. They all had a common assumption that their experiences were solemnly based on their color of skin, that is, black which categorizes them to being Africans.

"Race has saturated culture in every sense in which the latter has been defined" (John Gabriel, 1994, p.42). The saturation of culture by race has resulted to the generalization of identities and hence racism and discrimination. In an effort for individuals to avoid being discriminated based on their race, they are bound to assimilate to the larger race.

The problem with assimilation, as compared to integration, is that assimilation advocates for change of the whole other than adjustments of parts. By this I mean, for one to assimilate to a particular culture, they are expected to abandon their own culture for the new culture. In the case of integration, one can still maintain their own culture and become sensitive to the new culture by being part of members of the new culture while respecting their culture.

It is then very clear that racism hinders integration in a multicultural world. It catalyzes segregation and hence disunity amongst individuals living within the same community. This study found out that no matter how many years one has lived in Norway, they still don't have as many Norwegian friends as one would assume.

The participants of this study showed that they have undertaken the necessary steps to integration by learning Norwegian, working in the society, and even entering into matrimony with the Norwegians. This though, according to the study, has not yielded to them being fully accepted into society. All the participants indicated that they had very few Norwegian friends, and that most of them would be termed best as acquaintances.

This then brings about the question why it is so. Deducing from the study, two major issues emerged that can explain/answer this question. One is that each of the participants has experienced racism and/or discrimination. The fact that this has happened they tend to associate themselves more with people of their own culture/race or people who have undergone the same experiences, who will most likely than not, be fellow immigrants.

Two, based on the above experiences, there is a general assumption that the harmonization of the two cultures is difficult, taking the fact that these experiences has given them the

assumption that they are an inferior race. The issue of generalization of identities has played a major role in undermining the full integration of these first generation immigrants.

The laws in place against racism can then be said to constrain racism in the public relationships but not in private relationships and hence they are not sufficient in promoting integration in a multicultural society. In order to enhance integration, the introduction of activities that promote and celebrates the different cultures in a society, are imperative.

5.4.3 A search of identity

The relevancy of identity differs from one person to the other. In a group-oriented society, group identity is necessary for the purpose of relevancy within society. On the other hand, individualistic society tend to focus more on the self than relationships with others. The West is more individualistic by nature and people who come from group-oriented societies may find it challenging.

In this study, participants showed a shift from a group-oriented to an individualistic ethos. As narrated by the participants, more focus is built on their goals rather than on their relationships. Most of them came to Norway as students and the rest came for the reason of family re-unification. They all have concentrated on achieving personal goals which have demanded that they go to school and work in order to achieve these goals.

For this reason, and over a number of years with the focus to achieve their goals in mind, they have become more individualistic in their social lives. They all narrated that this is not by choice but rather as a consequence of their change of life style. This case study may be used to asses the general life style of people living in Oslo, where this study was conducted.

In the event of the changes inherent in their life style, identity to the participants, has changed focus from "we" to "me" and identity by achievement replaces the group-oriented mindset of "we" to "me".

When the participants were asked about their Kenyan identity, the unanimously answered that they would not identify themselves to be real Kenyans since some changes have occurred which challenges the worldviews and ethos commonly attached to Kenyans. On the other hand, the admitted that they have not assimilated the Norwegian culture but rather adopted some of the worldviews and ethos attached with the Norwegians.

At the end of the interviews, it was clear that the issue of identity was triggered amongst the participants, an issue that they had not thought of earlier. The changes inherent in their life have happened involuntarily and this has happened in order for them to be more accommodating to the Norwegian culture as well as to ensure a smooth integration within the Norwegian society.

In an effort to describe their current identity, the participants said it feels that they are in between cultures, a description that fits what can be termed as a hybrid culture (Munoz-Calvo, 2008). in this account then, it would be safe to say that hybrid cultures are an emergence of two or more culture being adopted by individuals in the process of integration.

