

# Beyond heritage and acculturation

Accounts of upbringing, choices, and plans from children of immigrants in prestigious higher education in Norway

Marianne Takvam Kindt



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Department of Education

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# Contents

Summary .....	i
Acknowledgments .....	iii
<b>Introductory chapter</b> .....	1
<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>1.2. The societal context</b> .....	3
<i>1.2.1. The Norwegian setting of immigration</i> .....	4
<i>1.2.2. Socioeconomic incorporation</i> .....	4
<i>1.2.3. The Norwegian educational system</i> .....	6
<i>1.2.4. Public attitudes and public debate</i> .....	7
<b>1.3. A reader's guide to the thesis</b> .....	10
<b>2. Background and theory</b> .....	11
<b>2.1. How did they get there? Different paths to educational success</b> .....	11
<i>2.1.1. Segmented assimilation versus neo-assimilation theory</i> .....	11
<i>2.1.2. Culture, class origin, and school promotive behavior</i> .....	12
<i>2.1.3. Middle-class parenting</i> .....	14
<b>2.2. Culture and inclusion</b> .....	16
<i>2.2.1. Cultural continuity and change</i> .....	17
<i>2.2.2. Acceptance and "covering" in the face of stereotypes</i> .....	18
<b>2.3. Work and family in the lives of daughters of immigrants</b> .....	20
<i>2.3.1. Becoming adequately integrated: Education, marriage, and labor market participation</i> .....	21
<b>2.4. A narrative approach</b> .....	24
<i>2.4.1. Narrative and discourse</i> .....	25
<i>2.4.2. Narratives between structure and agency</i> .....	26
<b>3. Research Design</b> .....	27
<b>3.1. Data</b> .....	27
<i>3.1.1. Sample</i> .....	27
<i>3.1.2. Recruitment</i> .....	29
<b>3.2. Methods</b> .....	29
<i>3.2.1. About the interview</i> .....	30
<b>3.3. Analytical approaches</b> .....	31
<i>3.3.1. Dealing with truth</i> .....	31
<i>3.3.2. Working with transcribed text and constructing narratives</i> .....	32

3.3.3. <i>My role as a researcher</i> .....	35
3.4. The quality of the interviews: Notes on issues of validity and generalization.....	36
3.5. Ethical considerations .....	38
4. Summary of articles .....	41
5. Summarizing Discussion .....	45
5.1. The mismatch between ascribed and experienced social status .....	45
5.2. Being socioeconomically integrated, culturally stereotyped .....	46
5.3. Juggling sameness and differences.....	47
5.4. Contributions .....	48
5.5. Limitations and the way ahead .....	50
5.6. Conclusion: Beyond heritage and acculturation.....	52
References .....	53
Article 1:.....	63
Article 2:.....	67
Article 3:.....	71
List of appendices .....	101

## Summary

During the early decades of the twenty-first century, the “age of migration” confronted host societies with uncertainty regarding the level of incorporation of immigrants and their offspring. In this thesis, I investigate the experiences of inclusion, major life transitions, and the negotiation of parental and native majority norms of children of immigrants enrolled in prestigious higher educational tracks. While the overrepresentation of children of immigrants in higher education is often elevated as a preeminent sign of successful integration, it also entails a worry that their success is partially a story of social control. However, we know little about how this group experiences occupying a place between success and suspicion. Through interview data, in three empirical research articles, this thesis investigates how they account for, and interpret the passage from their migrant minority background upbringing through elite higher education and into the adult life of career and family formation in contemporary Norwegian society.

When migrants arrive in Norway, they often end up in the lower echelons of society. From what we know, based on previous research, this would imply lower chances of succeeding in the educational system. Thus, the educational success of children of immigrants has been portrayed as a puzzle. *In the first article*, I ask how these children of immigrants have experienced their upbringing and the role of parental involvement throughout their childhood. First, I find that most of the interviewees, although perceived as hailing from a “low socioeconomic background,” have parents with what they understand as “high status” from their country of origin. Second, I find that when applying Annette Lareau’s (2011) theory on middle class parenting as “concerted cultivation,” it becomes clear that a lot of the interviewees’ experience with their parents’ involvement can be interpreted as class-specific rather than immigrant-specific.

*In the second article*, I ask how the interviewees themselves account for having chosen prestigious fields of higher education, and how these accounts tell us something about their general feeling of inclusion in Norway. The findings show how they draw on narratives of individuality, free choice, and independence. In the article, I argue that these types of narratives could remedy a stigma that impedes their acceptance by the majority population: that these successful children of immigrants have made the right choice but not necessarily for the right reasons.

However, the question that arises is what will happen to this group upon graduation? One specific worry is that highly educated daughters of immigrants will be held back by traditional gender norms at the time of family formation and, thus, end up as housewives instead of doctors or lawyers. *In the third article*, I ask what the women in the study have planned regarding their future family and work situations, and what role their parents play in these plans. I find that while they intend to use their educational credentials in the labor market, they also want to enter a within-group, parent-aided marriage. The aim in the article is not to comment upon the likelihoods of these scenarios, but to understand how these women negotiate and make sense of this situation: wanting to be independent at the same time as they feel obliged toward their parents. By drawing on narratives that blur the distinction between an “arranged” and a “romantic” marriage, they insist on the compatibility between being successfully integrated and independent without it entailing a complete separation from their families’ wishes and customs.

Overall, this thesis shows how members of a successful group of children of immigrants make sense of a multifaceted mix of real and imagined expectations and prejudices, both of their families and the native majority population. Regardless of how important they feel that the content of their parents’ culture are in the choices they have made or are about to make, they have to relate to it as it is made important within the larger discursive context in Norway.

## Acknowledgments

I always begin a new book by first reading the acknowledgments. This reminds me that while there may be only one name on the cover, we as humans manage little on our own. This thesis is a result of the contribution of several people. First and foremost, I want to express my gratefulness for the generous interviewees of this study, who willingly shared their experiences, thoughts, and reflections with me. You are the fundament of this work, as it would have been nothing without your participation.

My main supervisor, Kristinn Hegna, was brought to me a year into my work. I was swept away by the first feedback I got from her, as it was the first time I received a review so thorough as hers. From that day onward, I have cherished every meeting we have had, from our long discussions on scientific matters to our small encounters watching the newest clip of SKAM. Further, I want to thank my second supervisor, Ola Erstad, for giving me confidence from the very first e-mail I sent him, to this day on. Without your enthusiastic attitude to my project and your willingness to supervise me through it, I would never have applied for this position.

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I also want to thank Glynda Hull for inviting me as a visiting scholar to UC Berkeley. The research stay I had there was rewarding in many ways. In addition, thanks to the Interdisciplinary Immigration Workshop led by Cybelle Fox and Irene Bloemraad for giving me the opportunity to present my work and learn from fellow peers in the field.

As I had never studied anything offered at the Department of Education before beginning my PhD there, I was scared to feel lost. However, thanks to the research group MEDiate, this did not happen. I am grateful that I have had the opportunity to have a community, to be exposed to intriguing new research, and receive high quality feedback from all the community members. However, the most important community throughout the years at the department has been with my fellow PhD/Postdoc -colleges. Rachel, Caroline, Kristin,

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Regardless of the warm welcome and the lovely people at IPED, I still identify as a sociologist. Therefore, I want to thank all my fellow sociology peers for giving me the feeling of belonging to an academic community whenever I craved it. An extra thanks to Thea Stømme for being a supportive comrade through the years, from completing our masters to finishing our PhDs.

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Although writing a PhD is hard work, "real life" can also be difficult. Luckily, I share mine with Ferdinand. While I am forever grateful for all the time you have spent helping me with putting this thesis together, being my best critique, interlocutor, and proofreader, expressing the love I have for you (and for us as a team) is impossible in this format. However, Ferdinand, I know that you know. Thank you for making the journey of parenting, partnership, and love meaningful, fun, and ever-evolving.

# Introductory chapter\*

## 1. Introduction

International migration, much of it from the global south to receiving countries in Western Europe and Northern America, is a defining characteristic of the contemporary world. While the successful incorporation of newcomers is important, scholars and pundits have examined the behavior of immigrants' children as the ultimate litmus test of integration. Based on interview data, this thesis is about a group of young adult children of immigrants<sup>1</sup> who are enrolled in prestigious educational tracks. It investigates how they account for, negotiate, and interpret the passage from their migrant minority background upbringing through elite higher education and into the adult life of career and family formation in contemporary Norwegian society.

Although many recognize that immigration entails certain positive outcomes for the Norwegian society at large, the public debate is often problem-oriented. The integration of people with so-called non-Western origins—often denoted as ethnic, cultural, and religious minorities—is widely considered to be a challenge (Waldring, Crul, and Ghorashi 2014; McPherson 2010; Olwig 2013; Coleman 2006). In a trite phrase, the second generation is said to live “between two cultures” (Alghasi, Fangen, and Frønes 2006). Indeed, their very predicament of being “in-between” arises from (the majority’s) concern about the degree to which they will adhere to their parents’ origin or their society and secondary socialization (Foner and Dreby 2011). One major concern is whether or not children of immigrants will reproduce their parents’ often socioeconomically marginal position, producing a lack of “socioeconomic integration”, often measured by educational attainment and labor market attachment. Another concern is whether children of immigrants will maintain customs and practices of their parents’ culture that are unfamiliar or even deemed conflicting with the norms and culture of the native majority. As such, this would involve a lack of “cultural integration”, often measured through ethno-cultural identification, attitudinal questionnaires

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\* In the process of writing this introductory chapter, I received helpful feedback from Ingrid Smette, Kristinn Hegna, Kenneth Silseth, Jo Inge Johansen Frøytlog, and Ferdinand Mohn.

<sup>1</sup> The interviewees in this study have parents who have migrated from different countries; however they are mostly from Asian and/or Muslim family backgrounds. To refer to this group, I sometimes use the term “Non-Western”, as it is commonly used both in previous research articles and in the public debate. I acknowledge, however, that this is not a neutral term, and that its use is somewhat problematic. Throughout the thesis, I use the term “children of immigrants,” “the second generation,” and “descendants” interchangeably. I use these terms to refer to both those who are born in Norway by immigrant parents, and those who came here before school age (the so-called 1.5 generation) (Rumbaut 2004).

and the practice of certain customs such as arranged marriage. While children of immigrants are well represented in higher education (Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012; Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008; Alba and Foner 2015), there still exists a concern that their success is partially a story of social control (Leirvik 2016) and that they lack basic independence—a core value in the Norwegian society and educational system. This worry is particularly strong for female descendants, as one concern posits that more traditional gender norms may obstruct the labor market participation of daughters of immigrants. As such, even though social scholars frequently discuss whether cultural adaptation is a crucial part of immigrant integration or not (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011a; Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters 2011; Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011b), there is a widespread public focus on the “acculturation” of minority migrant populations, with a frequently occurring attitude that immigrants are responsible for adapting to the native majority’s culture and values (Brekke and Mohn 2018; Sobolewska, Galandini og Lessard-Phillips 2017).

It is within this context the interviewees in this study reflect and understand their own passage through prestigious higher education. Through the analyses of interview data with children of immigrants admitted to prestigious higher educational tracks, this PhD thesis is an attempt to understand central aspects of their life-trajectories. Across three empirical journal articles and this introductory chapter this thesis investigates these young adults’ experiences with their upbringing, their negotiations between their parental and native majority norms, their accounts of having chosen a prestigious educational track, and their hopes for the future. In this regard, I pose three main research questions:

- How have these children of immigrants experienced their upbringing and the role of parental involvement throughout their childhood?
- How do they account for having chosen prestigious fields of higher education?
- What do the women in this study plan for regarding their future family and work situations, and in what ways are their parents’ wishes and expectations present in these plans?

In sum, the answers to these three questions lead me to an investigation of these young adults’ passage from growing up in a migrant minority family, through elite higher education and further into their career and family plans. Addressing the reasoning, narratives, and relationships involved in the choices crucial to the life-course of these young adults, I hope to bring an increased understanding to the specific situation of highly educated members of the

second generation. In a context where this group is often portrayed as being exposed to competing pressures (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp 2018), focusing on their assessments and valuations, including what type of choices and norms they embrace and what it takes to be included and accepted in Norwegian society, I hope to highlight aspects of the integration processes that are often overlooked and surpassed by more objective measures such as socioeconomic success. The findings from this study are presented in the following three research articles:

**Article 1:** Kindt, Marianne Takvam. 2017. "Innvandrerdriv eller middelklassedriv? Foreldres ressurser og valg av høyere utdanning blant barn av innvandrere" *Norsk sosiologisk tidsskrift* 1 (01):71-86.

**Article 2:** Kindt, Marianne Takvam. 2018. "Right choice, wrong motives? Narratives about prestigious educational choices among children of immigrants in Norway." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (5):958-976.

**Article 3:** Kindt, Marianne Takvam. 2018. "Negotiating independence and tradition: Career-, marriage-, and family-planning among daughters of immigrants enrolled in higher education in Norway", *Submitted manuscript (undergoing peer review)*

Together, these articles address central aspects of the socioeconomic and cultural integration of children of immigrants: their academic success, choice of educational track, weighing of multiple and, occasionally, contradictory motives and norms, and their evaluations of parental advice regarding both careers and marriage. While the first article can be interpreted as a background article, providing deeper insight about who the interviewees are and how they have lived their life, the second and third articles adopt a narrative approach when analyzing the data. Here, the focus is on how the interviewees make sense of and attach meaning to their experiences and understandings of self.

## **1.2. The societal context**

To understand what is being said within the context of an interview, it is crucial that we also know what is going on outside of that particular interview (Lamont and Swidler 2014). While this is key for all studies that use interview data, the social context in which the interviews take place becomes even more important when drawing on a narrative approach. Here, a narrative is not considered a window into people's "own stories," but as stories *within* society (Gubrium and Holstein 2009, 11). Thus, since the aim in this thesis is to understand the experiences of highly educated children of immigrants in Norway, we must first expose some core features of the Norwegian context: when and why their parents migrated to Norway, how

these families have been doing socioeconomically, as well as relevant features of education in Norway and the public debate on immigration and integration.

### *1.2.1. The Norwegian setting of immigration*

In the course of the last 50 years, Norway has experienced a rapid transition from being a homogenous monoethnic country with net emigration to a diverse multiethnic society with an immigrant population comparable in size to that of, for example, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008, SSB 2018). Nevertheless, immigration to Norway from outside of Europe came about later than it did for these other countries—in the late 1960s, with the arrival of male labor migrants from Pakistan, Turkey, Morocco, and India (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008). In 1975, a new policy halted this flow of low-skilled migrants and, consequently, the type of immigration changed. Norway now began receiving migrants that could be divided into three categories: skilled labor migration, refugees and asylum seekers, and family-based immigration (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008). Post-1975, immigration to Norway mainly consisted of family reunification or refugees, followed by labor migrants from Eastern Europe after the eastward expansions of the European Union (EU) in the 2000s. Thus, the bulk of immigrants who came to Norway prior to the millennium was from low-income countries and had little formal education (Hermansen 2017).

As of January 2018, the total immigrant population (immigrants and their Norwegian-born children) is 916 700 people, 17.3% of the population. Among them, 3.2% or 170,000 people, are Norwegian-born children of immigrant parents (SSB 2018). As immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon in Norway, children of immigrants are still young: 80% of them are under 20 years of age. In this thesis, all interviewees are over 20 years of age. The age composition reflects the timing of their parents' arrival, thereby implying that children of immigrants above 20 years mostly have parents from the early waves of labor immigration and refugee arrivals. Children of Pakistani parents are by far the largest group, followed by children with parents from Turkey, Morocco, India, Vietnam, and Chile (Reisel, Hermansen, and Kindt 2018).

### *1.2.2. Socioeconomic incorporation*

Norway's population transition has made the integration of immigrants and their descendants one of the major challenges of the twenty-first century. While immigrants from non-European countries often have relatively low educational attainments, research on migration suggests that they often have higher levels of skill than the overall population in their country of origin (Borjas 1992). However, this tendency might be less clear in Norway, as the generous welfare

state might serve as a pull factor for less productive migrants (Hermansen 2017, 21). Regardless, many immigrants experience steep downward mobility upon their arrival in the destination country (Ichou 2014). Their lack of credentials serviceable in the Norwegian labor market as well as insufficient language skills and pertinent knowledge all make inclusion in the mainstream society difficult. Generally, immigrants from low-income countries outside of Europe have lower employment rates, lower wages, and higher dependency on social welfare assistance than natives (Bratsberg, Raaum, and Røed 2014). In fact, Norway and the other Scandinavian countries are among the western European countries with the largest gaps in labor market participation between immigrants and natives (Hermansen 2017). While immigrants' individual characteristics are important, the specific structural and institutional arrangements in the receiving country also shape integration outcomes (Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012). Previous research indicates that certain aspects of the Norwegian welfare state, such as universal access to social allowance and disability pensions, might act as disincentives to work, thereby contributing to the relatively poor living conditions of immigrants (Bratsberg, Raaum, and Røed 2010, 2014).

This implies that children of immigrants are more likely to grow up in poor families than their native majority peers (Hermansen 2017; Reisel, Hermansen, and Kindt 2018). Whether these inequalities are reproduced or mitigated with the next generation is of notable interest for researchers and policymakers alike. The success of immigrants' children is often talked about as a "litmus test of integration". Given their Norwegian upbringing and exposure to the same institutions as their native-background peers, truly efficacious integration policies should give them chances to succeed that are comparable to their native-background peers.

The overall successes of immigrants' children in Norwegian education and the labor market are promising. While they tend to have slightly lower test scores than their native peers, members of the second generation appear to be highly motivated for school. They spend more time on homework and report high aspirations regarding continuation to higher education compared to native peers with similar grades and socioeconomic backgrounds (Bakken 2016; Friberg 2016; Frøyland and Gjerustad 2012; Hegna 2010; Lauglo 1999). The gaps in completion of upper-secondary education between children of immigrants and natives are narrowing (Bratsberg, Raaum, and Røed 2012). Further, children of immigrants have higher continuation rates into tertiary education compared to their native peers. Although there is some group heterogeneity, only those with parents from Chile or Turkey appear to

have lower enrollment rates in higher education than their native majority peers (Reisel, Hermansen, and Kindt 2018).<sup>2</sup>

As the second generation is still young, research on their inclusion in the labor market is sparse. Although their employment rates are much higher than that of their parents, children of immigrants have marginally lower rates of employment than their native peers (Hermansen 2013). In Norway, the gap between highly educated female descendants and native majority women are somewhat larger than that for men. While 86.9% of highly educated females are active, the same is true for 93.2 % of highly educated native majority females. For men, the corresponding figures are 89.6% (highly educated male descendants) and 93.5% (highly educated native majority men) (Olsen 2018). While the gap between descendants and native majority might be due to discrimination (Midtbøen 2016, 2013), the gap between male and female descendants might indicate more traditional gender norms (Brekke and Rogstad 2011, Hermansen 2013, Kavli and Nadim 2009). The differences are quite small; however, as the numbers are not divided by country of origin, they might hide larger differences between some groups of women.

Nevertheless, intergenerational mobility is high among children of immigrants. They improve their education and earnings more than children of natives from similar social origins (Bratsberg, Raaum, and Røed 2012; Hermansen 2016). This has generated optimism and is regularly described as a success story (Leirvik 2014). The overall positive trend is comparable to other countries in Western Europe and the US (Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012; Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008; Alba and Foner 2015), although Norway appears to do even better when it comes to the social mobility of children of immigrants (Bratsberg, Raaum, and Røed 2012; Hermansen 2016). A possible explanation posits a role for institutional factors, for example, late tracking in the educational system. Thus, we now turn to a brief exposition of the system, norms, and culture of education in Norway.

