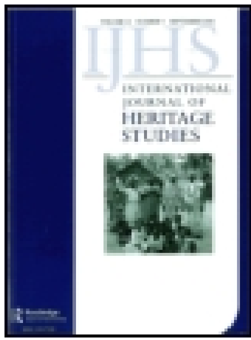

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# Migrating heritage? Recreating ancestral and new homeland heritage in the practices of immigrant minorities

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# Migrating heritage? Recreating ancestral and new homeland heritage in the practices of immigrant minorities

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**ABSTRACT**

This paper problematises the engagement with heritage of immigrants and their new-homeland-born children, bringing together heritage and migration studies. It discusses the use of ancestral heritage in group identity maintenance strategies, and sheds light on minorities' participation in the heritage of the dominant population. The paper investigates how the ancestral heritage of immigrant minorities has adjusted to the circumstances of the new homeland, and how the elements of heritage of the dominant population were fitted within the festivity routines of minority families. Therefore, it attempts to grasp the transformations of heritage occurring as a consequence of adjusting heritage practices to the new settings. To do so, it employs a notion of 'heritage in becoming' that refers to the situational and processual character of recreating inherited practices within the circumstances of the present. The paper proves that the boundary between minority and majority culture in the heritage practices of individuals is blurred, discussing the transformations the traditional heritages of nations undergo under the influence of migration. The author attempts to answer the question of whether these new qualities can be accepted as part of a so-called multicultural heritage of nations.

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## Introduction

The idea of cultural heritage often refers to the concept of the historicised identities of people. Essentialist approaches to ethnicity apply the rhetoric of inherited identities, the sets of cultural patterns of behaviour accompanying them, and a common past to legitimise ethnicity's existence. This rhetoric is often repeated by immigrants who seek to maintain the boundary of the ethnic group they feel affiliated to in the new destinations they settle in. This paper problematises the engagement with heritage of immigrants and their new-homeland-born children, bringing together heritage and migration studies. It discusses the use of ancestral heritage in group identity maintenance strategies, and sheds light on immigrants' participation in the heritage of the dominant population. Furthermore, it investigates how the ancestral heritage of immigrant minorities has adjusted to the circumstances of the new homeland, and vice versa – how the elements of heritage of the dominant population were fitted within the festivity routines of minority families. My attempt here is to grasp the transformations of heritage occurring as a consequence of adjusting heritage practices to the new settings. To do so I employed a notion of 'heritage in becoming', based on Ingold and Kurttila (2000) concept of local traditional

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knowledge, which refers to the situational and processual character of recreating inherited practices, that is the past, within the current circumstances of the present.

The findings presented in this paper are part of a bigger research project[1] and are based on analyses of 12 in-depth interviews with Norwegians of Turkish origin[2] settled in Drammen, Norway, as well as the data collected during the yearly observation of Norwegian Constitution Day celebrations by members of Turkish communities in the city conducted over a period of three years between 2014 and 2016. The observation resulted in collecting unstructured interviews with Norwegian Turks, visual data and field notes. The research was situated within the tradition of qualitative methodology, supported by Clarke's (2005) Situational Analyses, while analyses of visual data employed the methods of visual sociology. The respondents were reached through a snowball sampling. The recruitment process was difficult because of many immediate rejections and withdrawals after consenting to participate in the study. To gain trust I used my private contacts, who introduced me to a few first informants and helped with mapping Turkish-run facilities in Drammen. The strategy that proved successful was to approach people in Norwegian-Turkish facilities and through the Internet, and to participate in the events run by Norwegian Turks.

Drammen is a mid-sized city situated in the Eastern region of Norway, around 40 km south of the capital city of Oslo. Twenty nine percent of its population (SSB 2016) have an immigrant background, making Drammen the second most diverse city in the country. The majority (13.5%; 2,200 people) of inhabitants with immigrant backgrounds are of Turkish origin. This group is relatively well settled: Sixty two percent of Drammenian Turks have lived in Norway for more than 21 years (Høydahl 2014). The first Turks arrived in Drammen in the late 1960s/early 1970s as so-called 'guest workers'. Today, the Turkish minority in the city constitutes a heterogeneous group representing different religious backgrounds, comprising Sunni Muslims and Alevis, and various places of origin, among which rural villages situated in Konya province prevail.