The future, then, will be characterized by hybrid cultural identities especially taking into account the fact that second generation immigrants will have more than two cultures to accommodate from birth. This then lead to the modernist identity where the self becomes "autonomous bounded" (Jonathan, 1994, p.95).

5.4.4   The novel identity

As mentioned above, the participants of this study have undergone through a re-definition of their primordial cultural identity. This may apply to most, if not all, immigrants whereby they may find themselves between a rock and a hard place in defining their identity and culture.

The novel identity for the participants of the study is a mixture of worldviews and ethos and it even differs from person to person. There is sense of individualism which in turn has helped them respect other people's way of life. They have made changes in order to avoid being segregated from the society, and these changes have become part and parcel of their own lives over a span of time.

In the event where one holds on to their cultural identity, they risk being segregated from society and it becomes very difficult if one does not have people who share the same ideologies to associate with.

This study envisages some cultural changes around the globe based on its findings. As globalization and immigration continue to expand, changes are inevitable. This though will

happen through the accommodating attitude towards individuals, otherwise, conflicts will be the talk of the day with each person advocating their own worldviews and ethos as absolute.

Immigrants have will have to adjust to the hosts and the hosts will have to adjust to the immigrants' way of life. Harmony can only be achieved in a give and take kind of situation. As Bayart mentioned in his book, "... culture becomes a principle determining attitudes and resistance to change" (2005, p.66).

The novel cultural identity advocates for tolerance of other cultures and flexibility to change in order to accommodate the other. In the absence of these, there is bound to be conflicts based on race, culture, and identity.

The novel cultural identity may see to it that the traditional cultural definition becomes a thing if the past and hence give way to popular culture taking over. The consumerist ideology may be the dominating factor in society whereby everything will be commercialized and be the reference point to the novel identity.

So, the law of the land will replace the ethos and worldviews will be personalized. Religion may fight to come back into the public space, but with a different look that will suite the consumerist. This envision is what people from strong cultures are advocating against. How successful they will be, stands the test of time.

5.5   Migration and Cultural Identity

Every immigrant has their own story on their causes for immigration. These may be as refugees, family reunions, education, economic issues, jobs, and so on. It all comes down to whether the cause is forced or voluntary. The participants of this study indicated that, initially, they all thought that they would migrate back to Kenya after a while. It was clear that this initial intention has changed over time. One of the reasons why this initial intention has changed is that most of them feel like foreigners in their own land after living so many years in Norway.

After settling in Norway and living in Norway for several years, the changes that have occurred in their worldviews and ethos, hinders them to reverse to their previous lives. It is due to this changes that most immigrants may find it difficult to migrate back to their original countries. This, though, is applicable to those who have made substantial changes in their lives that has altered the way they think and do things.

These changes are a consequence of various reasons and, as mentioned earlier, they may be voluntary or by reflex. No matter the cause behind these changes, one realizes that they become more incompatible to their previous lives when they come into contact with their fellow countrymen and this is confirmed by them.

For example, all of the participants acknowledged that they have sidelined themselves from most friends and family members because these people believe that the participants are able to help them financially. The cause of concern here is that the participants feel that they are only valuable to friends and family based on this reason.

As they have withdrawn from most of their friends and families, they have concentrated more on themselves, their own families, and very close family members and friends. It is in this view that they realize that they have become individualistic and this, to most of them, has affected all parameters of their lives. For example, as mentioned earlier, a question asked on their view on homosexuality proved their change from traditional thinking to a more liberal thinking. This questioned was based on their opinion as religious people and they compared how they would react to homosexuality while back in Kenya and their current reaction, which is more tolerant.

The purpose of this chapter is to have a discourse of why some immigrants change their primordial cultural identity and what are the motivations for these changes.