### *1.2.3. The Norwegian educational system*

The comprehensive educational system in Norway, often referred to as “Communal School” (Smette 2015; Imsen and Volckmar 2014) is characterized by late tracking and a high level of national standardization in curriculum. Diminishing social divisions and ensuring access to higher education for all are explicit political goals. Students make their first educational

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<sup>2</sup> There can be numerous factors affecting different group’s educational achievement. Potential explanatory factors are the selectivity of some immigrant groups (Lee and Zhou 2015, Feliciano and Lanuza 2017), different cultural customs and norms (Leirvik 2016, Modood 2004), and the manner in which different groups are treated in the host society (Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012).

choice at the age of 15–16 years, before graduating from compulsory school. This is late compared to other European countries. In 10<sup>th</sup> grade, students choose whether or not to continue with vocational or academic tracks. Students in the vocational track can still achieve entrance requirements for continuation into tertiary education by completing a year of general subject supplements (Reisel, Hermansen, and Kindt 2018). Further, most Norwegian universities are public and do not charge tuition fees, and the Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund provides students with loans on an equal basis. Several studies suggest that these features benefit students from low socioeconomic origins and immigrant backgrounds (Reisel, Hermansen, and Kindt 2018; Alba and Foner 2015; Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012).

Thus, while some aspects of the Norwegian welfare state might function as impediments for the participation of immigrants in the labor force, other institutional features of the same egalitarian and universalistic system appear to aid their children's inclusion in Norwegian society (Hermansen 2017). Nevertheless, the Norwegian unitary school system is occasionally criticized for not being sufficiently well equipped to handle student diversity. The overall focus on equality and social cohesion can tip over into a school system and culture where similarity is considered a precondition of inclusion (Seeberg 2003; Hagelund 2007). As schools are often understood as places where you learn how others view you (Rollock et al. 2011), the result can be that students from minority backgrounds experience that being “different” is difficult and not really accepted (Music and Godø 2011; Seeberg 2003).

In addition to being a universal system with a focus on equality, students in the Norwegian educational system are taught that independence and autonomy are important values that should guide their choices in life. These values appear as particularly salient points of reference for the interviewees in this study, and I attend to this characteristic of the Norwegian education culture in subsequent sections of this introduction. Before that, we briefly discuss another relevant context for their orientations—the Norwegian population's attitudes and the public discourse directed at the immigrant population.

#### ***1.2.4. Public attitudes and public debate***

Public attitudes towards immigrants appear to have become more positive during the recent two decades, with an increasing balance of positive over negative answers in surveys on the cultural and economic role of immigrants (Hellevik and Hellevik 2017). Comparatively speaking, Norway generally ranks high on lists of the most immigration-benevolent

populations in Europe (Blom 2011). Nevertheless, a substantial number of people report negative attitudes, and such surveys often depict cleavages between generations and groups with higher vs. lower education (Hellevik and Hellevik 2017).

While many Norwegians report benevolent attitudes towards immigrants, a large majority remain highly skeptical about the quality of their integration into mainstream society (Brekke and Mohn 2018). Although debates regarding the success of integration policies often raise issues of economic sustainability, achieving cultural integration appears to be a growing concern in many European societies (Song 2009; Friberg 2016; McPherson 2010; Olwig 2013). In Norway, a troublesome history of assimilation politics (particularly against the indigenous Sami population) has left the public preferring the term “integration” when addressing incorporation of immigrants and their children (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008)<sup>3</sup>. Although the use of the term signals a choice not to assimilate culturally, politics has increasingly focused on the importance of *shared values* (Fangen and Mohn 2010). The public sentiments on the direction of adaptation are clear: three-quarters of the Norwegian population partially or entirely agrees with the proposition that “immigrants must fully adapt to Norwegian culture and values,” while barely one-tenth of the population agrees that immigrants “should be allowed to choose whether to adapt” (Brekke and Mohn 2018).

The focus on equality as a normative ideal, a valuable characteristic of Norwegian society and as a goal to be attained has a few problematic consequences. These sentiments are often assumed to be threatened by increased immigration (NOU 2017, 12). “Immigrant culture” is frequently characterized as opposing this equality ideal, as it is described as traditional and anti-individualistic (Hagelund 2008; Andersson 2012; Døving 2012). As several large groups of immigrants in Norway came from countries where Islam is the major religion, part of the debate has centered on the compatibility of “Norwegian values” and values perceived to be central in Islam. Approximately half of the Norwegian population state that they are skeptical toward people of Muslim faith, and approximately the same proportion believe that the values of Islam are partially or completely incompatible with “Norwegian values” (Brekke and Mohn 2018). Judging by the public debates, part of this perceived conflict can probably be tied to the notion of the Norwegian society as particularly woman-friendly and Islam as a patriarchal religion.

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<sup>3</sup> In this thesis, I use the words adaptation, inclusion and integration as synonyms. However, as the term “assimilation” is often used in the international research literature, I also refer to it occasionally.

Recently, these topics have surfaced from members of the minority groups themselves. In October 2016, Nancy Herz wrote an essay in one of the leading newspapers in Norway with the following striking message: “We are the shameless Arabic girls, and our time starts now” (Herz 2016)<sup>4</sup>. She assessed the importance of being able to make one’s own individual choices, without being subject to social control. While several women with minority background have reported previous experiences with social control, pressure, and violence within immigrant communities, the “shameless girls” do not only talk about extreme cases of social control (such as honor killings and forced marriages). They talk about a patriarchal culture so dominant that it not only affects major life events but also controls how you walk, talk, eat, and dress (Bile, Srour, and Herz 2017). One testament to the presence of “shameless girls” in public debate is their prominence in the prime minister’s traditional New Year’s Eve speech (NRK 2017):

In some societies, the shame, what we often refer to as negative social control, is like a prison some girls are deemed spending a lifetime in. We have fought against this for years, but culture is difficult to change. Now, we are witnessing a new generation of minority girls taking place. A freedom generation. A freedom generation who want to decide for themselves what to do with their lives, who they want to flirt with at parties, and who they are going to spend their lives with. I want them to know that they have mine, and our, full support<sup>5</sup>

In the prime minister’s speech, social control is juxtaposed with individual freedom, and the areas that are highlighted as potentially suffering under social control are sexuality, family formation, and career choice. While the “shameless girls” add nuance to the polarized debate—for example, by insisting that social control is not only a problem within immigrant minority communities or by showing that it is not only women who are subject to this type of control—these nuances are occasionally overlooked. In public debate, freedom is often portrayed as a cultural trait that characterizes the Norwegian native majority, while social control is considered a problem within immigrant families (Erdal 2013). One consequence of this polarization is that public utterances are often accused for either legitimizing stereotypical images of the immigrant population or for trivializing real problems at the expense of women’s rights. To promote a feministic *and* anti-racist message simultaneously appears almost impossible (Helseth 2017).

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<sup>4</sup>«Vi er de skamløse arabiske jentene og vår tid begynner nå»

<sup>5</sup>“I noen samfunn er skammen, det vi kaller negative social kontroll et fengsel som særlig enkelte jenter er dømt til å tilbringe et helt liv i. Vi har kjempet mot dette lenge, men kultur er vanskelig å endre. Nå ser vi en ny generasjon jenter med minoritetsbakgrunn stå frem. En frihetsgenerasjon. En frihetsgenerasjon som selv vil bestemme hva de skal bli, hvem de skal flørte med på fest og hvem de skal dele livet sitt med. De skal vite at de har min og vår fulle støtte.”

The public debate has political implications. In 2017, the Ministry of Justice launched an Action Plan (Handlingsplan) against negative social control, forced marriages, and genital mutilation, thereby suggesting the implementation of several measures (JD 2017). One of the first things a recently appointed Minister of Education and Integration did was to launch a campaign against negative social control, where the aim is to implement suggestions from the action plan. Through social media, they release short films directed at young people living in families with unreasonably strict rules, telling them that help is available (KD 2018). Parental guidance is a priority among several measures to prevent forced marriages and genital mutilation.

This context of public orientation and debate is a non-negligible part of the lives of first-generation Norwegians who grow up in Muslim and other families of non-Western origin. Hopefully, the measures will help people who live under force, pressure, and violence. However, the polarized image of immigrant culture and the native majority culture as opposing each other can create a context where minorities' actions and attitudes are often interpreted in cultural terms. Further, it might be challenging to know where to draw the line between acceptable parental advice and negative social control. This might make children of immigrants insecure about their family experiences and whether or not it is perceived as "too much control." Currently, the debate over social control is ubiquitous to the extent of probably being impossible to ignore for minority youths standing at the threshold of important life events, such as their occupational and family career.

### **1.3. A reader's guide to the thesis**

In this introductory text, I assess the background and relevance of the three empirical articles that constitute this thesis. First, I discuss the state of knowledge and theoretical background of the articles, aiming at situating them within a broader field. Second, I outline the research design, discussing strengths and weaknesses with the methods and approaches used. Third, I provide a brief summary of each of the research articles. Fourth, I provide a summarizing discussion of the thesis as a whole. At the tail of this introduction, I present the three articles that constitute the core of the contribution of this thesis.

## **2. Background and theory**

Broadly speaking, this thesis is about the adaptation and feeling of inclusion experienced by a particular group of children of immigrants in Norway, namely those in the process of attaining a prestigious higher education. I investigate this group in three articles, addressing three related research literatures. The first literature is a subgenre of the sociology of education and deals with the question of the path to educational success. Why do so many children of immigrants reach university level, given that their family's socioeconomic situation alone would predict otherwise? The second literature is part of the field of migration and integration studies and deals with the question of cultural continuity or change and the assumptions of native majorities about immigrant culture. How is the awareness of belonging to a minority group among children of immigrants discernible in their reflections of their transitions and choices in life? The third literature addresses how issues of gender equality, higher education, and integration are related. While educational credentials are often assumed to be the first step towards inclusion in the labor market, there is a worry that this might be different for female children of immigrants. In this section, I portray and discuss these three research literatures in turn, aiming to show how I position my own research at the interface of these fields.

### **2.1. How did they get there? Different paths to educational success**

All the interviewees in this study are admitted to a prestigious educational track. As such, they are a non-representative and select group. However, they do represent an “ideal-type” that is frequently discussed and portrayed by both social scientists and in public media: the ambitious and successful second generation. What directs members of this group to prestigious university tracks is a matter of theoretical dispute. One theoretical disagreement revolves around the role of “immigrant culture” and whether or not cultural preservation promotes positive school behavior. Another discussion centers on the question of selection processes in migration flows. While some portray the success of children of immigrants as a story of social mobility (Hermansen 2016; Leirvik 2014; Fekjaer 2007; Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008), others argue that the apparent upward mobility is a function of faultily measured cross-country social reproduction (Feliciano 2005; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017).

#### ***2.1.1. Segmented assimilation versus neo-assimilation theory***

The sociological disputes between proponents of the “neo-assimilation” perspective and the “segmented assimilation” perspective have had forceful impact in the field of integration studies (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011a; Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters 2011; Haller, Portes,

and Lynch 2011b). The original impetus of this thesis came from a core notion of this debate, that is, to understand the content of the so-called “immigrant drive.”

Early theories of assimilation, from the early work of Robert Parks to the step-by-step theory of Gordon (1964), were largely deemed irrelevant and stained with negative connotations of ethnocentrism through the 1980s and 1990s. In an attempt to revive the term assimilation, Alba and Nee (2003) coined the “neo-assimilation” perspective. Their principal tenet was that both majority and minority will adapt and change toward a middle ground, making cultural boundaries less significant for the life opportunities of individuals (Alba 2005; Alba and Nee 1997, 2003).

However, this framework has received criticism for its emphasis on cultural change (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011a, b). Adherents to the “segmented assimilation” perspective (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005) argue that the value of convergence depends upon what segment of society you are assimilated within as well as the racial and classed structure of the receiving society. According to this perspective, the life opportunities of immigrants and their children hinge on (i) their families’ human capital, (ii) the legal and social barriers of the host society, and (iii) the structure and resources of the ethnic group. Since all these factors vary, there are different assimilationist paths. A path called “selective acculturation” portrayed children of immigrants with low socioeconomic resources who overcome their marginal position by preserving certain elements of their parents’ culture and language while still incorporating cultural elements from the host society (Portes and Zhou 1993). This story, and its underlying theory, became the backdrop of numerous studies on the second generation across the Atlantic. Nevertheless, the settling of this debate is yet to happen, as assimilation is a multigenerational process and we need thorough data on the third generation before we can come to any conclusions (Jiménez, Park, and Pedroza 2017).

### ***2.1.2. Culture, class origin, and school promotive behavior***

How might cultural preservation affect the inclusion of immigrants and their children? While a supposedly common public concern is that the upbringing of children of immigrants is at conflict with “our” values and thus reflects a lack of integration, the “selective acculturation” perspective has led researchers to look at intergenerational cultural preservation as a potential vehicle for integration success. But what features of child rearing promote success?

Social researchers often study child rearing practices as linked to processes of social reproduction (Lareau 2011; Stefansen and Aarseth 2011; Reay 2005). Families differ in their possession of economic and other resources, and these differences correspond with dissimilar practices and aims of childrearing. When certain groups among children of immigrants perform much better than what their family's socioeconomic situation would predict (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Leirvik 2014), this was considered a sign that the "old" theories were insufficient, thereby paving the way for new theories that could account for the explanatory gap.

Within the field of these theories, the notions of "immigrant drive" and "ethnic capital" are crucial. An "immigrant drive" captures the ambitious attitude toward school prevalent among children of immigrants (Lauglo 1999, 2010; Friberg 2016; Leirvik 2014; Birkelund and Mastekaasa 2009). It involves more time spent on homework as well as higher aspirations about getting a college degree compared to native majorities from similar social origins.

According to one account of the immigrant drive, this extraordinary motivation and ambition is inextricably linked to the group's "ethnic capital." One understanding of this notion suggests that it is the relationships in the community and the norms they share that generate individual energy and determination (Lauglo 2010; Leirvik 2012, 2016; Modood 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Zhou and Bankston 1998; Zhou and Bankston III 2001; Zhou and Carl 1994). In an influential description of this theory, Zhou and Bankston (1998) argue that norms of obligation, hard work, and superior expectations can deliver resources that remedy the barriers of a low socioeconomic background. Modood (2004) argues that some of the Chinese and South Asian educational success in Britain might be explained by the power and authority that immigrant parents and their communities have over their children. In these communities, youth spend time on their school work partially because they are pushed to excel. Leirvik (2016) argues that even though ethnic capital often has school promotive effects, there is also downside with this form of capital as the power, authority, and control that follow from it also have negative outcomes for the children.

One important critique of these perspectives is that they are inattentive to who immigrants were before migration (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017). Migrants often experience downward mobility (Ichou 2014) and are a positively selected group among the population in the sending country (Feliciano 2005). In addition, sending countries often adhere to other status hierarchies and ascribe different meanings to the same educational achievement than

those in host countries in Western Europe and the US (Leirvik 2012; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017). All of this makes it necessary to rethink the concept of social class background in this context. To this effect, Feliciano and Lanuza (2017, 214) introduce the concept of *contextual attainment*: “parents’ education relative to their same-age and same-gender peers within the country the education was attained.” They suggest that when children of immigrants outperform natives with shared social origin, this is simply because educational inequalities are reproduced and our measurement of social origin misrepresents the actual background of the immigrant population. Their argument against culturally essentialist theories (Chua and Rubenfeld 2014) is supported by other recent research as well (Hart and Chabris 2016).

This discussion is a starting point for article 1 in this thesis. While I wrote and published it prior to Feliciano and Lanuza (2017), their findings support my core argument. When I analyzed the interviews, it soon became clear that most of the interviewees understood their social class background as higher than that indicated by their parents’ jobs and income levels in Norway. Thus, I evaluated how their parents’ involvement and child-rearing practices matched the theory posited by Lareau (2011) on middle-class parenting as an alternative to the “ethnic capital” framework for investigating the role of parents in school promotion for the second generation.

### ***2.1.3. Middle-class parenting***

In a seminal study, Lareau (2002, 747) noticed that middle-class parents often engage in what she describes as “concerted cultivation by attempting to foster children’s talents through organized leisure activities and extensive reasoning.” This contrasts with the tendency among poor and working-class families, who tend to use a more withdrawn, unstructured, and authoritarian parenting style that she calls “accomplishment of natural growth.” The theory has spurred substantial research on the role of class in families’ childrearing practices, often to the effect that reproduction of social inequality comes about through different economic investments as well as emotional and developmental investments (Irwin and Elley 2011; Vincent and Ball 2007; Stefansen and Aarseth 2011; Aarseth 2017). Concerted cultivation is aimed at making the most of children’s talents and abilities, thereby resulting in an active life filled with “enrichment activities.” Parents often organize their children’s participation in these activities and spend a lot of time with them. In contrast, in poor and working-class families, children’s and parents’ worlds are separate spheres. The concerted cultivation parenting style requires a lot of time, energy, and emotional investment from parents (Vincent and Ball 2007).

In the US context, Lareau suggested that class, rather than race, regulates parental childrearing practices (Vincent et al. 2013; Lareau 2002). In her emphasis on class, some have noted that she exaggerates the internal homogeneity of middle-class experiences (Irwin and Elley 2011), while others complain that her insistence on class over race as a structuring principle creates a “hierarchy of oppression” (Vincent et al. 2013, 438). Most studies on middle class parents’ educational practices are about white families (Archer 2011; Reay et al. 2001; Archer and Francis 2006). In addition, few studies on children of immigrants’ educational achievement examine their immigrant parents’ childrearing styles through a social class lens.

One exception is a study of black Caribbean middle-class families in the UK, which found that parents in these families are for the most part engaged in “concerted cultivation” (Vincent et al. 2013). Nevertheless, they warn against a counterproductive juxtaposition of class and race, arguing that these statuses interplay. This is relevant for one of the arguments made in article 1, that “immigrant status” might play a role in how parents behave towards their children without necessarily being connected to their “culture.” While middle-class parenting is often understood as a process where parents “find” their children’s talents and make the most of it (Stefansen and Aarseth 2011; Vincent and Ball 2007), I show how this parental involvement is somewhat differently experienced for children of immigrants. The interviewees all report that their parents have clear goals set for them and that they are involved in their lives to ensure that these goals can be met. Such external goalsetting by the parents, which is apparently not based on the child’s intrinsic abilities, might be related to their immigrant status. Potentially, a fear of prospective discrimination, that their children might not have the privilege and luxury enjoyed by the white majority, could trigger a “safe” strategy of working toward high-status aims on their behalf (Vincent et al. 2013; Lauglo 1999; Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008; Fangen and Lynnebakke 2014). This can be seen as an example of minority ethnic status and class pulling in the same direction, namely, toward the concerted cultivation style of parenting.

Multiple studies investigate how the class background of children of immigrants influence their educational pathways (Reay et al. 2001; Shah, Dwyer, and Modood 2010; Lee and Zhou 2015; Fernández-Kelly 2008; Rytter 2011). However, I argue that class differences go beyond the material attainments and measured receiving-country position of parents and see them as being derived from contextual (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017) and subjective factors (Li 2008; Fuligni and Yoshikawa 2003). While economic capital might be lost in the

migration process, classed cultural dispositions travel with migrants across borders and affect their children's chances to succeed in the educational system (Fernández-Kelly 2008; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017). By reminding their children that their "low" status is temporary, and that their social standing in the society of origin was high, immigrant parents normalize the pursuance of higher education and prestige. Thus, children who often grow up in the lower echelons of the Norwegian status hierarchy can use their parents' origin stories and resources as "a hidden stock of knowledge" (Fernandez-Kelly 2008, 118) to help them excel in school.

In the first article, I show how these insights are relevant for understanding the educational behavior of children of immigrants on the grounds that supplement, rather than dismiss, more "immigrant-cultural" perspectives of immigrant drive and ethnic capital. Further, I show that these factors interplay in creating different paths to success, in that ethnic capital might have varying influence depending on these young people's social class backgrounds (Zhou 2005; Shah, Dwyer, and Modood 2010).

## **2.2. Culture and inclusion**

They have raised us, provided for us, they have been caring and thoughtful, so I think it is OK to do what your parents want you to do. Traditionally, it is more conservative people who do that, but as long as you can and as long as it does not harm you in any way or stand in the way for your own personal development, then I think it is OK. Then I am for it, but if they put pressure on... I mean, psychological pressure, that is not OK.

This quote, from one of the females in the sample, captures some of the elements the research field of migration has been occupied with the past decades. Will children of immigrants do as their parents want them to do, will they "stick to their parents' culture" or will they go through a process of acculturation? As noted above, aspects of cultural preservation assumed to promote educational achievement might also have adverse effects (Leirvik 2016; Bankston 2004). Issues of discord between norms of the immigrant group and norms in the majority society can cause intergenerational conflict, and such tensions are more acute for those national-origin groups that differ most from their host countries (Foner and Dreby 2011). Often, non-western immigrants are portrayed as adhering to traditional values such as respect and authority, opposite to values cherished in Norway, such as independence and individuality. This has created images of the second generation as living with competing normative pressures (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp 2018). Therefore, above and beyond its potential positive effects on socioeconomic integration, the degree to which the second generation preserves their parents' culture is an area of concern.