Some research discussing issues of heritage in the context of transnational[3] migration was conducted. These studies focused on minority rights to new homeland heritage and incorporating minority heritage in the nation-state's heritage discourse (Arokiasamy 2012; Prescott 2013), fitting multiculturalism into national heritage (Leung 2006) and engaging *diaspora* in the ancestral homeland's heritage (Chan and Cheng 2016). Nevertheless, the studies analysing minorities' negotiations between the old and new homelands' heritages that shed light on how heritage (also of the majority population) transforms when immigrant minorities engage with it and adjust it to their current needs are rather limited. This paper addresses this gap, discussing the ways in which Norwegian Turks perform and reconstruct heritage, using resources from Norwegian, Turkish and globalised *cultures*.[4] I seek to demonstrate how elements of Norwegian and Turkish heritage merge into new qualities, being rooted in immigrants' new destinations, and I pose the question as to whether these new qualities may be incorporated into the scope of the official heritage of the nations, which immigrant minorities unequivocally have become part of. By doing this, I seek to bridge the gap between heritage and migration studies. The paper starts with building theoretical connections between the concepts of heritage and diaspora, presenting the notion of 'heritage in becoming', based on Ingold and Kurttila (2000) conceptualisation of traditional knowledge, which serves as a theoretical framework of analyses conducted here. The second part of the paper discusses empirically the transformation of heritage on a micro, mezzo, and macro level through its adjustment by immigrants and their children in the new setting.

## Conceptualising heritage: heritage in becoming

Scholars have argued that heritage is a human product and 'denotes everything we suppose has been handed down to us from the past' (Lowenthal 2005, 81). It involves an intentional 'production of the past in present' (Harrison 2013, 5), and is therefore not given but made in present circumstances (Harvey 2001, 336; Wu and Hou 2015, 39). Given this, it is accurate to think about heritage as a process (Harrison 2015, 306).

I define it as a constantly recreated representation of the past in the present, never objective, and based on the current needs of particular groups and the power relations within them. Heritage is created through the processes of remembering and forgetting, and can be represented in tangible and intangible elements or, as some scholars propose, by anything (Harrison 2013).

The processual character of heritage can be better explained using the theory of local traditional knowledge by Ingold and Kurttila (2000). The authors analyse the concept of traditional knowledge, distinguishing between 'MTK (traditional knowledge enframed in the discourse of modernity) and LTK (traditional knowledge as generated in the practices of locality)' (184). MTK is associated with the genealogical model represented by the state apparatus and

> based on the idea that the rudiments of make-up and identity that go together to constitute a person are received, along one or several lines of descent, from that person's ancestors, and will in turn be passed on to his descendants. (…) This assumption (…) isolates the intergenerational transmission of knowledge from environmentally situated experience. (185)

Ingold and Kurttila associate MTK with 'cultural heritage' as it is understood in the genealogical model. Meanwhile, local traditional knowledge refers to the knowledge of local people, and includes the skills they obtained through engaging with the environment by improvising and imitating their ancestors' practices. These practices gain individual variations and are adapted to the current environment. As such, they undergo a constant process of change, rather than representing a stable pattern of traditions passed down from generation to generation. Local traditional knowledge 'does not lie 'inside people's heads' (…). It is rather a process, one that is continually going on. This process is none other than that of people's practical engagement with the environment' (192–193). Even though the concept of LTK originally relates to the engagement with nature of members of small rural communities, I consider it useful in analysing the recreation of 'inherited' practices by people in urban contexts. Similar to the natural environment, individuals respond to urban settings through the technical, structural, cultural, and ideological opportunities and limitations inscribed in urban spaces and places.

## Conceptualising the diaspora

Diasporic communities are characterised by the sharing of transnational identifications that extend beyond the borders of their new homelands. These references are rooted in the (imagined) past, and employed to satisfy present needs in the same way as heritage. Only through the maintenance of heritage can diasporic identity be realised. Therefore, I consider the diaspora and heritage to be connected (see also Ang 2011, 87) and I incorporate the concept of diaspora into the analysis of Norwegian-Turkish heritage.