5.5.1 Changes in worldviews and ethos

Our guiding beliefs (ethos) and the way we think (worldviews) give us our identity culturally. Our worldviews and ethos are alterable to fit our environment, and hence the factors of identity change (Burke & Stets, 2009, pp.175-196). Contact with other people other than our own, helps us understand them better practically (Verkuyten, 2014, pp.188-221). What we do with this knowledge is relevant to our motives.

Participants of this study narrated their experiences in the effort to integrate in the Norwegian society. They have learned Norwegian language, gone to school with the Norwegians, and even acquired jobs where they work hand in hand with the Norwegians. They have become well conversant with Norwegians and hence have a good knowledge of their culture.

In the process of integrating, they have had to make adjustments to their cultural identity and as a result of these adjustments, they have created a third culture that is a combination of their primordial culture and the Norwegian culture.

According to the participants, these changes have given them a new identity over time. They acknowledge that they are still Kenyans but Kenyans with a different cultural identity than the norm.

For example, for the married couples, gender roles as applied back in Kenya are no longer applicable in their marriages. Larry said that he has been criticized by his friends for doing a woman's job in the house. All the participants have, at one point or the other, been accused of being westernized.

While these changes were initially survival strategies, they have now become part of their worldviews and ethos to the extend that they would advocate for them to others. Their identities have been a work in progress and changes take place whenever demanded.

It is due to this reason that they were not able to give their concrete cultural identity when asked to describe it. The constant demand of changes to adaptation leaves them with a vague cultural identity. The common answer to the question of identity was that they were are not westernized, but they are neither Norwegians nor do they no longer hold the true "Kenyan identity".

5.5.2   Preconditions for integration

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, one meaning for integration is "incorporation as equals into society or an organization of individuals of different groups". This basically means that to integrate one has to come into contact with people other than their own. For this particular case scenario, one has to learn Norwegian to be able to communicate with the hosts, this then helps an individual to acquire a job and work side by side with the Norwegians,

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which in turn helps the individual to understand the hosts and their ways of life through socializing.

For the participants of this thesis, they have all worked towards integrating into the Norwegian society and have undergone through the different preconditions to integrating. The cost of integration comes at a price. They have had to undergo some changes that has fractured their identity and hence left them with an ambivalence of identity.

To acquire full integration, both parties have to work together. In this case, both the Norwegians and the immigrants have to be willing to integrate and thus have to work hand in hand in getting to know each other (Burke & Stets, 2009). The participants admitted that they do not have as many Norwegian friends as other immigrant friends. For most of the participants, their relationship with Norwegians is at an acquaintance level. This indicates that integration can be biased, that is, it is only the immigrants who do the integrating.

As a result of this kind of integration, cohesion is achieved in the presence of stereotyping and hence a "plastic" relationship between the two parties. It then leaves the immigrant to relate more with fellow immigrants or members of their own community.

On a more positive note, the participants expressed a sense of audacity in being part of the society. This is because they are able to express themselves and even achieve their goals while contributing to society. The fact that they are able to live an equal life as the hosts', give them the courage to oversee any challenges involved in integrating to the society.

Loise, who has lived in Norway for more than twenty years, narrated of how times have changed since then. She said that when they came to Norway (with her family) they were received and treated with pity by the Norwegians. According to her, this has changed over the years because most immigrants (African) have risen to their level and they compete for resources at the same level. This is due to fact that immigrants have been able to integrate into the social system and have had the audacity to compete with the Norwegians at all social and economic levels.

5.5.3   Causes for migration

As mentioned earlier, people immigrate due to various reasons. It is also a fact that there are those immigrants that find it difficult to adjust to their new environments. It is therefore

paramount for this study to investigate whether the causes of immigration have any effect on attitudes amongst immigrants on integration.

The participants of this study indicated that their causes for migration were rather voluntary. They speculated that they could achieve their goals here in Norway. This is because, for example, education is free or rather affordable even in higher education. They also speculated that there are more chances of getting jobs in Norway than it is back in Kenya.