### *2.2.1. Cultural continuity and change*

In the initial days of migration research, immigrants and their children were portrayed as living “between two cultures,” which involved identity conflicts in the presumably zero-sum choice between the culture of their homeland and the culture of their new society. In the next phase of research, hybridity or bricolage perspectives became popular. Now, culture and identity came to be seen as less coherent and static and more as dynamic, processual, and complex. Immigrants and their children were increasingly considered skillful navigators creating new identities (Priour 2002; Nadim 2014a; Aarset 2014).

Such discussions largely rely on notions of “collectivistic” cultures, understood as a set of norms where the interest of the family comes before the interest of the individual (Bredal 2006, 91), as well as concepts of the “traditional” and the “modern.”<sup>6</sup> However, one must be wary of oversimplified labeling and recognize that these notions do not always capture differences between the immigrant minority and the native majority. For example, generational conflict in immigrant families might signal cultural change, but it might also mirror a universal relationship between generations well-known to native majority parents (Aarset 2014; Bredal 2006). While tensions exist, it is an oversimplification to say that the second generation lives in a battlefield between parental and native majority norms. Conflicts are often coupled with caring and cooperation, and a rejection of some parental norms does not imply a rejection of all parental norms (Foner and Dreby 2011).

As such, the main perspectives of articles 2 and 3 accord with Aarset (2014) and Priour (2002)’s criticism of a unidimensional yardstick where cultural change (modernity, individual) and cultural continuity (traditional, collectivistic) define the two end poles. Recent results on the third generation in the US show that although growing up in better household circumstances than the second generation, they still identify more with their ethnic background than the previous generation. Thus, ethnic identification might not decline across generations, even though one may experience socioeconomic improvement (Jiménez, Park, and Pedroza 2017). In Norway, survey data suggests that children of immigrants have viewpoints on gender equality, inter-faith marriages, and homosexuality that are closer to those of their native peers than those of their parents, while still reporting high levels of family obligation (Friberg 2016). Further, Hegna and Smette (2016) find that minority students report more influence from their parents with regard to education choices than that

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<sup>6</sup> I use these terms throughout the thesis, descriptively, in the manner that they are commonly understood. Thus, to be “modern” entails autonomy and individuality, and to be “traditional” entails a strong sense of collectivity and family obligation (Lievens 1999).

reported by their native majority peers; however, they express that ultimately the choice was their own. This combination of a strong family orientation and a strong independence is a recurring theme in studies on the second generation (Bredal 2006; Aarset 2014; Prieur 2002). It aligns well with the analysis in article 3, where I show that following parental advice on career and family choices does not have to conflict with an independent self-identification (Lidén 2003; Bredal 2006).

A crucial challenge for those who wish to understand the role of culture and whether cultural change occurs, is closing the gap between *assumptions* about the content of “immigrant culture” and what the data enable us to identify. Indeed, the interviewees themselves are acutely aware of the typical assumptions, and this awareness and self-awareness is essential to understand their life accounts, as I discuss in article 2.

### ***2.2.2. Acceptance and “covering” in the face of stereotypes***

Being a visible minority often entails being labeled with different stereotypes. As already noted, a well-known theory in the literature on the educational attainment of children of immigrants holds that the ambitious attitude found to be prevalent among the second generation might come from their fear of future discrimination (Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008; Lauglo 1999). Ensuring that they have the right credentials might remedy this potential situation. Thus, one might readily assume that highly educated children of immigrants are doing well, that they are successfully integrated, and that we do not have to worry about them (Andersson 2010). However, socioeconomic attainment and material success might not be enough if acceptance and inclusion by the majority is the touchstone (Parker and Song 2007). Although on their path to obtaining “proper credentials” and protecting them from certain labels, the interviewees of this study cannot escape all stereotypes derived from their visual minority status.

A central argument in Goffman’s (1963) stigma theory is that characteristics are not credible or discreditable as a thing in itself, but rather what is an attribute in one context might be a stigma in another. Thus, although higher education in most contexts is interpreted as an attribute, this is not necessarily the case for educationally successful children of immigrants. Indeed, as I show in article 2, because of suspicions that their success came about through “immigrant culture,” my interviewees often recounted their attainment as something held against them in a manner that strengthened barriers between their minority group and their native majority peers. Further, belonging to the “middle-class” stereotypically involves

certain attitudes, values, and modes of behavior, often the opposite of those assumed to be prevalent in immigrant families (Rollock et al. 2011; Archer 2011; Rollock et al. 2013). When being in this ambivalent position is paired with vague and often shifting definitions of what it means to be successfully “integrated” (Rytter 2011), children of immigrants often face the challenge of navigating through the many and occasionally opposing normative judgements from the native majority (Helseth 2017). This might be experienced as a “no-win” situation (Rytter 2011), as they will seldom satisfy the changing criteria of integration as it is defined by the majority, nor be viewed as part of the “middle class,” regardless of university diplomas and middle-class occupations.

However, stigma can be remedied through the technique of “covering”—downplaying elements of one’s identity to reduce tensions in situations where the stigma is visible (Goffman 1963; Kang et al. 2016). Aarset (2014) describes how the combination of being middle class and second-generation Pakistani requires a lot of “invisible extra work” to be accepted as simply middle-class. Despite her interviewees’ good jobs and decent earnings, she found that families self-consciously ensure that they do things like mow the lawn frequently, refrain from eating spicy or smelly food, and participate in parent’s meetings at school, all to avoid the negative stereotypes about Pakistanis. This can be interpreted as “assimilative techniques” (Goffman 1963, 127), often employed by members of ethnic minority groups as a response to the feeling of always being “watched” and trying to “fit in” (Reay et al. 2001; Vincent et al. 2012; Rollock et al. 2011; Vassenden and Andersson 2011).

However, in order to do this successfully, the individual must have knowledge about the behavior and motives that are deemed legitimate. School is one important site where the “acceptable” can be learned and where children of immigrants often become conscious of what “good” values are according to their majority audience (Rollock et al. 2011; Goffman 1963). As depicted above, the Norwegian educational system and culture explicitly values independence, and enabling young people to decide “who they are” is considered important (Lidén 2003). In this context, children of immigrants run the risk of attracting worries about social pressure from their families (Smette 2015) if they work hard and display high ambitions. Without disregarding the real existence of such pressure, we must acknowledge that this represents a challenge for those who do not experience social control.

Thus, article 2 discusses the interviewees’ accounts of their educational choices in the light of the values of freedom and independence associated with “Norwegianess” (Gullestad

2003; Hjort 2014; Lidén 2003). I find that the interviewees draw on narratives that downplay their ethnic identity and highlight their similarity with the native majority. Regardless of the reality of the stereotypes, the “felt stigma” (Goffman 1963) makes the scope of choices smaller for ethnic minorities as compared to their peers in the native majority middle class (Rytter 2011; Aarset 2014). However, the interviewees’ response to this situation is different across different topics. While the use of the narratives in article 2 can be interpreted as a way of “covering” or downplaying their ethnic identities in order to “fit in,” in article 3, the women I talked to insist on the compatibility between obligations toward their parents and their own independence. Thus, they do not attempt to hide all aspects of their ethnic identity to gain acceptance. Rather, they reject that there is a conflict between family obligation and independence, as it is perceived from a majority perspective. Further, as I explain later, I do not argue that they necessarily use these narratives intentionally to remedy a stigma. However, as Goffman (1963) argues, because being accepted as “normal” is always rewarding, all people will somehow try to adjust towards it.

### **2.3. Work and family in the lives of daughters of immigrants**

We have seen above that class status, as well as immigrant status, can be an important category of difference in host society inclusion (Jiménez, Park, and Pedroza 2017). However, , gender differences are also pertinent to understand the incorporation process of immigrant families. In particular, as illustrated in a summary of U.S. research about the relationship between immigrants and their children, generational tensions over norms and values are often particularly salient for the *daughters* of immigrants (Foner and Dreby 2011). Matters of women’s independence, sexuality and family formation are among the most acute issues, especially when the distance is large between parents’ ethnic-origin norms and those of their daughters’ peers.

Several features of Norwegian society and culture might even accentuate such tensions. As a backdrop, Norway’s history of gender and family relations involves a strong normative context. First, Norway is often characterized as a society in which policy and cultural norms are particularly gender egalitarian (Kavli 2015). At the level of policy, the “dual earner” model both supports women’s work participation and men’s role in the home, and has been characterized as a “blueprint” of gender equalization (Petersen, Penner, and Høgsnes 2014). Second, along with the other Nordic countries, Norwegian society was early in making the “second demographic transition,” which refers to a series of changes in family behavior during the latter half of the twentieth century (Van de Kaa 1987). Some of these changes—for

example, postponed and lower fertility and the increased option of divorce—were an important aspect of women’s liberation.

In this context, it should be no surprise that the gender and family relations of minority migrant populations have become controversial topics of public debate, to the extent of becoming an important part of the more general debate on immigration and integration (Foner and Dreby 2011, Hagelund 2008, Langvasbråten 2008, Koopmans 2015). Insofar as traditional notions of the gendered division of labor are seen as widespread in many migrant-sending countries (Röder and Mühlau 2014), as well as family-forming traditions of early marriage and arranged marriage, these have been considered a threat to the egalitarian ideals in Norway (as well as in the US, and other European countries). Even in modified “introduced” marriages, where partners have a veto power and are allowed to meet before deciding whether or not to marry; power and pressure might be at play (Foner and Dreby 2011). Some have even argued that the continuing influx of migrants, combined with high rates of within-group marriage and marriage migration, are in a process of altering European populations to a degree that it can be described as “a third demographic transition” (Coleman 2006). However, when it comes to the content of attitudes regarding gender and family issues, the research on the second generation is mixed. While there are some indicators pointing to a liberalization of attitudes toward issues of gender equality (Goldscheider, Goldscheider, and Bernhardt 2011; Röder and Mühlau 2014; Friberg 2016), parents still appear to be important in transmitting values to their children. For example, children of religiously orthodox parents report more conservative values regarding marriage and sexuality (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp 2018).

One way in which these concerns are voiced is directed at the ambitious and educationally successful daughters of immigrants. How do female descendants understand their educational diplomas? Is it as something achieved for the sake of the family and as an asset to be used in the marriage market, or as a resource to be used in the labor market? How do these women’s plans and ambitions for their future work and family lives, including spouse selection and work/family balance, reflect the presence of these concerns? These issues provided the stimulus for article three in this thesis.

### ***2.3.1. Becoming adequately integrated: Education, marriage, and labor market participation***

The literature on female labor market participation among those with an immigrant background is relevant for more general theoretical discussions about the relationship between

socioeconomic and cultural adaptation. While it is established that female descendants are doing well educationally<sup>7</sup>, this might not be a guarantee for their cultural adaptation, let alone their overall inclusion into mainstream society. Some groups of daughters of immigrants have slightly lower labor market participation and educational returns compared to their native majority peers, and this has been interpreted as a sign of more traditional gender norms (Read and Cohen 2007; Hermansen 2013; Read and Oselin 2008; Brekke and Rogstad 2011). Because traditional gender norms are often conceived of as integrated into a larger patriarchal culture of which parent-arranged marriage is also a part, the continuing practice of arranged marriages (often indirectly identified in register data as consanguineous unions or marriages in which one spouse is a marriage migrant from the (parents') country of origin) are believed to reinforce these traditional norms (Kavli and Nadim 2009; Read and Cohen 2007). Contrarily, intermarriages, particularly those with a person of native majority background, are often considered as the paramount example of cultural assimilation (Alba and Foner 2015; Kalmijn 1998; Gordon 1964). Some have suggested that the force of increased intermarriage at a societal level can moderate the problems faced with increased immigration (Coleman 2006). More specifically, because of widespread gender-egalitarian norms among the Norwegian majority population, these mixed unions have been hypothesized to ease the career/family balance of female descendants. Therefore, whom and how immigrants and their children marry has become an increasingly public concern (Schmidt 2011).

Whom immigrants marry might be related to their level of education. An old cliché is that education widens your horizon, and according to the “education-as-character-shaping” literature, the experience of education promotes attitudinal differences (Napier and Jost 2008, 614). This suggests that as children of immigrants go through higher educational tracks, it promotes tolerance, knowledge of foreign cultures, and cosmopolitan social networks. Again, this might weaken their bonds to their cultural roots and increase their likelihood for entering an exogamous marriage union (Hwang, Saenz, and Aguirre 1997; Kalmijn 1998).

Thus, these “modernist” theories suggest that attaining higher education can lead to intermarriage and cultural assimilation, both of which are associated with increased labor market participation for minority women. However, against this notion of education’s liberating potential, Read and Oselin (2008) posit the “education-employment” paradox—for

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<sup>7</sup> They have higher ambitions (Hegna 2010), do more homework (Frøyland and Gjerustad 2012), have a higher tendency to complete upper secondary education (Hermansen and Birkelund 2015), and have higher continuation rates compared to their male counterparts (Reisel, Hermansen, and Kindt 2018).

some groups of women (e.g. Muslim women); educational credentials are weakly linked to their labor market participation because the *meaning* they attribute to higher education is different. Instead of understanding higher education as a resource to be used in the labor market, Muslim women allegedly often see it as a resource to be used in the family to ensure appropriate socialization of one's children. Thus, obtaining higher education would not necessarily lead to exogamous romantic relations or to economic integration.

### *2.3.2. Nuancing perspectives*

The common image of the second generation as torn between the expectations of their parents and the ideals of their surrounding majority culture is often misleading and at best partial (Foner and Dreby 2011). This is, at least, the case for the interviewees in this study. In the third article, I show how their anticipations do not fit well with either of these theoretical accounts. On the one hand, they confirm the suggestions of certain previous studies that to think that people from the immigrant population that form endogamous partner unions are motivated by “traditional” ideals while people who marry across racial and ethnic boundaries are “modern” and “liberated” can be misleading (Song 2009; Lievens 1999; Nadim 2014c). On the other hand, they embrace parts of their parents' traditional family-forming cultures without having a different understanding of the “meaning” of educational credentials than that which is normative in the Norwegian context (that is, that you will use the education for work).

As I show in the third article, although the interviewees in the study agree with their parents that “the best thing” is to find someone of similar background and they often appreciate their help in finding one, they do not understand their families being less supportive of them as career women. What is often assumed to represent “traditional” ideals, such as immigrant families and parent-aided endogamous marriages, is not necessarily experienced as such. For example, (Nadim 2016) shows how the same practice—labor market participation of second generation women—can have different meanings for different women. The way these females attach meaning to their paid labor is more telling for their gendered division of labor than for their employment itself.

Further, parent-aided marriages do not necessarily entail an absence of free choice, even though one often assumes that these unions come about as a result of parents arranging everything about the process. Even though you marry someone “acceptable” by tradition, higher education might influence how the relationship comes about (Allendorf 2013; Ahmad

2012; Aarset 2014). When children of immigrants take higher education and are socially mobile, their higher status relative to that of their parents might enable them to raise demands in a different manner than before they set out on their particular educational tracks (Allendorf 2013). As I show in the third article, to be able to say no to a potential partner, to raise demands about a future partner, and to suggest someone yourself and then ask for parental acceptance makes the marriage a hybrid between the stereotypes of the arranged and love marriages. Previously, scholars have argued that the more common form, particularly among educated children of immigrants, is an “arranged love marriage” (Allendorf, 2013, 463). This does not mean, however, that modified “introduced” marriages do not involve parental pressure (Foner and Dreby 2011). Nevertheless, regardless of the actual amount of pressure exerted, we should not assume that there is a clear-cut relationship between the immigrant population’s marriage customs, cultural adaptation, and their labor market participation.

However, I am more concerned with how the interviewees understand themselves, rather than to what extent their educational credentials are making them more or less “liberated,” or whether or not they are actually pressured (to choose a specific educational track, marry someone particular, become a housewife or a doctor, etc.). In Western Europe, we have seen an increased focus on cultural cohesion as important for immigrants and their children’s incorporation into host society (McPherson 2010; Olwig 2013; Waldring, Crul, and Ghorashi 2014). Even though endogamous marriage patterns in immigrant groups might reflect the native majority’s preferences for “marrying their own kind” (Alba and Foner 2015), both spouse selection and labor market participation are often understood within the framework of individual choice for native majority women and in relation to patriarchal gender structures for minority migrant women (Aarset, 2014, 33). In article three, I show how the interviewees take control over this situation, insisting that feeling obligated towards their parents and family is not in conflict with understanding oneself as an independent person. Even though they appear to adapt culturally, in the sense that they accord great value to gender equality, they still find it important to hold on to certain elements of their parental heritage. The way they make this combination possible and meaningful is the focus of the third article.

## **2.4. A narrative approach**

As human beings, we are surrounded by stories. As children, we learn to understand the world through stories, and when we explain our actions, we do it by telling stories. Thus, our

experiences are made meaningful through the use of narratives<sup>8</sup> (Riessman 2008; Polletta et al. 2011). When understanding and constructing the self, we also do it through storytelling. Bracketing the question of whether interview data are “true,” the chief aim of narrative analysis is to relate the stories to the self-representation of the storytellers as well as their relation to the society in which they live and their experiences and values (De Fina 2008; Polkinghorne 1988). In the context where interviewees provide detailed accounts of their own decisive life choices, evaluations, and plans, as is particularly the case in articles 2 and 3, narrative analysis provides a toolbox and an approach that can be used to explore these stories in the broader narrative context. In my case, it allows for an analysis of my interviews in the Norwegian context of norms and culture for “the appropriate thing to do” (Sandberg 2016) across topics of education choices, spouse selection, family planning, and occupational career (as discussed in previous sections). When constructing a narrative, we use it to make ourselves known, both to ourselves and others (Presser 2009). By applying a narrative approach, we can learn how children of immigrants negotiate within the contextual situation described above. In this section, I outline the main features of a narrative approach.

#### *2.4.1. Narrative and discourse*

A *narrative* can be defined as a description of a series of events that follow each other in a chronological order, creating causal links between them (Polletta et al. 2011). When a speaker engages in storytelling, the speaker includes the events he/she finds relevant and put them in an order that is meaningful (Riessman 2008). The structure of the narrative—how some events are included and others excluded in the story—reveals its “larger meaning” and is often referred to as its plot (Polletta et al. 2011). In articles 2 and 3, the analysis centers on the meaning or the “point” of the narrative. In one definition, a *discourse* is said to be a system of language generating certain practices and utterances (Neumann 2001). Given that narratives are a form of utterance, I see narratives as incorporated within larger discourses. In this thesis, I see narratives with similar “meanings” or “plots” as situated within the same discourse. For example, in article 2, I identify the narratives “I have always loved it” and “I was never pushed.” Both these narratives share the overall normative aspect that an educational choice should be made based on your own interest, without influence from others. The meaning is generated from the larger “discourse of freedom” embedded in the Norwegian educational system and culture.

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<sup>8</sup> I use the terms narrative and story interchangeably (Polletta et al. 2011).

#### *2.4.2. Narratives between structure and agency*

We often present ourselves in a manner that we believe will make others approve of us. When we construct the narratives in a manner so that others will like us, we are responding to the “appropriate thing to do” (Sandberg 2016). The perceived “appropriate thing to do” depends on who you are, where you are, and who you talk to. A non-white visible minority or a person who has experienced racism and prejudice will often view her/himself through the eyes of others (Rollock et al. 2011; Vassenden and Andersson 2011). Children of immigrants are highly likely to be conscious of how others, that is, the native majority, view them. In articles 2 and 3, the analysis centers on the meaning or the “point” of the narrative. As the protagonist in the stories presented in the articles is the interviewees themselves, they center around how they understand and create meaning of themselves in the world (Presser and Sandberg 2015). By drawing on certain narratives, you can manage the impression others have of you, trying to gain legitimation and recognition (De Fina 2008). As such, narratives might be best understood when analyzed as a response to real or imagined accusations (Sandberg 2009). While narratives need not be the outcome of conscious strategies, what people say can thus be understood as a form of action.