For people who migrate due to involuntarily due to circumstances in the home countries, they may have different experiences than the voluntary immigrants. According to the statistisk sentralbyrå (SSD, 2016), there are 1,706 Kenyan immigrants as compared to 28,300 Somalis in Norway. This number indicates that refugee immigrants are higher that any other immigrants. This is due to the masses that immigrate due to conflict and other reasons that force people to immigrate involuntarily.

A research done by Kristin Førde (2008) about Somalis has indicated that they have not been able to integrate as well as it would have been expected. It also shows in the research that Somalis in Oslo are well known to be concentrated in a town called Grønland. A major hindrance to integration is the fact that they are segregated with their own people. They have created their own community within a larger community and stereotyping is inherent towards the Somalis and vice-verse.

A comparison between the Kenyan immigrants case and the Somalian immigrants case, it becomes clear that Kenyan immigrants are small in number and hence dispersed within Oslo. Their reason for immigrating voluntary and focused on certain goals, while for the Somalis is involuntary and focused on safety from conflict in their country.

As mentioned in the research, the Norwegian government provides them basic human needs and economic support. This has led to some of the Somalis to be reluctant in searching for jobs or even going to school. As a result, they have segregated themselves from the larger community since they are provided for by the government and due to lack of language, they may find it hard to communicate with the larger society.

Reasons for immigration can therefore hinder or facilitate integration. If refugee immigrants are expected to integrate to the larger society, programs to facilitate this agenda should be enforced. Supporting refugee immigrants should be temporary and go hand in hand with programs that help them to integrate like helping them to support themselves through getting them jobs, assisting them to go to school, and so on.

5.5.4   Motivation for changes

Changes, as documented by this study, are inevitable to integration. When there is contact between two different personalities, influence and/or adjustments are more likely to take place in an effort to align to each others expectation. In the absence of these, conflict takes over the relationship between the two and the process has to start all over again for alignment to happen.

Integration cannot be achieved in the presence of conflict. Therefore, there has to be a motivation for integration to be achieved. In the two cases mentioned above between the Somali and Kenyan immigrants, motivation can be traced more in the Kenyan immigrants than in the Somali immigrants.

Hiebert in his book says, "a strong group orientation leads to the suppression of the individual..." (Hiebert, 2011, Loc.920). For example, the women who participated in this study claimed that women in Norway are empowered and have the freedom to choose than it is in Kenya. They have taken this advantage to advance themselves career wise and academically.

For the men, though most of them felt that their "man identity" has diminished, they also had a positive view on the changes to their cultural identity. For the married men, they claimed that the burden of being the sole provider has been lifted due to the fact that their wives are also contributing, economically, in their homes.

These changes have been motivated by the fact that the participants have embraced a more individualistic and pragmatic life style. They have slowly drifted away from their primordial cultural identity, that dictated otherwise, to the above scenarios.

As the participants have worked towards integrating to the Norwegian society they have adopted some of the norms inherent in the society to suit them and help them to cope and align to the demands of their new environment.

Summary

This section has discussed on the general challenges that the participants of this study revealed. This challenges have been the basis of discussion in comparing challenges that may be experienced by immigrants in general. It is clear that issues on culture, identity, cultural identity, and integration go hand in hand and are the foundations of attitudes of immigrants. These challenges shape the worldviews and ethos of the immigrants in their new environment, and their reaction to the new society depends on how the immigrants appreciate these challenges. The immigrants are either bound to integrate with the larger society or segregate themselves, in reflection to their adjustments required by the society at large.

6.0   CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to research on the challenges that Kenyan immigrants face in maintaining their cultural identity in Oslo, Norway. The purpose was to investigate on how cultural identity may change, and if no changes, how it is maintained. The reason why this research was important was because immigrants face discrimination based on their cultures as well as their races.

As it has been found out from the participants of this particular study, change is inevitable for integration to happen. It becomes quite unfortunate that change and adjustments are one sided. The immigrants are expected to adjust to their host's environment and adhere to their culture. It would be a smooth transition if there are efforts made by the hosts to also adjust themselves and be more accommodating to the immigrants.

The outcome of immigrants being rigid to integration is segregation. This encourages stereotyping from both the immigrants and the hosts. Another outcome may also be conflict between the two sides because of lack of contact and understanding.

The participants of this study also expressed a concern that they still don't perceive themselves as fully accepted in the society. This has resulted in them not fully engaging with

the Norwegian society as expected even after living in Norway for a couple of years and integrating in society.

As long as immigrants feel left out in by the hosts' society, achieving complete integration may still be a challenge. As mentioned in this study, the participants view their relationships with most Norwegians as acquaintances. They may have a few friends but the relationships are not at the same level as friends from their own countrymen or from their immigrant friends.

A sense of commonality comes in here. The participants tend to associate themselves more with other immigrants due to the very reason that they are immigrants and share a common experience as immigrants. It then raises the question as to whether the Norwegian society segregates itself from immigrants for them to be termed as "them" and the immigrants as "us"?

All in all, governments and any other social system have to work towards finding ways into which the hosts and the immigrants work together in order for them to find a sense of commonality. This sense of commonality is what will develop to closer relationships and scrap away segregation. A sense of commonality will help the two groups to respect each other and hence oversee cultural and race issues. This is so because if immigrants from different countries can find a commonality between them and oversee their differences, the same can be achieved with the hosts.

The significance of this study is based on the fact there has been increased globalization which has seen the increase of immigration. With this in mind, it is crucial to understand attitudes from both the immigrants and hosts in attempt to create harmony. It is also crucial to look into ways that can undermine the rise of conflicts between the two groups. If this is not checked, then conflict is to be expected and it can be difficult to deal with than to avoid/constrain it.

In order to achieve this harmony, studies on both immigrants' and hosts' attitudes towards each other have to be done. This particular study concentrated more on the immigrants. I would propose that the same be done with the hosts.

Another significant issue, that was a motivation for this study, was to check the trends of change in cultural identity and the motivation behind it. As it was found out in this study, the participants have had to adjust their cultural identity in order to integrate and as a result, they have been fruitful in achieving their goals.

The fact that they are able to achieve their life long goals, it has given them a sense of tolerance an understanding towards the Norwegian society. For example, the issue of homosexuality has been a concept that all of the participants admitted to have had a more liberal and tolerant attitude than when they were in Kenya.

This means that a give and take kind of situation has been taking place. The participants have had to become tolerant and more liberal in there worldviews and ethos, and in return, they have been able to live in harmony with the Norwegians and at the same time achieve their goals. It is only fair to say that, immigrants will hold on to their worldviews and ethos if they are not to benefit from loosing them, or at least some of them. This though, should be done with caution not to violate their beliefs and values by giving the perception that it is a condition to be accepted.

This study has also confirmed that culture and identity are not permanent. These two can transform to adapt to situations. For example, the participants of this study had a more idealistic worldview and a group-oriented ethos when they came to Norway. These have transformed over time in order to adapt to the new environment. The participants mentioned that they have become more individualistic and more liberal in their thinking.

Two things were remarkable to these two concepts of concern, that is, the worldviews and ethos. It becomes more clearer that worldviews and ethos are deep rooted within individuals. For example, the participants had a more conservative stand on religion. Some claimed that they have become less religious while others claimed that they have adopted to a more liberal view on religion.

These transformations have been brought about by integrating to a secular society. The point here is that even in the advent of these transformations, the participants still claimed that they are religious, only that the religious "face" is not as it was while in Kenya.

This means that assimilation of immigrants is almost impossible. The only acceptable and hence applicable notion is integration. One's identity can only alter some changes but it cannot be completely erased and replaced by another. Identity is what gives meaning to individuals, and an attempt to erase and replace will just create uncertainty and confusion to that particular individual.