However, the language we use when constructing a narrative is never constructed on the spot but always structurally given (Sandberg 2009). As noted above, the very notion of discourse entails that culture provides models for what it is possible to say (Fairclough 2008). When the interviewees discussed their educational choice, for example, their stories reflect what they have heard others say about this choice, what they think my attitudes are, what they have learned about this in school, and how they have talked about this issue with their family etc. Thus, I see narratives as situated in the midst of agency, as the storyteller is accomplishing something with the use of narratives, and structure, as the storyteller is restricted by what discourses are available (Sandberg 2010). When analyzing talk as narratives, we get to understand more about this reflexive interplay between narrative creativity (agency) and narrative conditioning (context) (Gubrium and Holstein 2009; Presser 2009; Presser and Sandberg 2015). Instead of analyzing narratives as “true testimonies,” I understand them as windows into social identity construction and cultural norms and practices (Gubrium and Holstein 2009; De Fina 2008).

### 3. Research Design

The analyses in this thesis are based on interview data with 28 children of immigrants, all enrolled in prestigious educational tracks. The interviewees share the fact that they have parents who have migrated to Norway as adults (aged 18 upward), and they share their status as students enrolled in higher educational tracks. Further, most of them are in their early 20s, have grown up in Oslo, live at their parents’ house, are born in Norway, and are single. Nevertheless, they differ on a number of criteria, most conspicuously that their parents come from a variety of countries.

#### 3.1. Data

Table 1 describes the similarities and variations between the interviewees. In order to preserve the anonymity of the interviewees, I refrain from describing the participants individually.

**Table 1. Characteristics of the interviewees.**

Sex	Female (18), Male (10)
Age	20–24 years (25), 28–33 years (3)
Parental country of birth	<b>Asia (18):</b> Pakistan (6), Sri Lanka (6), Vietnam (2), China (1), Thailand (1), South-Korea (1), Bangladesh (1) <b>Africa and Middle-East (7):</b> Somalia (2), Iraq (2), Iran (1), Palestine (1), Afghanistan (1) <b>Other (3):</b> Poland (1), Russia (1), Chile (1)
Educational track	Medicine (9), Law (9), Dentistry (3), Pharmacy (3), Engineering (2), Computer science (1), Finance (1)
Religious upbringing	Muslim (12), Christian (5, where 4 identify as catholic), Hindu (5), Buddhist (3), Atheist (2), Yazidi (1)
Parental civil status	Married (23), Divorced (5)
Own civil status	Single (22), Partner (4), Married (2)
Parental social status prior to migration	High status (23), Low status (3), Unclear (2)
Housing	At parents’ house (22), Student housing (4), With wife/husband (2)
Gap year	No gap year (26), One gap year to improve grades (2)
Where they grew up	Oslo East end (19), Large city (4), Small town/rural (5)
Age of arrival in Norway	Born in Norway (22), Before school age (2), Between 11–16 (4)

#### 3.1.1. Sample

The original motivation of this project was to better understand the alleged “immigrant drive,” focusing on stories that were used to describe the educational choice. I wanted to talk to *children* of immigrants because of their perceived status as the “litmus test of integration,” and because their position as first-generation Norwegians requires them to reflect, understand,

and perhaps also expect different things than their native majority peers<sup>9</sup>. Further, the major criterion for selection was admission to prestigious study tracks found to be popular among children of immigrants. In the qualitative literature on generational relations and educational choice for children of immigrants, many select other characteristics such as ethnic or national origin (Leirvik 2010; Fekjær and Leirvik 2011; Shah, Dwyer, and Modood 2010; Zhou and Bankston 1998; Lee and Zhou 2015), presumably because children of immigrants with parents from different countries tend to differ in terms of their level of success in the educational system (Birkelund and Mastekaasa 2009).

This strategy runs the risk of interpreting general features as specific to the culture of the ethnic group studied. Scholars have long argued that integration outcomes are determined by a number of factors, both individual and structural (Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012; Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008; Alba and Foner 2015). However, when using interview data, individual explanations might end up being highlighted because they are most readily accessible in the data. Occasionally, this can lead to a belittling of important factors such as institutional, geographical, and historical features of both sending and receiving countries (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010; Lamont and Swidler 2014). When a focus on individual factors is paired with selection according to ethnicity or country of birth, a consequence can be an overrating of cultural explanations together with overlooking other relevant categories (Nadim 2014a; Prieur 2002; Nadim 2015). Thus, to allow for the possibility of *different* paths to success experienced by immigrants and their children (Fernández-Kelly 2008), I included children of immigrants with parents born in different countries. I also wanted to understand whether these educationally successful children of migrants shared some experiences or traits despite the fact that their parents migrated from a variety of countries. One example of a shared characteristic that was not intended was the high social status of the participants' parents prior to migration. Upon becoming aware of this, I sought to understand how this played a role in their understanding of their everyday lives, their path to educational success, and their inclusion in Norway. This "discovery" might not have been made in a study focusing on the "Vietnamese," "Indian," or "Sri Lankan" path to integration.

While my sample is heterogeneous in several respects, interviewees are mostly from Asian and/or Muslim family backgrounds, that is, groups often perceived to be collectively

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<sup>9</sup> I included four interviewees that migrated to Norway between the ages of 11 and 16 years. Although not part of the "second generation," all of them have attended schools in Norway before applying to higher educational tracks.

oriented, some of them characterized by customs such as arranged marriage (Bredal 2006). Crucially, my main concern is not whether or not my interviewees actually belong to a collectivistic culture, but rather their experience of being perceived as belonging to such a culture and their subsequent navigation.

My objective was never to deem the content of their culture or traits of their ethnic background as irrelevant for understanding their choices and negotiations. Although comparing different ethnic or religious groups would be meaningless with a sample like mine, this does not imply that such categories are irrelevant for an overall understanding of their life-trajectories or options of choice.

### ***3.1.2. Recruitment***

The interviewees were mainly recruited at the University of Oslo, by way of e-mail that provided information about the study, to students that had self-identified as part of the immigrant population and were studying medicine, law, or dentistry. A few interviewees were recruited through The Tamil Resource Centre and the Minorities in Focus in Academia (MIFA) organization, as well as via my own network. All of them were presented with the information sheet attached to the recruitment e-mail before we began the interview (appendix X).

When asking participants to join a study like this, it is likely that the people you get in touch with are those comfortable telling their stories, which likely involves a downward bias in the number of people who have experienced serious conflicts. This might be part of the reason why few of the interviewees talked about extensive pressure within their families (Nadim 2014a). While other studies explicitly want to recruit interviewees who have experienced pressure or conflict regarding their choices in life (e.g. Bredal 2006), this was not an aim in this study. The selection bias is important to acknowledge; however, it would be more serious if the thesis had more “representational” aims such as to uncover the degree to which social control actually exists.

## **3.2. Methods**

Research questions should guide choices of data collection methods (Cresswell 2007). As the research questions in this study are about how children of immigrants reflect, negotiate, and understand education choices and further life-course plans, in-depth interviews seemed

pertinent. However, there are multiple ways of conducting an interview and the information and knowledge produced in the setting varies according to how the interview is structured.

### *3.2.1. About the interview*

The interviews in this study were “semi-structured” in the sense that I always brought with me an interview-guide, and that there were a set of topics I wanted to talk with the interviewees about. However, the first part of the interview was somewhat more structured than the rest of the interview. I always began the interview with a set of background questions about their parents’ background, their education levels, their family situation, where and what their parents had migrated from, etc. Then, I asked questions about their upbringing. I asked about their everyday lives, activities, school, friends, etc.

After finishing this first part of the interview, I asked about their educational choice. In response to this question, I wanted the interviewees to give as detailed accounts as possible, and to enable this I always asked an open question like “when was the first time you thought about studying medicine/law/engineering/etc.?” When posing this question, I gave the interviewees a possibility to frame their answer as a story—with a beginning (when was the first time you thought of it), an end (being admitted to the study), and with meaning (connecting the two in a chronological order). From this point onward, I let the interviewees be the ones to decide how the interview developed. While I did have some themes I wanted to cover (see appendix), these were almost always covered without me explicitly raising them. At the end of the interview, I asked, “where do you see yourself in ten years?” This question also generated long accounts on my interviewees’ “ideal future-life”; however, the chronology was slightly different. They began their accounts with the “end” (where am I in ten years), connecting it to the beginning (where they are now), making sense of how they got there with what ideals and goals they had set for themselves. As most of my interviewees would be in their early thirties in ten years, their stories included elements of marriage, children, and work life.

Although I wanted the interviewees to feel like they were in charge of the interview conversation (Riessman 2008), I still acknowledge that an asymmetry in power is at play in an interview setting (Brinkmann and Kvale 2005; Karnieli-Miller, Strier, and Pessach 2009). Thus, gaining confidence and trust is of core importance to let the interview flow and make the interviewees feel free to talk. I attempted to gain this trust by letting them decide where to meet (mostly they wanted to do the interview at a seminar room at campus, as this was

practical for them), I always bought them a cup of coffee/tea, I chatted with them before the interview formally started (by putting on the tape-recorder after obtaining their oral consent), and I was conscious of smiling, nodding, and being engaged with what was being said in the interview (Jarness and Friedman 2017).

However, as I have not done any follow-up interviews, trust has to be built right from the beginning and not over time. Bredal (2006) argues that this is not necessarily a bad thing. She argues that when you interview a person only once, the interviewee can allow her/himself to “devote themselves” to the researcher. The fact that the researcher does not know the interviewee already and never has to face her again might enable the interviewee to tell the researcher about events in her life he/she would not tell others. The fact that the interviews lasted quite long, between one-and-a-half and three hours, might be an indicator of felt trust.

### **3.3. Analytical approaches**

Although popular in use, the quality of and the knowledge we can derive from interview data has been heavily discussed (Pugh 2013; Jerolmack and Khan 2014; Lamont and Swidler 2014; Vaisey 2014). In this section, I want to highlight how I have used the interviews to arrive at the findings and conclusions presented in this thesis.

#### ***3.3.1. Dealing with truth***

Instead of clinging to one approach as superior, I see the research questions as guiding the methods and approaches applied. This pragmatic approach (Lamont and Swidler 2014) is evident in the thesis, as the first article draws on a content-based approach to interviews (Braun and Clarke 2006), while the second and third articles are inspired by a narrative approach (Presser 2009; Gubrium and Holstein 2009). The use of these different analytical approaches obliges me to comment upon some core epistemological issues about the “reality” of what people say in interviews.

When social scientists make conclusions about individuals’ behavior based on interview data, there is a looming danger of making “the attitudinal fallacy” (Jerolmack and Khan 2014), as what people say they do and what they actually do are sometimes two different things. In situations involving sensitive or normatively complicated actions and motives, interviewees might even have incentives to consciously misrepresent themselves, on account of the phenomenon called “social desirability bias” (Grimm 2010). Although some claim that this worry over a mismatch between people’s attitudes and their behavior is

overrated (Lamont and Swidler 2014; Vaisey 2014), the relevance of this potential problem will differ according to how you treat interview data.

While many agree that interviewees' accounts of their behavior (why they do things) have little explanatory value in itself, there is more reason to believe people's reports of their behavior (what they are doing), particularly when reporting on non-sensitive topics (Vaisey 2014). In the first article of this thesis, the analysis has two main aims. One is to approach my interviewees' subjective understandings of their parents' social status from before migrating to Norway, and the second is to understand their experiences with growing up in Norway and how their parents were involved in their childhood lives. Thus, I am more concerned with the "what" than the "why", and when analyzing the data, I have taken what the interviewees tell me as "true" statements<sup>10</sup>. It is not important to me if the stories are accurate in terms of detail, but the claims I make in the article rest on the assumption that the events they talk about have happened in real life.

In articles two and three, my aim has been to understand how my interviewees perceive their options, how they present themselves, and how they have experienced being brought up by immigrant parents in Norway. Instead of attempting to convey specific events that lead to a certain behavior (a realistic approach), I am interested in their *accounts* of their behavior. The analysis aims to understand how they make past experiences and future dreams meaningful as well as how they draw on cultural ideals to present and understand themselves. One way we as humans make the world we live in, our choices, and desires understandable to ourselves and others is by formulating them into stories (Polkinghorne 1988; Riessman 2008). As already outlined in the previous chapter, I understand narratives as constructed and not as simple "mirrors" of real/true/authentic phenomena (Presser 2009). Thus, I do not treat these stories as "true" and neither do I make any claims about their behavior and what might have led to it.

### ***3.3.2. Working with transcribed text and constructing narratives***

I have transcribed all the interviews myself. Although this was time-consuming, it gave me an opportunity to experience the conversations once more, giving me a new sense and

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<sup>10</sup> A plausible objection to the approach applied in this study is that the aims and questions guiding the research could have been better answered with survey data, potentially enabling more generalizable results. As I outline in the section on limitations and the way ahead, I do think this is important work that should be done. However, I also believe that the information accessed through in-depth interviewing provided me with the opportunity to see things differently than what has already been done. The fact that I asked rather detailed questions about their parents' migration history and life before migration gave me information that might have been surpassed in other research projects using other methods.

understanding of what we had talked about. The transcriptions are informal, without strict linguistic annotations (Mishler 1991), but I have noted laughs and pauses in the transcribed text. To code the transcribed text, I used *Nvivo*. As the aims in the first and the second/third articles are somewhat different, I also approached the interviews accordingly. As outlined above, the topics and themes covered in the interview were numerous and varied. Thus, I would argue that these qualitative in-depth interviews entail the flexibility one needs in order to approach the transcribed text through different analytical approaches (Braun and Clarke 2006).

In all papers, I combined theoretical standard categories (e.g., socioeconomic status, family organization, place of birth, educational track, etc.) with empirical codes closely connected to the transcribed text (Tjora 2012; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). In the first paper, I coded all the interviews into the following codes: “status before migration,” “status arriving in Norway,” and “status now.” I did this after becoming aware of the relatively high status of my sample when transcribing the text. The manner in which I have operationalized “class” is not by using a specific theoretical scheme with fine-grained class categories. Such an approach would be meaningless with a small-scale sample such as mine (Lareau 2011). To pin down my interviewees, “real” class position is not the aim in the article. Rather, I wanted to locate their perceived (mis)match between their status in Norway and their parents’ status before migrating. I use the terms “high status,” “poor,” and “low status” as these were the terms the interviewees used themselves. In the article, “poor” and “low status” is used to denote what I call “low class background.”

After coding their perception of their class background, I organized the interviews in other empirical codes, such as “leisure time,” “homework,” “activities,” “holidays,” “teachers,” “school,” etc. After having done this, it became clear not only that most of my interviewees had parents who they thought of as having migrated from a “high status” in their home country, but they also talked about their childhood as filled with organized activities, homework, and active and present parents. As I wanted to understand more about their parents’ situation, I also created codes to organize the interview material according to their parents’ labor market participation and language skills. Although the analysis was mainly content-oriented, it focused on the interviewees’ subjective understanding.

In the first paper, I used three interviewees as analytical examples to highlight important aspects regarding their common and diverging experiences. I have chosen to

present these three cases as they represent what Flyvbjerg (2006, 230) describes as “most different cases.” While two of them have parents with “high social status” from before migration, the third has what he describes to be “poor” parents before migration. Further, while two of them (one with “high social status” parents and one with “poor” parents before migrating) have been actively involved in a range of activities organized by their ethnic community, the third is not part of any extended ethnic network. This variation among them is important, as it shows how different aspects of their social and structural background play a part in their everyday lives. However, the interviewees are not extreme or unusual. Rather, they serve as good examples for common experiences shared by the interviewees.

When constructing the narratives presented in articles 2 and 3, I have taken bits of different interviews (a “fragmented” approach) and combined them into a complete story. Further, I have been more concerned with what they say rather than how they say it, thereby making the analysis more about the content of the talk rather than the specific words in use (Gubrium and Holstein 2009). This does not imply that the words they used are irrelevant for the analysis. The interviewees rarely related a fully structured narrative to me (e.g. Poletta et al 2011), but they hinted at them by using specific words (Sandberg 2016; Presser and Sandberg 2015). For example, in article three, Mai utters that she is “not a party girl” to argue why she appreciates her parents’ help with finding a future partner. While she does not tell the entire story herself, the term “party girl” can be understood as a trope (Sandberg 2016), referring to a larger cultural story about how partners often meet in social settings like parties. This story so is well known that only those few words are needed to make others understand the implication.

To approach the narratives, I also coded the interviews using *Nvivo*. Again, I wanted to categorize and code in accordance with emic ideals, meaning that the interviewee’s own understanding, reflections, and experiences informed the codes (Tjora 2012). This means that I coded all the text from the interviews and, occasionally, the same text was organized in multiple codes. The names of the codes are taken from the language used in the interview. Overall, I ended up with almost a hundred nodes, for example, “parents,” “grades,” “proud,” “language,” “holyday,” “boyfriend,” “teacher,” “friends,” “support,” “respect,” “gratitude,” “shame,” “rules,” and “discrimination.” However, as I became increasingly acquainted with the interviews, and also as a consequence of reading the literature in the field, I noticed that some themes seemed to be repeated and talked about a lot. Thus, I decided to make broader nodes, such as “push” or “freedom,” with sub-nodes. The interviewees did not necessarily use

these words themselves; rather, I interpreted their talk as relating to these themes. However, when analyzing the data, I have always gone back to reread the original interview. This back and forth way of working with my data made me never forget the people behind the quotes, and by reading the complete interviews, I was “taken back” to the interview as it existed in my memory.

The narratives presented in the articles are constructed on the basis of these common themes in the interviews, analyzing them in accordance with the context they make relevant through the language they use. Thus, while the interviewee tells his/her story, I as a researcher also tell a story when presenting the analysis to an audience in a written article. It is impossible to include all the themes in the interviews, and it is my analytical choice to focus on some of them (Riessman 2008).

### *3.3.3. My role as a researcher*

When presenting an early draft of what is now the second paper of this thesis at a work shop, a lot of the discussion centered around me as a researcher and what effect I, with all my characteristics, had on what the interviewees told me. Some of the participants at the workshop even suggested that I should recruit a research assistant with a visible minority background and make her/him conduct a new patch of interviews, similar in sample as the ones I had conducted. If I did, then I could compare the answers. Since my goal was not to “reveal” the interviewees’ true statements, this approach seemed unnecessary to follow. However, I acknowledge the fact that a qualitative research interview is an interactional context, where who I am affects what is being said in the interview setting (De Fina 2009).

A good example of this was brought up in one of the interviews. The interviewee talked about why he preferred having friends with a “Pakistani background.” He told me,

If I tell a Norwegian buddy of mine that I have a girlfriend, he will say “Ohh cool,” but if I tell my Pakistani friend, he will immediately ask “wow, how do you hide it? Do you hide it?”

This quote makes it clear that people with different characteristics might have different understandings and interpretations of the same situation. What the interviewee is attempting to state here is that his Norwegian friend does not know enough about his family or the Pakistani community to know what it actually means to have a girlfriend. Thus, he does not ask relevant questions. The same can also be true for the interview setting. Who I am, what I know, and how the interviewee perceives me, affects the chemistry between the interviewee

and I, what questions I ask, and what the interviewee tells me (Mishler 1991). As a good interview depends on trust, confidence, and chemistry between the researcher and the interviewee, I had to establish a common ground with the interviewees that were not based on ethnic distinctions (Carling, Erdal, and Ezzati 2014). Although not an adequate replacement, the fact that we shared having pursued higher education, knowing how stressful exam periods are, and that we shared the feeling of being overwhelmed by the number of readings required at university level made us connect (see also Aarset 2014).

### **3.4. The quality of the interviews: Notes on issues of validity and generalization**

There are many, and not necessarily consistent, assessments of what quality in interview research means (Roulston 2010). In this thesis, I make claims based on data from interviews. Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to clarify both what I am actually claiming as well as on what terms these claims are made. I emphasize that I am not seeking out one absolute “truth.” Nevertheless, I hope my interpretations are plausible as compared to alternative interpretations (Mishler 1991)—in other words, that the findings are valid. Further, although obviously not aiming at statistical generalizability, I argue that the findings of this thesis have information value that is far beyond the specific context of the interview.