This might be the reason behind the claim, from the participants, that they don't think they can ever speak the Norwegian language to the level of the natives. It is because they have a different meaning to issues and life than the Norwegians do. The only thing that left for them to do is to understand the Norwegians as they are and respect them for who they are.

Assimilation of immigrants, then, becomes a term that is difficult to put into practice. Institutions should work towards implementing integration, having in mind that the individuals being integrated have their own worldviews and ethos that are deep rooted and hence difficult to replace.

This, again, can only be fully achieved if the hosts are willing to integrate with the immigrants in the same way. It will help them understand their point of views and hence respect them and find harmony between them and the immigrants.

Recommendations for further research:
Finally, I would wish to make recommendations towards future research based on immigration issues. It was not aim of this study to research on integration, though, the issue emerged as an issue to be considered for further research. This study may have hinted some recommendations on integration, but further research specifically aim at integration should be done.

This study found out that immigrants may be willing to integrate but the burden to integrate has been perceived to be one sided. Further research should be done on how the hosts can also be integrated with the immigrants.

It is clear that the West has faced many increased immigration cases, and by so, I would specifically wish researches to conducted in the West. It is also clear that the large amount of immigrants that are immigrating to the West come from countries with a more traditional

concept of culture. These immigrants have, for example, a strong opinion on gender roles and have a conservative opinion on religious matters.

For this matter, I would recommend further research on gender and religious integration. For example, this study found out that it is more difficult for men to integrate than it is for women. Research should be conducted on how the two genders should be appropriately integrated keeping in mind that the traditional culture views men as more superior that women.

On the issue of religion, research should also be conducted on how integration can be done for immigrants that come from more conservative religious beliefs. The immigrants should not be threatened by the fact that their religion can be a base for discrimination and stereotyping. Research should be done on how these immigrants can still practice their religion and at the same time respect other people's opinion on religion. For example, as mentioned earlier, the Kenyan government recognizes the major religions in the country. This is done by giving them the freedom of worship while appreciating religious diversity by even giving them specific holidays in there gazetted calendar, hence the Diwali, Ramadhan, Christmas and so on festivities. Globalization has given rise to immigration. These issues need to be addressed to achieve harmony in contemporary societies.

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APPENDICES:

Interview Questions:

- **Background**
1. What is your name?
2. Where in Kenya do you come from?
3. How many years have you been in Norway?
4. What was your reason for migrating to Norway?

- **Language**
5. How many languages can you speak?
6. Can you speak Norwegian, if yes, what are the challenges you have experienced in learning the language?
7. Do you feel you can fully express yourself in Norwegian?

- **Values**
8. What is/are the source(s) of your values?
9. Do you find challenges in maintaining some of your values in the Norwegian society?

- **Norms**

10. Can you name some of the norms that are common to Kenyans living in Kenya?

11. Do you still hold some of these norms today?

12. What has changed over time about the norms and why do you think these have changed?

- **Religion**

13. Do you consider yourself as religious? If yes, which religion do you belong to?

14. What are some of the challenges that you have encountered in maintaining your religion?

15. What is your take on homosexuality now compared to when you were in Kenya?

- **Symbolic identity**

16. Would someone in the streets identify you as a Kenyan?

17. Is it important for you to identify yourself as a Kenyan to others, and why?

- **Gender issues**

18. Are you married?

19. If yes, how is your family structure in comparison to the norm in Kenya?

20. If not married, are there gender challenges you face in the Norwegian society?

21. What are the contrasts about gender issues between Norway and Kenya?

- **Socialization**

22. Do you have Norwegian friends?

23. Do you socialize more with immigrants or with Norwegians, why?

24. What challenges have you faced in socializing here in Norway compared to when you were in Kenya?

25. Have you experienced racism/discrimination here in Norway, if yes, what is your attitude towards the issue and how do you react in the event it happens.

- **Identity**

26. Has your Kenyan identity been modified by the Norwegian society over the years?