One potential pitfall when using interview data is that individuals are occasionally portrayed as more coherent, with less complexity and contradiction than what our experiences in real life entail (Lamont and Swidler 2014). Legitimate motives (Mills 1940) and accredited values vary across societies, historical periods, and between social groups (Goffman 1963; Presser 2009; Sandberg 2010; Riessman 2008; Gubrium and Holstein 2009). Thus, the narratives we draw on may change according to who the receiver of the story is and where the story is told. Thus, the point or the meaning of the narrative can be ambiguous (Presser and Sandberg 2015). As argued above, being a child of immigrants often means encountering contradictory normative judgements. Appraising the “appropriate” thing to say is likely to be more challenging when you are unsure of how others perceive you (Helseth 2017). Although the narratives in articles 2 and 3 are mostly coherent and, thus, contribute to making past experience and future anticipations meaningful, in article 3, I show how the interviewees also draw on narratives with more ambiguous meanings. In the narrative “it has to be love,” love is both a force making a good marriage possible and also a force threatening the coherence between parental obligation and independence. Do the ambiguity and potential contradictory

normative judgements imply that the interviewees are lying, and is this a threat to the validity of the research?

Rather than seeing a narrative as belonging to one person, I see them as positions that individuals can take (Sandberg 2009). This implies that instead of understanding contradictory stories as a sign of untruthfulness, I see them as stories drawn from multiple contexts that individuals belong to. When drawing on opposing narratives, we as researchers can access the different context interviewees relate to and thus better understand how they navigate and negotiate between different set of norms (De Fina 2008). I am more concerned with how the interviewees experience living in the midst of these contexts than with the objective facts about what led to what in their lives. Thus, conflict, contradiction, and opposing statements are not considered a threat to the validity; rather, it can be treated as a sign of complexity that is characteristic of real life (Lamont and Swidler 2014; Sandberg 2010).

Nevertheless, I acknowledge that a different interviewer, a different sampling procedure, and a different recruitment strategy would have produced different data. Interviewees' accounts often address the implied expectations of the interlocutor (in this case, me) (De Fina 2009). Thus, as outlined in the previous section, it is important to acknowledge that what I represent for the interviewees affects what they tell me and how they say it. In one way, the narratives presented in articles 2 and 3 can be seen as a result of the interviewees negotiating implicit expectations from me as an interviewer. It is likely that they see me as a representative of the native majority. As noted in the introduction, the debate on immigration and integration includes several specific points of animosity against the perceived "immigrant" culture. Being tired of stereotypical representations of "immigrants," it is plausible that their answers are somewhat skewed toward positive aspects of their families and upbringing. Does this imply that the findings presented in the papers only exist within the specific setting of the interview?

First, as already argued, people never construct language on the spot, as it is always structurally given (Sandberg 2009). When they talk, they use language and formulations they have heard before. This means that the stories they tell, although somewhat differently constructed, also exist outside the interview setting. Further, I have been more occupied with the situation the interviewees are situated within rather than their individual characteristics. Rather than sampling on individual standard categories, I have sampled according to the

situation they are in. This has made the analysis more focused on understanding their experiences, rather than uncovering which individual characteristics are important in their lives (Nadim 2015). Thus, even though the interviewees' experiences are unique, people who are in similar situations might recognize themselves in them.

### **3.5. Ethical considerations**

Moral and ethical issues are embedded in all stages of a research project and are concerned with both the means used to conduct the research and the end product of the project (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). In this research project, I have attempted to secure proper ethics throughout the research process. However, in this section, I focus on the ethical principles of confidentiality and not harming the participants (NESH 2016).

Before I began conducting the interviews, the project was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data, NSD. Then, when I recruited the interviewees, those recruited through email were presented with a written information sheet (see appendix) while the others were given oral information about the project. This process was always repeated before beginning the actual interview, upon which I told them what the purpose of the research project was, their right to withdraw at any time, and how their confidentiality would be secured. All interviewees provided oral consent before we began the interview.

However, it is important to be aware of ethics beyond the interview situation. On several occasions, my interviewees asked, "Are you sure this is hundred per cent anonymous?" The reason was that they told me things about their lives and family that they did not want anyone to know about. Securing confidentiality is crucial in order to ensure that the interviewees will not be harmed as a consequence of participating in a research project. In the first article, where confidentiality is more difficult to obtain as I discussed the interviewees' families extensively, I chose to eliminate the particular study my interviewees are admitted to and changed the specifics of their parents' jobs in Norway. In all articles, names have been changed from the originals and educational tracks are not necessarily exactly the same as they actually attend<sup>11</sup>.

Another aspect to consider is how to categorize and select a material. As human classifications are interactive (the way you categorize people has implications for both how outsiders perceive this group of people and how individuals within this group understand

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<sup>11</sup> I do not want to go into further detail of how I anonymized the interviews, as I think that revealing too much about how I secured their confidentiality might serve to undermine that very work itself

themselves) (Hacking 2002), the manner in which categorization is done is also an ethical concern. As already elaborated upon, I have not chosen to categorize people according to their parents' birth country.

Nevertheless, regardless of the selection of interviewees or the categorizations employed, the way that material is presented is important. It might be that some of the interviewees had a specific motivation for participating in this project. In these cases, as well as cases of less intentional informants, there is a possibility that what the interviewee intended to say is different from how I have used the material in the articles (Alvesson 2011). This is a problem for all research, and it touches upon the dilemma of the quality of the research and the importance of protecting the participant (Tangen 2014). Although the analysis does not present the one and only "truth," I have attempted to be "truthful" (Alvesson 2011; Brinkmann og Kvale 2005) in how I report my findings. I have used many quotes and outlined the process of how I came to use the quotes that I did earlier in this introduction.



## 4. Summary of articles

### Article 1:

#### **Innvandrerdrev eller middelklassedrev? Foreldres ressurser og valg av høyere utdanning blant barn av innvandrere. *Norsk sosiologisk tidsskrift* 1: 71-86.**

In this article, I ask how these children of immigrants have experienced their upbringing and the role of their parental involvement throughout their childhood. When migrants arrive in Norway, they often end up at the lower echelons in the society. A large body of literature has thoroughly documented that growing up in a family belonging to a low socioeconomic status negatively affects your chances of achieving higher education. Therefore, the educational success of children of immigrants has been portrayed as a puzzle and a paradox, as they do not behave in ways that we would predict according to “old” explanations of social stratification. Seeking an explanation for the educational success of children of immigrants, some studies have argued that immigrant parents and extended families exert norms of appropriate behavior that promotes positive school behavior.

The findings in this article question the abovementioned claims about an alleged “immigrant drive.” The main argument of the article is that parents’ involvement can also be understood as *class*-specific instead of only *immigrant*-specific. When making use of the qualities of interview data, such as obtaining access to detailed information about the status of the interviewees’ families prior to and after migration, I find that that the interviewees that have parents with what they understand as “high status” from their country of origin, experience their parents’ involvement in ways that resembles Anette Lareau’s (2011) notion of “concerted cultivation,” which is a way of parenting that is associated with the educated middle class. Further, I suggest that it might be the case that resources from ethnic communities are more important for children of immigrants whose parents migrated from poor conditions in their home country.

By showing how the involvement of immigrant parents is experienced in similar ways as has been found in research on the native majority middle class families, the article makes two principal contributions. First, it changes the departure point of analyses concerning the educational success of children of immigrants from “how can we explain the paradox?” to question “what is the paradox?” By doing this, cultural explanations widely used in research on immigrants and the inclusion of their descendants into host society are questioned as the

major explanatory factor. Second, the article provides a specific intersection of migration perspectives with stratification perspectives. By insisting on including aspects of parents' life prior to migration, the article challenges the often unidimensional focus on the host society in studies of inclusion of the second generation. However, this article is explorative in design. Even though interview data enabled me to better understand the interviewees' experience of their parents' involvement, they are not equipped to make broad generalizations. Nevertheless, the study suggests that in order to understand whether or not the educational success of the children of immigrants is characterized by social mobility or a reproduction of inequality, including parents' status before migration is vital.

## **Article 2:**

**"Right choice, wrong motives? Narratives about prestigious educational choices among children of immigrants in Norway." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (5):958-976.**

In the second article, I ask how children of immigrants account for having chosen a prestigious field of higher education. In contrast to the findings of previous research on immigrant families' culture and norms of obligation as driving their children's educational success, the narratives presented in this article mirror themes of individual freedom. By applying a narrative methodological approach, I am not primarily interested in the realism of these accounts. Rather, I want to investigate how their narratives of choice can enhance our understanding of what is deemed as legitimate motives for this particular group.

I find that interviewees express frustrations about a lack of acceptance by the native majority population, despite their unambiguously ambitious and successful education careers. In Norway, immigrant parents are often perceived to influence their children's life choices, which is in contrast to the Norwegian educational system and its emphasis on the individual and independent choices of the youth. This situation creates a potential paradox for successful children of immigrants: While an "immigrant drive" may enhance their school performance, the ethnic resources underlying this drive appear to be an impediment to acceptance by the native majority population. In this article, I argue that drawing on narratives of free choice helps the interviewees handle this situation.

The main contribution of this article is that it highlights motives as an important feature of the relationship between minority and majority populations. The paper addresses an

understudied aspect of the integration of the second generation, showing how the consideration of motives underlying a choice as being “right” or “wrong” is key for understanding the identity construction processes among the minority youth. Whereas motives of free and interest-based self-fulfillment are considered more acceptable in general in Norway, they could be particularly important as a response to attitudes about family pressure and duty in minority migrant groups. Further, it addresses issues of stigma and exclusion for children of immigrants who have already achieved according to an “objective” measure of successful integration.

### **Article 3:**

**“Negotiating independence and tradition: Plans for career, marriage and family among daughters of immigrants enrolled in higher education in Norway” *Submitted manuscript (undergoing peer review)***

In this article, I ask what the women in this study plan for regarding their future family and work situations, and how their parents’ wishes and expectations are present in these plans. One specific concern about the future integration of minority migrant populations in Western Europe is that the female second generation will be held back by traditional gender norms at the time of family formation and, thus, end up as housewives and homemaking mothers. The findings in this study suggest that while they plan to use their educational credentials in the labor market to achieve a prestigious career, they also express a desire to enter a within-group parent-aided marriage. The aim of the article is to investigate how these females make sense of the situation of wanting to both make individual life choices simultaneously with their desire to satisfy their parents’ expectations regarding their future marriage partner.

Rather than commenting upon the likelihoods of these scenarios, I am interested in what narratives these females draw on in order to make sense of their options and plans through negotiations of norms believed to be prevalent among the native majority and in their families. The interviewees draw on narratives that entail elements of free choice, and I argue that when they do this, they challenge the alleged opposition between traditional family formation and women’s occupational success. Rather than seeing the custom where parents aid their children in finding a suitable partner as consistent with patriarchal power and female suppression, they talk about it as a practical solution and as a resource to enable female independence.

Thus, although they bring in elements of motives perceived as legitimate by the native majority (independence and free choice) when discussing their future marriages, this does not mean that they accept all norms for what it takes to be “fully integrated and accepted.” In contrast to the increased focus in recent years on cultural conformance as important for inclusion into mainstream society, they insist on the compatibility between being successfully integrated and independent, without it entailing a complete liberation from their families and their customs.

## 5. Summarizing Discussion

Broadly speaking, this thesis presents analyses of how children of immigrants enrolled in prestigious educational tracks account for the decisions and circumstances of some of their important life transitions. Through these analyses, we also make sense of their adaptation and feeling of inclusion in Norway. While the three articles address separate research questions, they all revolve around how they interpret the background and implications of their own passage through prestigious higher education. The thesis suggests that for this group of highly selected children of immigrants, their structural status as part of the immigrant population appears to play a bigger role in their lives than the content of their parents' culture. This seems to be the case both when they reflect upon their upbringing, the choices they have made, and what they want to do in the future. In this summarizing discussion, I show how some general conclusions can be made by assembling my answers to each of the research questions, which I address in order.

### 5.1. The mismatch between ascribed and experienced social status

In article 1, I addressed the interviewees' experiences with the involvement of their parents throughout their childhood. The fact that many children of immigrants come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds but still outperform natives when it comes to obtaining a college degree has been referred to as "paradox" (Feliciano & Lanuza 2017; Portes & Rumbaut 2001). What the first article in this thesis shows is that most of the interviewees identify as having a higher social status origin than what their parents' socioeconomic position in Norway suggests. When neglecting this mismatch between their ascribed and experienced social status, social scientists are in the danger of exaggerating cultural aspects within the immigrant family and community as more important than what is the case in reality (Feliciano, 2005).

When the interviewees in this study are asked to talk about their childhood, the ones who identify as having "high social status" talk about actively involved parents. However, when reflecting on their experiences with parental involvement, the content of the culture their parents grew up with in their homeland is not made particularly relevant. This does not mean that their immigrant status is irrelevant in understanding these experiences. Both the mismatch between their ascribed and experienced social status, and their consciousness of having a minority status might intensify their parents' involvement (Vincent et al. 2013). In other research, this intensified involvement is often interpreted as an immigrant drive, occasionally connected to norms of obedience, strict rules, and social control within particular immigrant families (Bankston 2004; Leirvik 2016; Modood 2004; Shah, Dwyer, and Modood

2010; Lauglo 2010). However, instead of attributing the source of the drive to cultural aspects within the immigrant community, I argue that the basis of the involvement and drive might vary between different groups of immigrant families. Their social status before migrating is one of the characteristics that appears to be important for how children of immigrants experience their families' involvement in their everyday lives. When children of immigrants have high social status origins, their parents are able to draw on a diversified set of resources that might help their children excel in school. On the other hand, for children of immigrants who migrated from a low social status, these resources are fewer and they are more dependent upon external help—for example, a tight-knit ethnic community—in order to help their children do well in school.

As a part of this thesis, the first article establishes the context for the other articles, as it invites the reader to better understand who the interviewees are. As a separate research contribution, the article offers a new perspective in the literature on the educational achievement of children of immigrants as it acknowledges the importance of their structural position as part of the immigrant population, without automatically interpreting their behavior and experiences in cultural terms. While not rejecting a role for specific cultural elements and other characteristics that vary between national-origin groups, the analysis of article 1 suggests that the parenting and relations between generations are consistent with a less group-specific and more conventional “social origins” interpretation.

## **5.2. Being socioeconomically integrated, culturally stereotyped**

In article 2, the aim was to investigate both how the interviewees accounted for the prestigious educational choice they had already made, and to better understand how these accounts could tell us about their general feeling of inclusion in Norway. The article shows how they draw on a cultural repertoire that fits well with *both* legitimate motives in Norway and with their understanding of themselves as being “middle class.”

On their way to becoming socioeconomic well-integrated, the interviewees experience that their native majority peers perceive them as having been pressured into choosing prestigious educational tracks. Thus, while achieving higher education might remedy common prejudices toward immigrant minorities as being lazy, non-contributive, and poorly integrated, they experience being labeled with another prejudice as well. The article serves as an example of how the vague and often shifting definitions of integration (Rytter 2011) come into play in the interviewees' everyday lives. The narratives they draw on when accounting for their

educational choice can be interpreted as a way of dealing with this situation, as they remedy some of the perceived preconceptions as well as reaffirm their self-image as “liberal,” “modern,” and “middle class.”

Nevertheless, I am not arguing that this has to be interpreted as a sign of cultural change, or that the interviewees are more liberal than their parents. What I argue is that their structural position as immigrants and their embodiment of a minority status is vital in order to understand how they reflect on their own educational choice. Further, as shown in article 1, there might be other status characteristics that play a role in their manner of identification. While I have shown how class might be relevant, others have argued that caste, clan, and urban/rural divisions can be important (Moldenhawer 2005; Leirvik 2012).

### **5.3. Juggling sameness and differences**

In article 3, I was interested in daughters of immigrants’ occupational career ambitions, a topic that is often discussed in relation to the culture of immigrant families. Although children of immigrants’ relatively high educational achievements are often talked about as a success, there is a worry that the females might not use their educational credentials in the labor market (Brekke and Rogstad 2011; Nadim 2014b). The gap in employment rates between the second generation and the native majority is somewhat larger for women than for men, and scholars sometimes explain this as related to “traditional gender norms” (Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008; Hermansen 2013). In the third article in this thesis, I sought to understand the female interviewees’ plans, particularly regarding their future family and work situations, and in what ways normative ideals and influence from their parents play a role in these plans. While the interviewees argue that their parents are welcome to offer advice on their future marriage partner, they see themselves as the ones in control of the actual decision and how they want to balance between domestic and paid work in the aftermath of wedding and childbirth.

Through the narratives they draw on, they insist that there is no contradiction in feeling obligated to respect parental advice at the same time as they understand themselves as modern individuals on the threshold of becoming successful career women. While they generally do not experience or understand their parents’ culture as essential when making their educational choices, they do not reject their parents’ advice and expectations regarding processes of spouse selection and family formation, but rather incorporate them into the narration about themselves as independent and “modern.”

It is important to mention again that the interviewees I talked to is a highly selected group. Not only have they made it into these prestigious educational tracks, most of them also have parents they think of as having a “high social status.” This implies that I am not making any claims about children of immigrants in general. However, I have showed how educational achievement for some children of immigrants might be best understood through theories of class and socialization, while for others the theories of ethnic capital might be more important. The point is that the interviewees are much more than merely children of immigrants, and these other characteristics might also influence their path to success.

#### **5.4. Contributions**

Independently, the articles make several contributions to their fields of research. The first article demonstrates how a similar set of empirical findings about the content of the upbringing of children of immigrants (working hard, being motivated to excel in school, having many extracurricular activities, etc.) can be interpreted through different theoretical frameworks. It shows how children of immigrants whose parents have low-status jobs in Norway occasionally understand their situation as having parents of “high social status.” This mismatch between parental status prior to and after migration is often neglected in research on children of immigrants’ educational achievement; thus, the explicit focus on this in the first article contributes to this literature. The article nuances the allegedly “paradoxical” situation of educationally successful children of immigrants with parents in low-status jobs and suggests caution about prematurely throwing out “old theories.” Although the article is exploratory in design, this theoretical argument has been supported by newer, quantitative research (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Hart and Chabris 2016). The article is also, to my knowledge, one among few studies that applies the work of Anette Lareau (2011) to study the everyday lives of children of immigrants.

Article 2 addresses an important theoretical discussion on the relationship between socioeconomic and other forms of integration; as it shows how being socioeconomically integrated does not necessarily lead to inclusion and a feeling of social acceptance. The focus is different from previous research that have demonstrated how living in strict families that exert social control can be mentally damaging, as it shows how the *stereotype* about the “social controlling” family can have adverse outcomes for experiences of social inclusion of educationally successful children of immigrants. Thus, the article contributes to the specific literature on the educational achievement of children of immigrants. It also adds to theories of

integration and inclusion, showing that it might not be enough to do the right things without also convincing that they were done for the right reasons.

Article 3 shows how the female's in the sample consistently want to pursue a prestigious career simultaneously with wanting their parents to help them find a suitable marriage partner. Although previous research implies that these plans are at odds because they come from a "modern" vs. a "traditional" view of women's adult life, the article's analysis contributes a more nuanced perspective of the family and work choices of the daughters of immigrants. The article proposes that binary divisions between concepts of "modern" versus "traditional" or "collectivistic" versus "individualistic" can be misleading, as it shows how making independent choices can be understood as being in harmony with their families' cultural norms.

These contributions are made possible through the use of somewhat different methodological choices than what is often the case in the literature on the educational achievements of children of immigrants. First, recruiting a sample of highly educated children of immigrants without selecting their parents' country of birth was a strategic choice. With this sample, it is possible to investigate which aspects connect this group apart from their ethnic or religious backgrounds.

Second, the use of a narrative approach in articles 2 and 3 enabled me to connect different levels of analysis (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010). As a tool, this tactic can partially alleviate the tendency of interview data to give rise to analysis that only focuses on individual characteristics (Lamont and Swidler 2014; Nadim 2015; Jerolmack and Khan 2014). I show how the narratives can be understood as part of a self-presentation (identity, individual level), how these presentations are connected to different norms, and how these norms are embedded in institutional contexts such as the family, the Norwegian educational system, and the Norwegian welfare state (Orupabo 2014).

Overall, the three articles show how the interviewees' position as children of immigrants is highly relevant for understanding their experiences of growing up in Norway, making important life choices, pursuing higher education, and dreaming of a future with both a family and a successful career. However, the content of the cultures dominant in the diverse homelands of their parents is less predominant. The methodological choices of seeking sample heterogeneity in national origins, sample homogeneity in educational prestige, as well

as using a narrative approach might all contribute to highlight what unites these young adults rather than what separates them.

### **5.5. Limitations and the way ahead**

In this section, I address some important limitations of this study and discuss how my conclusions point to issues that should be raised in future research.

The people I interviewed are admitted to prestigious educational tracks and most of them have parents who they understand as having had a “high social status” before migrating. Only three of the interviewees in the sample have parents belonging to what they understand as “low social status” before migrating. Nevertheless, in article 1, I argue that it is plausible that resources from ethnic communities in Norway are more important for descendants whose parents have a low social status from their country of origin. However, with my data (small scale, availability sample, and endogenous selection), it is impossible to verify this suspicion. With an entirely different research design, I could address the role of “hidden selection bias” when there is a mismatch between the original social status of immigrant families and the measured host-country social status resulting from the systematic downward mobility experienced in the migration process. This would provide the field with insights on whether the educational success we are witnessing in the second generation should be characterized as social mobility or social reproduction.

In article 2, the analysis would have benefited from an inclusion of the insights from article 1, which was written after article 2 was accepted for publication. As article 2 is an investigation of interviewees’ accounts of having chosen prestigious educational tracks, adding knowledge about their class background would improve the analysis. In particular, knowing in retrospect that the interviewees have parents who they understand as “high status”, their narratives to account for the choice of prestigious higher education make even more sense. The way in which they stress the deep individuality in that the choice came from their “inner self” (“I have always loved it”), might be seen as a logical extension of their middle-class “concerted cultivation” upbringing that I document in article 1. Today, we know quite a bit about how different fragments of the middle class do parenting (Aarseth 2017), but most of the literature is on the “white middle class” (Archer 2011; Archer and Francis 2006; Reay et al. 2001), that is, the native majority. It is my hope that the preliminary analysis of parental involvement in article 1 will inspire more research on parental strategies within immigrant families in Norway.

On account of the topic of upbringing, the analysis of all articles would be strengthened by interviews with the interviewees' parents. Since both articles 1 and 3 explicitly address how my interviewees relate to their family, their upbringing, and particularly their parents' expectations, it would certainly have been beneficial to talk to the parents. Future research on immigrant parents and their childrearing could address how important cultural sentiments are in childrearing practices and also how their social status from their birth country plays out (or not) in the way they approach parenting.

Further, I thought about interviewing native majority students for comparative purposes. The narratives my interviewees draw on are similar to narratives found in previous research on native majorities. As I have not conducted any interviews with native majority students, I did not want to compare my interviewees directly with native majority peers, as they are described in previous research. Thus, I analyzed their accounts as related to the larger discursive context in which they are told. This implies, for example, analyzing them in relation to normative and ideological ideals governing the Norwegian welfare state, educational system, and family arrangements. I believe that the research field would benefit from more explicitly comparative research with a sample of both children of immigrants and native majority interviewees. This would allow more nuanced and informed analysis on how these groups differ and converge.

In the analysis of articles 2 and 3, I focused more on the content of the narratives rather than on personal life-histories. A possible consequence of this is that the uniqueness in the accounts that my interviewees have told me might be missing, as the stories are constructed into more similar overarching narratives. Thus, there is often more variation between the interviews than the analysis conveys. Nevertheless, a narrative approach is enriching as it tells us a lot about the contexts these people relate to, what cultural repertoires are available for them, and how they wish to be perceived. However, if we are to properly understand the situations, the worlds and the settings people relate to, make meaning in, and understand themselves through, we must engage in ethnographic methods (Gubrium and Holstein 2009). This study might also have benefited from this.

In Norway the children of the first wave of migrants have now reached adulthood. We need to continue to investigate how their inclusion plays out in later stages of their lives—for example, when forming a family of their own, when beginning work, when taking care of their parents-, etc. However, we also need to focus our attention as researchers on the children

of the second generation. Since adaptation is a multigenerational process, social scientists should investigate how the lives of immigrants' grandchildren unfold (Jiménez, Park, and Pedroza 2017).

### **5.6. Conclusion: Beyond heritage and acculturation**

Ultimately, the question that remains is how we should understand the conditions of social inclusion and their interpretations among the interviewees of this study. Collecting the images that arise from the three journal articles, a coherent whole appears. These young minority adults, whose stories of their origins indicate higher social self-regard than would have been predicted on the basis of their material and socioeconomic circumstances during upbringing, are resourceful negotiators of their heritage and the demands of acculturation. The vocabulary and narrations of central life motives, such as those underlying their decision to pursue prestigious higher education and occupational careers, discord with trite ideas of “immigrant” traditionalism and culture and accord well with what might be a desire to be deemed “mainstream Norwegian upper middle class.” However, their resourcefulness can also be seen in the apparent ease with which they make room for stereotypically conflicting values and ideals from their culture of origin and their native majority context. This is illustrated in the way that they allow for the influence of parents on choices of spouse and adherence to expectations of endogamy, at the same time as they draw on Norwegian norms of women's occupational careers and gender equity in the work/family balance upon childbirth.

Still, the need to navigate between a complex mix of (real and imagined) expectations and pressures may stem from experiences of prejudice and stigma. Thus, the resources and stories that dominate throughout this thesis are correctly conceived only in the broader context of expectations about the acculturation of minority migrant populations, particularly when it comes to concerns about certain aspects of their cultural heritage. Insofar as they are believed to suffer from “social control” and/or patriarchal norms, prestigious educational credentials do not appear to be sufficient as a remedy for feeling as an outsider. In the end, the manner in which they narrate and negotiate their way through central events in their life course, beyond both their cultural heritage and demands of acculturation, helps resolve this situation.

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## Article 1:

Kindt, Marianne Takvam. 2017. "Innvandrerdriv eller middelklassedriv? Foreldres ressurser og valg av høyere utdanning blant barn av innvandrere". *Norsk sosiologisk tidsskrift* 1 (01):71-86.



# Innvandrerdriv eller middelklassedriv?

*Foreldres ressurser og valg av høyere utdanning blant barn av innvandrere*

Marianne Takvam Kindt

Stipendiat

Institutt for pedagogikk, Universitetet i Oslo

[m.t.kindt@iped.uio.no](mailto:m.t.kindt@iped.uio.no)

## SAMMENDRAG

Barn av innvandrere gjør det bra i det norske utdanningssystemet, til tross for at foreldrene deres ofte har lav sosioøkonomisk status. Basert på dybdeintervjuer med 28 etterkommere som har begynt på prestisjefulle utdanningsløp, og eksemplifisert gjennom historiene til tre av disse informantene, setter jeg fokus på hvordan forståelser av familiens sosiale status gjør seg gjeldende i deres utdanningsfremmende adferd. Ved å innlemme informantenes subjektive forståelse av sin klassebakgrunn, med vekt på foreldrenes posisjon i hjemlandet, blir det synlig at deler av foreldrenes involvering er klassespesifikk. For det første viser det seg at etterkommere som har foreldre med «høy status» fra hjemlandet, opplever sine foreldres involvering på måter som minner om «typisk middelklasseadferd», selv om de har lav sosioøkonomisk status i Norge. For det andre kan de ressursene som ligger i et tett sammenvevd etnisk nettverk bety mer for etterkommere hvis foreldre har «lav status» fra hjemlandet. Disse innsiktene kan tilsløres i analyser som bruker data som tar utgangspunkt i foreldres sosioøkonomiske status målt i vertslandet.

## Nøkkelord

barn av innvandrere, utdanningsoppnåelse, sosial klasse, etnisk kapital

## ABSTRACT

Children of immigrants do better in the education system than their parents' socioeconomic resources would suggest. Based on interviews with 28 children of immigrants enrolled in prestigious educational tracks, and exemplified through the stories of three of these informants, I focus on how children of immigrants own understanding of their family's social status can play a part in how parents are involved in their children's educational careers. When integrating my informants' subjective understanding of their class background, with an emphasis on their parents' social position in the home country, it becomes clear that some of the involvement is class-specific. First, I show that children of immigrants whose parents have a high social status from their home country, experience their parents' involvement in ways that resemble typical middle-class behavior, even if they have low socioeconomic status in Norway. Second, it seems plausible that resources from the ethnic communities are more important for descendants whose parents have a lower social status from their home country. These insights may be disguised in analyses based on parents' socioeconomic status measured in host country.

## Keywords

children of immigrants, educational attainment, social class, ethnic capital

## INNLEDNING

Barn av innvandrere gjør det ofte bra i det norske utdanningssystemet, til tross for oppvekst i familier som befinner seg lavere på den sosioøkonomiske rangstigen (Hermansen, 2016). Mange av de som går videre med høyere utdanning, velger elite- og profesjonsutdanninger (Støren, 2009). Flere studier antyder at etterkommere fra enkelte landbakgrunner gjør det bedre i skolen enn unge med majoritetsbakgrunn fra samme sosioøkonomiske gruppe, og at deres oppnåelser og valg i mindre grad er knyttet til foreldres sosioøkonomiske posisjon (Bratsberg, Raaum og Røed, 2012; Fekjær, 2007; Støren, 2005; Støren og Helland, 2009). Denne tendensen, som er dokumentert i mange land, har blitt omtalt som et «paradoks» (Portes og Rumbaut, 2001) og en «sosiologisk gåte» (Leirvik, 2014). Mye av forskningen på etterkommeres utdanningsoppnåelse har derfor tatt utgangspunkt i at tradisjonelle ulikhetsforklaringer må suppleres med andre teorier (Archer og Francis, 2006; Lee og Zhou, 2015; Modood, 2004; Portes og Rumbaut, 2001; Shah, Dwyer og Modood, 2010).

Det er imidlertid flere utfordringer knyttet til å studere etterkommeres utdanningsoppnåelse i relasjon til deres klassebakgrunn. Metodologisk er det et problem at de fleste innvandrere selv opplever nedadgående sosial mobilitet som et resultat av migrasjonen (Ichou, 2014). Hvis innvandreres reelle ressurser og bakgrunn blir systematisk underrapportert ved bruk av sosioøkonomisk status i vertsland, kan den såkalte «mobilitetsgåten» være uttrykk for målefeil: avstanden mellom innvandrerne og deres barn virker større enn den egentlig er (Fekjær, 2010). Videre er også utdanning verdsatt ulikt på tvers av samfunn, for eksempel ved at andre former for sosial rangering kan være viktigere enn akkumulasjon av formell utdanning i enkelte land (Leirvik, 2012; Li, 2008). Som konsekvens av

disse utfordringene står forskeren i fare for å overdrive aspekter ved innvandrernettverkets normer og kultur som forklaring på etterkommeres «utdanningsuksess» (Feliciano, 2005). I denne studien støtter jeg meg derfor på litteraturen som er opptatt av å studere etnisitet og sosial klasse i sammenheng (Leirvik, 2012; Li, 2008; Moldenhawer, 2005; Rytter, 2011; Shah et al., 2010). Heller enn å ta utgangspunkt i et klasseperspektiv forstått fra Norge, ønsker jeg å inkludere etterkommeres opplevde sosiale bakgrunn fra foreldrenes hjemland (Lee og Zhou, 2015; Leirvik, 2012; Moldenhawer, 2005). Det overordnede forskningsspørsmålet jeg søker svar på i denne teksten er: Hvordan gjør etterkommeres forståelse av foreldres statusposisjon seg gjeldende i utdanningsfremmende adferd i Norge?

På bakgrunn av 28 dybdeintervjuer med barn av innvandrere i Norge som nylig har blitt tatt opp på prestisjefylte utdanningsløp, analyserer jeg hvordan foreldrene involverer seg i barnas utdanningsadferd. Ved hjelp av detaljert informasjon om foreldrenes sosiale status før migrasjon, rett etter migrasjon og i dag, analyserer jeg deres ressurser på en mer dynamisk og fleksibel måte enn det som er mulig med data fra foreliggende spørreskjema og registre.

Ved å integrere informasjon om foreldres sosiale status fra hjemlandet, blir det synlig at mye av foreldrenes involvering i etterkommernes liv er klassespesifikk. Barn som har foreldre med høy status fra sitt hjemland, men som ikke har tilsvarende høy status i Norge, opplever sine foreldres involvering på en måte som minner om Lareaus (2011) begrep om «concerted cultivation», og som vanligvis forbindes med den utdannede middelklassen. Dette perspektivet gjør det også mulig å se at forskjeller i prestasjoner eller valg, for eksempel mellom personer og grupper som har sammenlignbar sosioøkonomisk status i Norge, kan være knyttet til forskjeller i status i opprinnelseslandet. Videre kan det også belyse at ressurser som er knyttet til egenskaper ved gruppen, ofte betegnet «etnisk kapital», kan ha ulik betydning for etterkommere med ulik klassebakgrunn fra hjemlandet. For barn av innvandrere som har foreldre med lav sosial status både fra hjemland og i Norge, kan ressursene det etniske nettverket tilbyr være de eneste ressursene foreldrene kan trekke på for å fremme utdanningsfremmende adferd hos sine barn.

## ANALYTISK RAMMEVERK

Sammenhengen mellom sosioøkonomisk bakgrunn og utdanningsforskjeller er godt dokumentert (Hansen, 2010; Hansen og Mastekaasa, 2006; Wiborg og Hansen, 2009). Til tross for at det eksisterer en debatt om hvordan vi skal forstå sosial bakgrunns påvirkning på utdanningsadferd (Dahlgren og Ljunggren, 2010), er konvensjonen likevel at klassebakgrunn operasjonaliseres gjennom å måle inntekt, utdanningsnivå, arbeidsmarkedstilknytning eller yrke, eventuelt i kombinasjon. Det samme gjelder i kvantitative studier av barn av innvandreres utdanningsoppnåelse (Bratsberg et al., 2012; Fekjær, 2010; Fekjær og Leirvik, 2011; Heath, Rothon og Kilpi, 2008; Hermansen, 2016; Shah et al., 2010; Støren, 2009).

Som et alternativ til de mer tradisjonelle ulikhetsforklaringene, har det vokst frem en populær type forklaring på barn av innvandreres utdanningsadferd. Denne forklaringen knytter etterkommeres utdanningsoppnåelse sammen med graden av sosial kapital innad i innvandrerfamilien og det etniske nettverket (Bankston og Zhou, 2002; Lauglo, 1999,

2010; Lee og Zhou, 2015; Leirvik, 2016; Modood, 2004; Portes, 2000; Portes og Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou og Bankston, 1994) ofte gjennom begrepet *etnisk kapital* (Shah et al., 2010) eller *etnisitet som sosial kapital* (Zhou, 2005). Begrepet *etnisk kapital* har imidlertid blitt brukt og definert på flere ulike måter, noe som har ført til en viss forvirring rundt begrepets egentlige innhold (Bankston og Zhou, 2002; Portes, 2000).

En *strukturell* versjon av begrepet fremhever mengden målbare ressurser innvandrere har med seg fra hjemlandet. Ifølge dette perspektivet avhenger innvandrerbarns utdanningsatferd av nettverkets gruppenivå-kapital: innvandrergruppens gjennomsnittlige utdanningsnivå og inntekt har en egen effekt på barn av innvandreres mobilitet, uavhengig av foreldrenes utdanning og inntektsnivå (Borjas, 1992).

I sin kjente teoretiske modell over hvordan sosial kapital i etniske nettverk kan bidra til etterkommeres inkorporering, kritiserer Portes og Rumbaut (2001) et ensidig fokus på strukturelle ressurser som forklaring på etterkommeres utdanningsuksess. De mener at det har liten betydning om et etnisk nettverk har høy samlet human kapital hvis medlemmene i nettverket ikke føler noen form for forpliktelse til hverandre. Forskere som trekker på Portes og Rumbauts (2001) teori er opptatt av selve interaksjonen og strukturen på relasjonene i det etniske nettverket, samt graden av tillit og normene som deles av nettverkets medlemmer. I et tett sammenvevd etnisk nettverk der medlemmene deler normer om hva som er akseptabel oppførsel, vil foreldrenes autoritet bli forsterket. Dette gjør det vanskeligere med normbrudd, og dermed er det mer sannsynlig at barn av innvandrere som inngår i slike nettverk oppfører seg i tråd med nettverkets ønsker (Bankston og Zhou, 2002; Leirvik, 2016; Modood, 2004; Portes og Rumbaut, 2001). Hvilken type adferd gruppen godtar, danner dermed et viktig utgangspunkt for å forstå hvordan etterkommere vil te seg, og grensene for akseptabel oppførsel er ofte definert på bakgrunn av innvandrergruppens kultur. Tradisjonelle familieverdier, takknemlighetspraksiser, respekt for eldre, «å være en god sønn», ærbarhet og status (Bankston, 2004; Leirvik, 2010, 2016; Portes og Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou og Bankston, 2001, 1994) er eksempler på kulturelle egenskaper i en etnisk gruppe som kan fungere positivt på etterkommeres utdanningsadferd. Et slikt perspektiv kan på mange måter betraktes som et utspring fra en av de tre retningene i teorien om segmentert assimilering, der selektiv akkulturasjon sees på som positivt for oppadgående mobilitet (Portes og Zhou, 1993). For å klare seg som innvandrer er det ikke nødvendig å «bli lik» majoriteten; snarere kan det å bevare deler av egen kultur fungere positivt for strukturell integrasjon.

En utfordring i litteraturen som hviler på en mer *kulturell* forståelse av begrepet etnisk kapital, er at betydningen av etterkommeres klassebakgrunn kan ende opp med å bli underkommunisert. For hvordan skal man egentlig måle innvandreres klassebakgrunn? Foreliggende forskning tar som regel utgangspunkt i innvandreres sosioøkonomiske status målt i vertsland, og forskningen har blitt kritisert for å ha et unyansert «vertslandsperspektiv» (Moldenhawer, 2005). Videre er det slik at klasse og status kan bety ulike ting i ulike samfunnskontekster, på tvers av tid og nye sosiale utgangspunkt (Rytter, 2011). Det gjør at innvandrere muligens forstår sin egen klasseposisjon annerledes enn slik den blir forstått i det nye vertslandet (Li, 2008). For eksempel kan det være vanskeligere å oppnå utdanning i noen land, noe som gjør utdanning mer eksklusivt, men det kan også være at andre statusmarkører som kaste og klan er viktigere enn formell utdanning (Leirvik, 2012). Dette

kan føre til at innvandrere som blir klassifisert som «arbeiderklasse» i vertsland, likevel kan forstå sin egen posisjon som «middelklasse» (Li, 2008). Dermed reises spørsmålet om hva som har mest å si for foreldres påvirkning på barns utdanningsvalg og prestasjoner – objektive ressurser man besitter i kraft av ens sosioøkonomiske posisjon i vertsland, eller en mer subjektiv opplevelse av egen status?

I norske registerdata har vi mangelfull informasjon om innvandreres sosioøkonomiske status før migrasjon, og vi har ingen informasjon om hvordan de oppfatter sin egen «sosiale status». I seg selv er ikke det problematisk, det er interessant og viktig å finne ut hvordan sosioøkonomiske vilkår i vertsland henger sammen med etterkommeres utdanningsoppnåelse. Fuligni og Yoshikawa (2003) argumenterer imidlertid for at det er den sosiale statusen som blir utviklet i hjemlandet snarere enn innvandreres «objektive» klasseposisjon målt i vertsland som påvirker deres sosialiseringsspraksiser og måter å «gjøre» foreldreskap på. Studier som søker å forstå relevansen av innvandrere og etterkommeres klassebakgrunn, bør derfor ta hensyn til at familien har flyttet fra én type samfunn til en annen og innlemme deres «subjektive klassebakgrunn» – måten de selv forstår sin sosiale status på – i analysene (Fuligni og Yoshikawa, 2003; Li, 2008). I denne artikkelen benytter jeg denne innfallsvinkelen, og analyserer hvordan barn av innvandreres egen forståelse av sin klassebakgrunn henger sammen med deres opplevelse av foreldrenes involvering og støtte i deres skolegang og utdanningsvalg.

## METODE

Analysene baserer seg på dybdeintervjuer med 28 barn av innvandrere som alle er tatt opp på et prestisjefullt høyere utdanningsløp, som juss, medisin, odontologi, farmasi, ingeniør, finans eller informatikk. Utvalget er skjevt på den måten at jeg kun intervjuer «suksessfulle» etterkommere. Denne formen for «sampling på den avhengige variabelen» var et bevisst grep for å undersøke ulike veier til suksess. En skjevhet i utvalget som ikke var intendert, er at nesten alle informantene har foreldre som de opplever har hatt en «høy status» fra sitt hjemland. Bare tre av informantene snakker om at foreldrene kommer fra fattige kår før de migrerte. Til tross for at relativt få av mine informanter har foreldre med lav status fra hjemlandet, vil jeg her forsøke å si noe om hvordan dette har hatt betydning for mine informanters liv i Norge, eksemplifisert ved en av dem. Deres opplevelser mener jeg danner grunnlag for interessante observasjoner som det er verdt å forske videre på, men da med større utvalg.

Alle intervjuene er utført i 2013 og 2014. Atten av intervjuene er med kvinner, og ti med menn. Tidligere studier har ofte fokusert på etterkommere med foreldre fra en eller to landbakgrunner (se for eksempel Fekjær og Leirvik, 2011; Fuglerud og Engebrigtsen, 2006; Leirvik, 2012; Zhou og Bankston, 1994). Foreldrene til deltagerne i denne studien har innvandret fra en rekke land, noe som gjør det mulig å se på unge med minoritetsbakgrunns opplevelse av foreldres involvering mer generelt. Seks har foreldre fra Pakistan, og seks har foreldre fra Sri Lanka. Ellers har informantene foreldre fra Vietnam, Somalia, Irak, Afghanistan, Palestina, Kina, Iran, Bangladesh, Sør-Korea, Thailand, Ukraina, Polen og Chile.

I denne artikkelen har jeg kombinert analytiske standardkategorier (som sosioøkonomisk status) med mer empiriske koder direkte koblet til intervju materialet (som ulike praksiser). Alle intervjuene er transkribert i HyperTranscribe, og alt materiale er kodet i Nvivo. I tråd med Lis (2008) anbefaling om å se på innvandreres og etterkommeres klassebakgrunn på en helhetlig måte, forstår jeg mine informanternes klassebakgrunn slik de selv beskriver sine foreldres sosiale posisjon. Mer konkret betyr det at jeg har kodet deres klassebakgrunn først ut ifra foreldrenes utdanningsbakgrunn og arbeidsmarkedstilknytning «før migrasjon», «etter migrasjon» og «i dag». I tillegg har jeg innlemmet informantenes mer subjektive forståelse av sine foreldres sosiale status. Flere snakker for eksempel om foreldrene sine som «høyt oppe i systemet», eller som medlemmer av en «respektert» eller «kjent» familie.

I artikkelen bruker jeg tre informanter som bærende eksempler. Maryam, Huy og Kanyian utgjør typiske eksempler i mine data. Selv om Huy kun er en av tre informanter som har foreldre med «lav status» fra hjemlandet, har hans fortelling flere likhetstrekk med de to andre informantene med lav klassebakgrunn fra hjemlandet. Jeg bruker Maryam, Huy og Kanyian som eksempler fordi jeg mener det vil være lettere å forstå sammenhengene mellom sosial bakgrunn og opplevelsen av foreldres involvering gjennom disse historiene, snarere enn hvis jeg hadde plukket litt fra alle. Ettersom jeg gir mye informasjon om bakgrunnen og livshistoriene til de tre informantene, har anonymisering av informantene vært spesielt viktig. Blant annet har jeg valgt å ikke presisere hvilket elitestudium informantene er tatt opp på, og jeg har også valgt å endre yrkestittelen til foreldrene deres. Ut over det ønsker jeg ikke å gå i detalj på andre former for informasjon jeg har endret hos informantene og familiene deres, da dette kan virke mot sin hensikt og bli en trussel snarere enn en beskyttelse mot deres anonymitet.

## MARYAMS, KANYIANS OG HUYS KLASSEBAKGRUNN

Få av foreldrene til mine informanter ville kunne kategoriseres som «middelklasse» i Norge. Mange jobber innenfor renhold, i fabrikk, i taxinæringen eller på sykehjem. Noen få er enten langtidssykemeldt eller uføretrygdet. Men til tross for at de fleste befinner seg i lavere sosioøkonomiske lag, kommer et stort flertall av foreldrene fra det informantene beskriver som familier med «høy status» i sine hjemland. Flere av besteforeldrene til mine informanter er høyt utdannet, flere av foreldrene har vokst opp i hus med tjenere, og noen har hatt posisjoner som gjør at «alle vet hvem de er» i hjemlandet.

Moren til Maryam vokste opp i Somalia, med en far som jobbet som lærer – et fint og sjeldent yrke, ifølge Maryam. Planen var at moren til Maryam også skulle bli lærer, noe hennes far hadde oppfordret henne til gjennom hele hennes barndom. På grunn av borgerkrigen ble det ikke noe av, og moren til Maryam jobber i dag som assistent i en barnehage i Oslo. Maryams forståelse av sin sosiale bakgrunn samsvarer ikke med hennes objektive sosioøkonomiske plassering i Norge.

Slik er det også for Kanyian. Da foreldrene migrerte fra Sri Lanka, var tanken at de begge skulle studere. Flere av deres søsken hadde allerede skaffet seg utdanning på Sri Lanka, noe som var sjeldent på den tiden, mener Kanyian. Bestefaren til Kanyian var kjent i lands-

bygda, alle visste hvem han var, og hilste på ham på gata – fordi han kom fra en svært respektert familie. I dag jobber foreldrene til Kanyian henholdsvis på et postkontor og som hjelpepleier på et sykehjem. Deres objektive sosioøkonomiske plassering i Norge samsvarer heller ikke med Kanyians opplevelse av sin familie som en høyt utdannet, øvre middelklassefamilie.

For Huy er det annerledes. Han er den første i sin familie som får seg høyere utdanning. Familiene til foreldrene hans jobbet innenfor jordbruk i Vietnam, og Huy sier at de var fattige. De måtte spare på all maten, og i dårlige perioder spiste de ris som var muggen. I Norge har de fått jobber gjennom sitt vietnamesiske nettverk og har for det meste arbeidet i service- og restaurantbransjen. Huys opplevelse av sin families sosiale status samsvarer således bedre med foreldrenes sosioøkonomiske plassering i Norge.

### INVOLVERT INNVANDRERFORELDRESKAP?

Måten familien er involvert i sine barns skolegang på, er av betydning for barnas utdanningsoppnåelse og henger ofte sammen med foreldrenes klassebakgrunn (Auerbach, 2007; Barg, 2013; Bonizzoni, Romito og Cavallo, 2014; Lareau, 2011; Li, 2008). I en innflytelsesrik studie argumenterer Lareau (2011) for at klasseposisjoner skaper distinkte foreldretyper som har konsekvenser for hvordan foreldre oppdrar sine barn, noe som igjen har konsekvenser for barnas senere liv. Ifølge Lareau (2011) styrer foreldre sin oppdragelse etter to ulike kulturelle logikker som er knyttet til klassetilhørighet. Middelklasseforeldre følger ofte det hun kaller for «concerted cultivation», på norsk «intensiv kultivering» (Stefansen og Blaasvær, 2010), mens arbeiderklasseforeldre oftere følger det hun kaller «natural growth». Her er det ansett som viktig å legge til rette for at barna får utvikle seg naturlig, noe som blant annet resulterer i lite voksenstyrte aktiviteter. For middelklasseforeldre er det imidlertid typisk at foreldre anser barna sine som individer med store utviklingspotensialer. Dette fører til en organisert hverdag med mange fritidsaktiviteter og mye voksenkontakt. I norsk forskning på middelklasseforeldreskap bekreftes ideen om at barns hverdag er organisert med tanke på fremtiden. Aktiviteter man gjør med barna sine skal ha et formål (Stefansen og Aarseth, 2011; Stefansen og Farstad, 2008, 2010). De fleste i mitt materiale hadde foreldre som var både veldig involvert i barnas liv, og som tilrettela og oppfordret til aktiviteter som på en eller annen måte skulle hjelpe dem mot å nå et fremtidig mål.

Maryam forteller om et nært forhold til moren sin, og en mor som er sterkt involvert i hennes liv. Moren har alltid fulgt opp skolearbeidet til Maryam og vært opptatt av tilbakemeldingene lærerne har gitt. Gjennom oppveksten har Maryam ofte hørt at hun må bli «selvstendig». Gjennom en rekke aktiviteter har moren oppmuntret til dette. For eksempel har Maryam blitt inkludert i familiens økonomi, hun har fått tilgang på morens konto og med den betalt ned på lån og andre regninger, hun har åpnet en BSU-konto, og hun har blitt oppfordret til å ta kjøretimer slik at hun kan ta lappen. Å søke kunnskap, lese bøker og ta en utdanning er også oppfordringer som kan anses som virkemidler for å nå målet: at Maryam blir en selvstendig kvinne. Slik Maryam oppfatter sin oppvekst har den altså vært både voksenstyrt og fremtidsrettet, i tråd med et intensivt foreldreskap. Selv kaller Maryam det for «råd» – *«hun er glad i å gi meg råd – med mye forskjellig (...). Alt fra*

*økonomi, vet du – til studier til kjærester*». Men Maryam opplever likevel at moren har en tillit til henne, til at hun gjør de rette valgene selv. «*Da jeg ble eldre ble det mer sånn – 'greit, du tar dine egne valg, liksom. Men jeg stoler på deg.' Og det har hun alltid gjort*». I tillegg til at hun stoler på henne, opplever også Maryam at moren hører på henne hvis de er uenige. Maryam forteller at hun elsker å diskutere med moren sin, alt fra abortspørsmål til homofili og politikk.

Men det er litt sånne ting, og det syns jeg er litt gøy å ta opp sånne ting, fra abort til mye rart, det snakker vi jo om. Mamma er jo ikke en person som er fastsatt i tankegangen, hun veier litt frem og tilbake, og jeg er jo litt sånn som stiller spørsmål om mye rart. Og jeg merker at jeg får jo det fra henne, at hun ikke bare godtar ting. Hvis du forteller mamma at det er noe hun ikke kan gjøre ... eller ikke har lov til å gjøre – «Hallo – hvorfor forteller du meg det? Det kan du ikke gjøre».

En slik måte å snakke sammen på mellom foreldre og barn, er også typisk for middelklassefamilier. Man ønsker å snakke til barna sine på en måte som stimulerer til diskusjon (Lareau, 2011). Dette mener Maryam har ført til at hun selv har blitt en person som tør å si ifra. Maryam mener at moren hennes selv har blitt oppdratt til å bli selvstendig, og at hun har ønsket å videreføre dette til sine egne barn. Maryam forteller:

Det er jo noe faren hennes har ønsket for henne, helt siden hun var liten, at hun skulle få seg et litt mer selvstendig liv, da. Sitt eget hus, sin egen bil, sin egen familie (...). Frihet, selvstendighet, et eget hjem hun kunne kalle for eget ... og bil og alt mulig rart. Det var mamma alltid opptatt av at hun skal ha og at vi også skal ha når vi har vokst opp. Det har hun alltid sagt til meg og – du må alltid jobbe for deg selv, og du må skaffe deg alt du vil ha i livet, for det kan du jo.

Slik Maryam forteller om det, virker det som at verdiene Maryams mor vokste opp med i Somalia har hun brakt videre med seg til sin familie i Norge. Morens sosialisering og oppvekst i Somalia ser ut til å bety mer for måten hun ønsker å oppdra Maryam på enn hennes sosioøkonomiske status i Norge. Dette er i tråd med Fuligni and Yoshikawas (2003) argument om at måten man har blitt sosialisert på i hjemlandet er viktig for hva du bringer med deg til vertslandet. Fordi sosialisering bidrar til en form for kroppsliggjort kapital, er denne formen for kapital lettere omsettbart i et vertsland enn økonomisk kapital, mener Nee og Sanders (2001). Det er vanskeligere å miste ens kroppsliggjorte kapital enn å miste ens økonomiske kapital.

Kanyians foreldre har også vært opptatt av aktiviteter som vil hjelpe ham i fremtiden. Kanyian sier: «*For foreldrene våre har det vært viktig å både være flink på skolen, være flink i musikk og i idrett*». Hvis Maryams selvstendighet var målet for moren hennes, virker det mer som det å videreføre familiens høye status har vært i fokus for Kanyians foreldre. En måte de har vært involvert på, er gjennom skolearbeidet hans:

Hvis vi var ute og lekte etter leksene så var vi jo hjemme igjen seks, og da var det ikke bare å legge seg ned på sofaen, for vi hadde gjerne masse mattebøker fra eldre. Sånn som onkelen min som er professor, han hadde jo masse bøker. Så da var det sånn, bare ta ti oppgaver ekstra fra femte klasse da – når man går i andre, det hjelper jo det.

Kanyian hadde det strengt på den måten at han måtte gjøre leksene før han fikk lov å gjøre noe annet, men det var alltid en voksen som hjalp ham. Onkelen hans som var professor, passet på at barna hele tiden strakte seg mot å lære mer. I tillegg til at hverdagen til Kanyian har vært organisert rundt at han skal gjøre det godt på skolen, har han også gått på mange aktiviteter, blant annet har han drevet med tamilsk musikk, dans og fotball. Kanyian selv opplever at alle aktivitetene han har gått på er for å sørge for at han kan nå målet foreldrene ønsker for ham – nemlig å bli flink både på skolen, i musikk og i idrett.

For Huy var det annerledes. Foreldrene hans var mye borte fra hjemmet i Huys oppvekst. For det meste var det søsteren hans som passet ham. Reglene var likevel tydelige. Han fikk ikke være med venner på fritiden, og måtte gjøre lekser med en gang han kom hjem. Syntes han leksene var vanskelige, hadde han heller ikke mange å spørre om hjelp:

Jeg husker da jeg var liten og hadde problemer med lekser og sånne ting og spurte foreldra mine, så kunne ikke de hjelpe. Så sier de at broren min og søstera mi skal hjelpe, men da var det bare sånn – ‘åh, er du dum – greier du ikke det her?’ Så det var ikke så mye hjelp å få der.

Ettersom foreldrene hans ikke klarte å hjelpe til med leksene hans, motiverte de ham til å jobbe hardt ved å tilby premier dersom han og søsknene nådde målene foreldrene hadde satt for dem. Huy fikk en datamaskin da han kom inn på studier rett etter videregående skole. Selv tror han også at han klarer å fullføre studiet, og at han da vil bli belønnet med en gave.

Foreldrene til Huy har imidlertid ikke vært involvert på samme måten som foreldrene til Kanyian eller Maryam. Huy forteller at de alltid har vært tydelige på at de vil at han skal studere og ta en utdanning, men de har ikke diskutert ulike muligheter med ham. Gjennomgående i hele mitt materiale, og ikke bare for disse tre informantene, er at alle foreldre har vært eksplisitte i sitt ønske om at barna skal ta høyere utdanning. Foreldrene til Huy har imidlertid ikke kunnet hjelpe med lekser, de har ikke vært involvert på skolen, og de har ikke kjent til utdanningssystemet i Norge, forteller Huy.

Huys foreldre ser altså ut til å ha verdsatt høyere utdanning, selv om de kommer fra en lav klassebakgrunn både i Vietnam og i Norge. Denne formen for verdsetting av høyere utdanning er ikke funnet på samme måte i for eksempel britisk arbeiderklasse (Archer og Francis, 2006), og er derfor et eksempel på at det å være arbeiderklasse eller middelklasse ikke nødvendigvis betyr det samme på tvers av ulike kontekster. Heller enn å forstå foreldrene til Huy gjennom Lareaus (2011) kulturelle logikk, «natural growth», minner Huys foreldre mer om det Auerbach (2007) kaller «moral supporters». Dette er en beskrivelse av en måte innvandrerforeldre med lav utdanning kan involvere seg i sine barns utdanning på. Hun argumenterer for at det eksisterer en feiloppfatning om at innvandrerfamilier ikke bryr seg om barnas skolegang i like stor grad som britiske middelklasseforeldre. Grunnen til at mange innvandrerforeldre sjeldnere deltar på foreldremøter, skoleavslutninger og andre aktiviteter arrangert av skolen, er at de mangler de riktige ressursene for å kunne gjøre dette. Måtene innvandrerforeldre involverer seg på i barns skolegang blir derfor usynlig for lærere og skolen. En måte å involvere seg på er, i likhet med Huys foreldre, å verdsette og oppmuntre sine barn til å ta høyre utdanning. Typisk for «moral supporters» er at de istedenfor å tilby andre ressurser til sine barn, bruker seg selv som eksempel på

noe de ønsker at barna ikke skal bli. Huy forteller at foreldrene hans nettopp har gjort dette, snakket om hvor «*mye de har stått på*» og at de ønsker noe annet for ham og hans søsken.

## MOBILISERING AV SOSIAL KAPITAL

Utdanning er viktig, både fordi det gjør det lettere å få jobb i et stadig mer konkurranseutsatt arbeidsmarked, men utdanning ser også ut til å ha fått økt betydning som statusmarkør innad i innvandreres eget nettverk (Moldenhawer, 2005; Rytter, 2011). Hvor mye og hvilken form for kapital en migrant bringer med seg fra hjemlandet, kan ha betydning for hvorvidt barn av innvandrere klarer å akkumulere formell utdanning (Feliciano, 2005). Leirvik (2012) argumenterer for at kaste- og klanstatus kan spille en viktigere rolle for integrasjon i Norge enn formell utdanning fra hjemland. De av mine informanter som har snakket om kaste og klan mener selv at dette ikke er av betydning for dem, men det kan likevel tenkes at det er en del overlapp mellom deres opplevelse av familiens «sosiale status» og deres klan- og kasteoposisjon. Leirvik (2012) peker imidlertid her på et mer allment poeng – nemlig at sosiale statushierarkier fra hjemlandet har betydning for utdanningsadferd, selv om de ikke umiddelbart kan oversettes til klasseoposisjon i vertslandet.

Mangel på klassebaserte ressurser

Foreldrene til Huy har ønsket at Huy skal ta høyere utdanning, men de har ikke vært like involvert i livet hans som foreldrene til Maryam og Kanyian. Hvorfor har de ikke vært det? Jeg ønsker å peke på to ressurser foreldrene til Huy mangler og som gjør involvering vanskeligere for dem. Jeg argumenterer for at disse ressursene må forstås delvis som et resultat av deres lave klasseoposisjon. Den ene ressursen er tid, og den andre er norsk språk.

Med unntak av moren til Kanyian, som har blitt hjelpepleier i Norge, har foreldrene til Huy, Maryam og Kanyian såkalt «ufaglærte» jobber – det kreves ingen utdanning for å ha dem, og de tjener omtrent det samme. I så måte kan de innlemmes i samme sosioøkonomiske gruppe i Norge. Det er likevel noen viktige forskjeller på jobbene de har hatt i Norge. For det første når og hvor mye man jobber, og for det andre hvilke kunnskaper som kreves for å få jobben. Huys foreldre har jobbet mange doble skift og ofte i helg:

De jobbet jo 8 til 12 timers skift. Også moren min var, hun var skredder også, så da hun kom hjem så tok hun og begynte å sy – og da kunne hun sy til tre på natta før hun sov tre timer og gikk på jobben igjen. Sånn kunne en dag være da. Og da var det ikke sånn at vi ble tatt så mye vare på da. Vi ble mer satt til side for at de skulle rekke det.

Moren til Huy jobbet også ofte på natta for å få økonomien til å gå rundt. Og som Huy sier, med så mye jobbing er det vanskelig å ta vare på barna samtidig. Foreldrene til Maryam og Kanyian har hatt andre arbeidstider enn foreldrene til Huy. Bortsett fra moren til Kanyian, som har jobbet turnus på sykehjemmet, har de andre foreldrene jobbet normal arbeidsuke på dagtid. På grunn av mye jobbing har ikke Huys foreldre kunnet hjelpe med leksene

hans. I tillegg til at de mangler tid, snakker ikke foreldrene til Huy norsk. Da de kom til Norge, var det gjennom det vietnamesiske miljøet de fikk jobb. Ingen av jobbene de hadde krevde norsk språk, de jobbet for det meste på kjøkkenet eller i oppvasken på ulike restauranter. Nee og Sanders (2001) argumenterer for at mengden og typen kapital innvandrere bringer med seg fra sitt hjemland er med på å bestemme hvor de ender opp i arbeidsmarkedet i vertslandet. Innvandrere med lav kapitalmengde fra hjemlandet har større sannsynlighet for å ende opp i det de kaller den «etniske økonomien», mens innvandrere som bringer med seg en høyere kapitalsammensetning har større sannsynlighet for å ende opp i regulerte jobber. Dette ser ut til å være tilfellet for Maryams, Kanyians og Huys foreldre, og dette har igjen påvirket sammensetningen av ressurser de har mulighet til å trekke på i Norge.

Foreldrene til Maryam og Kanyian har hatt behov for norskkunnskaper i sine jobber. Å ikke kunne norsk påvirker selvsagt mulighetene man har for å involvere seg i barnas skolegang. Foreldrene til Huy har ikke kunnet kommunisere med lærere, de har ikke vært på foreldremøter eller fulgt til fritidsaktiviteter. Hvis det har vært noe de må stille på, har de sendt søsteren til Huy, som snakker norsk. Dette har også gjort at de har kjent dårligere til utdanningssystemet i Norge enn foreldrene til Kanyian og Maryam. De har ikke kunnet språket som kreves for å gjøre seg kjent, og de har heller ikke hatt andre i familien som har tatt høyere utdanning i Norge som de kunne spørre. En grunn til at Huys foreldre ikke har vært involvert på en like synlig måte som foreldrene til Maryam og Kanyian, ser ut til å være at de mangler verdifulle ressurser som tid og norsk språk (jf. Auerbach, 2007). Disse ressursene kan ikke forstås isolert fra foreldrene til Huys klasseposisjon.

Mobilitet eller en naturlig forlengelse av foreldrenes biografi?

At foreldrene til Huy mangler noen ressurser foreldrene til Maryam og Kanyian har tilgang på, har altså bidratt til at Huy opplever at han har stått alene om å klare seg i utdanningssystemet. For Maryam og Kanyian er det annerledes. Maryam opplever at å gjøre skolearbeid har kommet naturlig, hun forteller at «*jeg bare gjorde det*». Hadde hun problemer, eller var det noe hun lurte på, gikk hun til moren sin. Kanyian tenker også at all hjelpen han har fått hjemmefra har hjulpet ham: «*Jeg har vært heldig. Både med det at vi jobbet mye da vi var yngre, da har du liksom – hjernen min har liksom lært seg å lære ting fort*». I dag syns Kanyian studiene er ganske lette. Selv om Kanyian var usikker på hva han skulle studere, var det alltid selvsagt for han at han skulle studere. Det samme uttrykker Maryam. Første gang hun tenkte på å bli yrket hun nå utdanner seg til, var allerede på barneskolen:

Jeg har alltid hatt lyst til å bli det, det har jeg hatt lyst til siden jeg har vært liten jente. Det sa jeg til mamma på begynnelsen av barneskolen at det vil jeg liksom bli når jeg blir stor.

Å velge høyere utdanning har for Maryam og Kanyian verken vært vanskelig eller rart. For Huy, som den første i familien som tar høyere utdanning, er imidlertid utdanningsvalget en måte å bryte med et mønster på. Disse to måtene å forholde seg til et valg på, som en naturlighet eller som et avvik, minner om Ball, Reay, og Davids (2002) to idealtyper for måter å velge høyere utdanning på blant minoritetsstudenter. I deres analyser av intervjuer

med minoritetslever finner de at for minoritetsstudenter med arbeiderklassebakgrunn oppleves valget av høyere utdanning som en måte å overkomme sin strukturelle posisjon på. Disse barna opplever liten direkte hjelp fra foreldrene, samtidig som de kan oppleve at foreldrene har høye ambisjoner på deres vegne. Dette ligner på Huys opplevelse av sitt utdanningsvalg. På den andre siden finner de at minoritetslever med middelklasseforeldre ser utdanningsvalget som en naturlig videreføring av sin families biografi. Dette ligner på det Kanyian og Maryam opplever. Møtet med Norge, der mulighetene har ligget til rette for dem sammen med den relativt høye statusen foreldrene hadde i sitt hjemland, kan tenkes å skape en slags «migrasjonsspesifikk kulturell kapital» (Erel, 2010) som gjør nettopp utdanning til et naturlig og overkommelig valg for dem. Heller enn å tenke at de opplever en intergenerasjonell mobilitet (Hermansen, 2016), kan man se på deres utdanningsoppnåelse som en videreføring av foreldrenes sosiale status (Lee og Zhou, 2015).

Sosial kapital – med og uten familieressurser

I mangel på egne ressurser (som utdanning, tid, norsk språk, kjennskap til norsk utdanningssystem), har det vært vanskelig for foreldrene til Huy å være involvert i skolearbeidet og hverdagslivet til Huy. I stedet har han blitt sendt på helge- og sommerskole. For Huy foregikk både lekselesing, morsmålsundervisning og kulturell opplæring i det vietnamesiske nettverket.

Kanyian har også har brukt mye av sin fritid på aktiviteter organisert av det tamilske nettverket, men foreldrene hans var sterkt involvert i organiseringen av aktivitetene der. De kjørte ham alltid til leksehjelp og morsmålsundervisning, de fulgte ham til trening og andre aktiviteter. Hjemme satt de sammen og gjorde lekser. Den sosiale kapitalen Kanyian fikk tilgang på i det tamilske nettverket, representerer derfor en av flere former for kapital han kunne trekke på. For Huy utgjør tilknytningen til det vietnamesiske nettverket en tilgang på ressurser som familien hans ikke kunne gi ham. Den sosiale kapitalen han fikk tilgang på der, kan derfor forstås som den viktigste formen for utdanningsfremmende ressurs han hadde tilgang på.

Som nevnt innledningsvis er det sannsynlig at en del av de klasse- og statusbaserte ressursene innvandrere bringer med seg til Norge, rent faktisk usynliggjøres gjennom å måle innvandrerbefolkningens klasseposisjon ut fra vertslandets standard. En potensiell konsekvens av dette er at man står i fare for å overdrive aspekter ved innvandrernettverkets normer og kultur. Det betyr imidlertid ikke at kulturelle normer, tillit og nettverkets regulering av medlemmers adferd er irrelevant som forklaring på etterkommeres «utdannings-suksess». Men når man ikke fanger opp foreldrenes sosiale status fra hjemlandet, risikerer man likevel å tillegge slike kulturelle faktorer for stor vekt.

Måten Lee and Zhou (2015) kobler et strukturelt og et kulturelt perspektiv på i sin forståelse av begrepet etnisk kapital, virker å være fruktbar. De tar utgangspunkt i Borjas' (1992) strukturelle definisjon av begrepet, men ønsker å videreføre hans teori ved å sette fokus på *hvordan* nettverkets strukturelle ressurser gjøres om til utdanningsfremmende adferd. De argumenterer for at etableringen av et etnisk nettverk er avhengig av innvandrergruppens samlede kapitalsammensetning. Dersom et innvandrernettverk skal klare å produsere sosial kapital, er det viktig å få på plass institusjoner og organisasjoner som

forvalter utdanningsfremmende normer. Etableringen av slike organisasjoner skjer ikke av seg selv, de avhenger i stor grad av hva slags klassebaserte ressurser som finnes innad i innvandrerguppen (som igjen henger sammen med graden av positiv selvseleksjon i den innvandrede gruppen, sammenlignet med befolkningen som ikke migrerte). Når slike organisasjoner først er etablert, kan medlemmer med lav kapitalmengde i neste omgang dra nytte av ressursene som finnes innenfor nettverket (Alba og Foner, 2015; Lee og Zhou, 2015; Shah et al., 2010), noe Huys fortelling er et godt eksempel på.

Etableringen av nettverk avhenger altså av innvandrergruppens strukturelle ressurser. Når slike organisasjoner og institusjoner først er etablert, blir imidlertid kulturelle aspekter ved innvandrernettverket, som solidaritet og felles normer, identitet og verdier, viktige. Det er gjennom disse kulturelle normene, tilliten medlemmene har til hverandre og deres følelse av forpliktelse overfor hverandre at ressursene kan gjøres tilgjengelige for alle nettverkets medlemmer (Lee og Zhou, 2015).

## KONKLUSJON

En av grunnene til at norske myndigheter er opptatt av om utdanningsadferden til barn av innvandrere klarer seg eller ikke i det norske utdanningssystemet, er ønsket om at alle skal ha like muligheter – uavhengig hvem ens foreldre er (Wiborg og Hansen, 2009). Når barn av innvandrere gjør det bra i utdanningssystemet, på tross av foreldrenes lave sosiale posisjon målt i vertslandet, kan det fra politisk hold tolkes som at det er mulig å overskride strukturelle barrierer gitt av familiebakgrunn, og videre at utdanningssystemet fungerer utjevne.

I denne studien har jeg inkludert informantenes egen forståelse av sin klassebakgrunn, med vekt på foreldrenes posisjon i hjemlandet. Gjennom dette viser denne studien særlig to ting. Det ene er at etterkommere som forstår sin klassebakgrunn som høyere enn deres sosioøkonomiske plassering i Norge skulle tilsi, opplever foreldrene sine som involvert på en måte som minner om «typisk middelklasseadferd». Dette kan tilsløres i analyser som bruker data som tar utgangspunkt i foreldrenes klasseposisjon i vertslandet. Når vi tar høyde for dette, vil utdanningssystemet fremstå som litt mindre «utjevne» enn dersom vi kun tar hensyn til foreldrenes klasseposisjon i vertslandet.

Den andre er at ressursene som finnes i et etnisk nettverk er av ulik betydning for etterkommere avhengig av familiens sosiale status, forstått både ut ifra et hjemlands- og et vertslandsperspektiv. For etterkommere med lav sosial bakgrunn vil ressursene som er tilgjengelig i et etnisk nettverk kunne være en av få ressurser personen kan dra nytte av, sammenlignet med en etterkommer med høy sosial bakgrunn. I denne studien har jeg ikke undersøkt de ulike innvandrernettverkens normer og grenser for akseptabel adferd. For å få et mer helhetlig bilde av hvordan både strukturelle aspekter og kulturelle normer påvirker utdanningsmobiliserende adferd, bør man antageligvis forsøke å kombinere disse perspektivene (Zhou, 2005). Mine funn peker imidlertid på en risiko for å overvurdere betydningen av kulturelle faktorer dersom man ikke er i stand til å fange opp tidligere sosial status fra hjemlandet. Mer forskning som knytter innvandreres sosiale status og klasseposisjon fra hjemlandet til deres oppdragelsespraksiser i Norge, vil derfor gjøre det mulig å

forstå bedre i hvor stor grad etterkommeres utdanningssuksess kan forstås som en form for strukturell reproduksjon av ulikhet, og i hvor stor grad det må forstås gjennom nettverkets og familiens relasjoner og gruppens kulturelle normer.

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## **Article 2:**

Kindt, Marianne Takvam. 2018. "Right choice, wrong motives? Narratives about prestigious educational choices among children of immigrants in Norway." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (5):958-976.



### **Article 3:**

Kindt, M. T. (2018): “Negotiating independence and tradition: Plans for career, marriage and family among daughters of immigrants enrolled in higher education in Norway”, *Submitted manuscript* (undergoing peer review).



# List of appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide

Appendix 2: Information letter

Appendix 3: Approval from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD)



## **Appendix 1: Interview guide**

### ***Bakgrunn:***

- Hva studerer du? Hvor lenge? Alder?
- Hvor bor du? Med hvem?
- Hvor er foreldrene dine født?
- Når kom foreldrene dine til Norge? Vet du hvorfor de kom til Norge?
- Jobber dine foreldre nå? Hva jobber de med?
- Har du søsken? (Hvor mange? Hva gjør søsknene dine?)
- Hva anser du som morsmålet ditt? I hvilke situasjoner bruker du de ulike språkene?

### **Utdanningsvalg**

- Fortell om første gang du tenkte på å studere X?
- Hva var viktig for deg i valget av studie?
- Fikk du støtte for valget ditt?
- Kjenner du andre som studerer det samme som deg? Hva gjør vennene dine? Søsken?
- Trives du på studiet?
- Hvor mye arbeider du med studiene i løpet av en uke? Er du med i kollokviegruppe?
- Hvordan opplevde du overgangen mellom videregående skole og høyere utdanning?
- Var du med i faddergruppe? Har du blitt kjent med andre på studiet?
- Har du venner som ikke studerer? Hva gjør de?

### **Skole**

- Hvilke skoler (barneskole, ungdomsskole, videregående) har du gått på?
- Fortell litt om hvordan du hadde det på skolen.
- Hvilke karakterer fikk du?
- Jobbet du mye med lekser? Hadde du noen å gjøre lekser sammen med? Hvor gjorde du lekser?
- Var familien din opptatt av hvordan du klarte deg på skolen?
- Hvor god kjennskap hadde foreldrene dine til det norske utdanningssystemet?
- Kan du fortelle litt om lærerne du hadde? Opplevde du de som flinke? Kunne du stille dem spørsmål? Hjalp de deg?

- Hva med rådgivere – hadde du noe kontakt med dem?
- Hadde du noen andre som hjalp deg med skolearbeid?
- Hva med venner på skolen? Hvem var du venner med? Har du fortsatt kontakt med dem?

### **Familie/fritid**

- Kan du fortelle litt om hva du gjør utenom studiet? (har du jobb ved siden av studiet? Går du på noen aktiviteter? Trening, kor etc.?)
- Har du kjæreste? Hva gjør han/hun?
- Hvem er dine beste venner? Hva gjør de? Hva gjør dere sammen?
- Er du religiøs? Familien din? Vennene dine?
- Kan du fortelle litt om familien din? Har du mye kontakt med familien din?
- Kan du fortelle litt om hvilke regler du hadde da du vokste opp? Innetider, fritidsaktiviteter, etc.?
- Har du besøkt dine foreldres hjemland? Liker du det?
- Har du noen forbilder?

### **Fremtid**

- Kan du fortelle litt om hva du tror du gjør om 10 år?
- Hvilke tanker har du om en fremtidig jobbsituasjon?
- Tror du det blir vanskelig eller lett å få jobb? Hvordan jobber du for å nå målene dine?
- Ønsker du å stifte familie? Få barn? Gifte deg? Hvor vil du bo?
- Hvem ser du for deg at du skal gifte deg med? Hvordan vil du at det skal skje?
- Hvilke ønsker/drømmer har du for eventuelle egne barn?

## Appendix 2: Information letter



UiO : Universitetet i Oslo

### INVITASJON TIL Å DELTA I INTERVJU-UNDERSØKELSE

#### Høyere utdanning blant barn av innvandrere i Norge

Jeg arbeider med et doktorgradsprosjekt som handler om høyere utdanning blant etterkommere av innvandrere i Norge. Doktorgraden tas ved Institutt for pedagogikk ved Universitetet i Oslo.

I mitt prosjekt ønsker jeg å undersøke hvilke fortellinger etterkommere av innvandrere bruker når de forklarer valget av høyere utdanning. Prosjektet tar utgangspunkt i at unge med ikke-vestlige innvandrerforeldre ikke bare ser ut til å ta mye utdanning, men også velger seg særlig krevende og prestisjetunge utdannelser. I doktorgraden min ønsker jeg å fylle behovet for mer kunnskap og bedre forståelse av hvordan dette kan være tilfelle.

Jeg ønsker derfor å intervju etterkommere av innvandrere i Norge som har begynt på en høyere utdanning innenfor medisin/farmasi/odontologi-, økonomi og administrasjon, eller ingeniørfag. Intervjuene vil omhandle temaer om familiebakgrunn og bosted, tidligere skolegang, utdanningsvalg, fritidsinteresser, vennskap og fremtidsorientering. Intervjuene vil bli tatt opp på lydband, og de vil vare i ca en time. Vi blir sammen enige om tid og sted for intervjuet. Det vil være jeg som gjennomfører intervjuet.

Deltagelse i prosjektet er frivillig, og du kan trekke deg fra deltakelse i prosjektet uten å måtte oppgi grunn. Jeg er underlagt taushetsplikt. Alt av personopplysninger og annen informasjon som fremkommer som en del av forskningsarbeidet vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Dataene som er samlet inn vil bli lagret på en egen harddisk ved Universitetet i Oslo, der kun jeg har innsyn. På bakgrunn av intervjuene ønsker jeg å skrive flere artikler som skal publiseres i vitenskapelige tidsskrift. Du vil være anonym i all publisering fra prosjektet. Ved prosjektslutt, august 2018, vil alle personopplysninger om deg slettes.

Hvis du har spørsmål til prosjektet eller informasjon i dette skrivet, er det bare å kontakte meg på telefon eller e-post.

Jeg håper du har lyst til å bidra til prosjektet!

Marianne Takvam Kindt

Doktorgradsstudent ved Institutt for pedagogikk

[m.t.kindt@ped.uio.no](mailto:m.t.kindt@ped.uio.no)

Telefon: 22 84 08 26/47 07 94 87





Marianne T. Kindt  
Institutt for pedagogikk Universitetet i Oslo  
Postboks 1092 Blindern  
0317 OSLO

Harald Hårfagres gate 29  
N-5007 Bergen  
Norway  
Tel: +47-55 58 21 17  
Fax: +47-55 58 96 50  
nsd@nsd.uib.no  
www.nsd.uib.no  
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Vår dato: 25.09.2013

Vår ref: 35466 / 2 / JSL

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

## TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 13.09.2013. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

*35466* *Fortellinger om utdanningsvalg blant unge med innvandrereforeldre. En narrativ tilnærming til innvandrerdrevet i valget av høyere utdanning*  
*Behandlingsansvarlig* *Universitetet i Oslo, ved institusjonens øverste leder*  
*Daglig ansvarlig* *Marianne T. Kindt*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html>. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 06.08.2018, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Juni Skjold Lexau

Kontaktperson: Juni Skjold Lexau tlf: 55 58 36 01

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

*Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.*

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

OSLO: NSD, Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no

TRONDHEIM: NSD, Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim. Tel: +47-73 59 19 07. kyrre.svarva@svt.ntnu.no

TROMSØ: NSD, SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no



Vi finner framgangsmåte for kontaktetablering tilfredsstillende, slik dette er beskrevet i e-post sendt 17.09.13 og bekreftelse mottatt 19.09.13.

Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal det innhentes muntlig samtykke basert på muntlig og skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet og behandling av personopplysninger. Personvernombudet finner informasjonsskrivet tilfredsstillende utformet i henhold til personopplysningslovens vilkår.

Det vil i prosjektet bli registrert sensitive personopplysninger om rasemessig eller etnisk bakgrunn, eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning jf. personopplysningsloven § 2 nr. 8 a).

Det behandles tredjepersonsopplysninger om deltakerens familiemedlemmer (fødested, ankomst til Norge, hva de jobber med osv). Personvernulempen vurderes som lav, samtidig som opplysningene er nødvendig for formålet med prosjektet. Vi vurderer derfor at samfunnsnyttene ved registrering av tredjepersonsopplysninger klart overstiger personvernulempen for den enkelte. Vi finner dermed å kunne hjemle behandlingen i personopplysningsloven §§ 8 d og 9 h. Vi finner videre å kunne unnta fra informasjonsplikten til tredjeperson, da de vil ha liten interesse av at informasjonsplikten opprettholdes. Informasjon til tredjeperson vurderes således som uforholdsmessig vanskelig, opplysningenes karakter tatt i betraktning. Vi finner dermed å kunne hjemle dette i § 20 b.

Behandling av personopplysninger om deltakerne selv, hjemles i pol § 8 første ledd og § 9 a (med den registrertes samtykke).

Prosjektet skal avsluttes 06.08.2018 og innsamlede opplysninger skal da anonymiseres og lydopptak slettes. Anonymisering innebærer at direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger som navn/koblingsnøkkel slettes, og at indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger (sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. yrke, alder, kjønn) fjernes eller grovkategoriseres slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes i materialet.







## Errataliste

**Doktorkandidat:** Marianne Takvam Kindt

**Avhandlingstittel:** Beyond heritage and acculturation. Accounts of upbringing, choices, and plans from children of immigrants in prestigious higher education in Norway

Artikkel tre er publisert i en revidert versjon i Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies:

Kindt, Marianne Takvam. 2019. "Negotiating independence and tradition: plans for career, marriage and family among daughters of immigrants enrolled in higher education in Norway." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 1-17.