The notion of a diaspora relates to a dispersed group of people, who maintain a group boundary via memory of the collective past and feel attached to the places of ancestors' origin, regarding them as homelands (Brubaker 2005). However, diaspora as an analytical concept was criticised as essentialist, relying on the model of the nation-state and inconsistent with the current globalised processes of human mobility. Additionally, it was claimed to ignore the reflexive practices of actors, implying that they reconstruct habits and create their identity based exclusively on the past (Soysal 2000, 2; Chan and Cheng 2016, 9).

To overcome the problem of the essentialised belonging associated with diaspora, Brubaker (2005) proposes 'to think of diaspora (…) as a category of practice'. He continuous:

> [R]ather than speak of 'a diaspora' or 'the diaspora' as an entity, a bounded group, an ethnodemographic or ethnocultural fact, it may be more fruitful, and certainly more precise, to speak of diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices, and so on. (13)

Drawing on Brubaker's idea of diasporic stances as well as on the criticism of diaspora presented above, I do not consider immigrant minorities through a diasporic framework, as this limits the

analysis to their orientation towards their ancestral heritage. Instead, I assume that these people are characterised by diasporic moments, practices, identifications, and narratives that refer to their ancestral homeland. These emerge on particular occasions, but do not determine their lives. I illustrate these diasporic moments by describing the engagement of Norwegian Turks with various heritages, by defining the situations and settings in which they occur, and by discussing their complex character.

Since the local circumstances of the new homeland often differ from those in the ancestral one in terms of the natural and man-made environment as well as structural and cultural factors, diasporic practices must be adapted to the different climate and shape of cities, as well as to different norms that limit what is acceptable and what is not, what is lawful, what is available and how to replace elements that are not. The concept of LTK enables recognising these local influences on inherited practices, regardless of whether this local represents the natural environment or the urban context including cultural, social, and structural influences present in a new homeland.

Inspired by Ingold and Kurttila (2000), this paper analyses the adaptation of cultural heritage – MTK – to new circumstances by individuals and therefore its transformation into LTK. MTK comprises the practices and knowledge passed down '*prior* to their retrieval and application in context of practice' (191). It regards traditions as a substance intended to remain unchanged. In LTK, tradition is a process that reflects the performance of inherited practices here and now, without considering whether their recreation meets the ideals of MTK. Thus, heritage is not reproduced by 'acting out a script received from predecessors, but by literally negotiating a path through the world' (192–193). The performance of heritage is constantly in motion, reacting and adjusting the remembered and imagined past to the present circumstances. Understanding heritage in this way enables transcending the problems of the historicised and bounded concept of diaspora, and allows an analysis of individuals' fluid approaches to cultural heritage. However, one should remember that the current ways of recreating heritage by individuals in real time depend on the broader discourses in modern society and its structural features.

## Norwegian 'multiculturalism': context

Since the first attempts to formulate the Norwegian integration policy in 1974 there has been a discourse on including immigrants in society (Brochmann and Hagelund 2012, 157). Before the influx of immigrants in the 1970s, Norway was a relatively homogeneous society and rather a sending country. Moreover, it has never been a colonial power. These underlying factors influenced the different circumstances in which Norwegian integration policy was created in comparison to the e.g. British, American, Canadian or Australian ones. Although some scholars claim that 'Norway has never been a multicultural state, nor has it ever wanted to be' (Brochmann and Djuve 2013, 219), Akkerman and Hagelund (2007, 197–198) suggest that Norwegian integration policy is de-facto multicultural. Norwegian standards of immigrants' integration are deeply rooted in a welfare model, in which extended protection from the state is coupled with a duty to work and pay taxes. These principles are complemented with an imported[5] *credo* of a freedom of choice. Since a freedom of choice has never been a significant part of a Norwegian social democratic welfare endeavour, giving this right to immigrants inevitably enforced othering by implying that newcomers are too different to acquire universal norms (Brochmann and Djuve 2013, 239). Around the 1980s, emphasis on a freedom of choice faded, being replaced by 'reciprocity and the duty to participate' (224). Today, the main focus of the official integration policy (*Meld. St.* 2012) is on labour market integration, echoing principles of a welfare model. The policy grants immigrants the right to maintain their own culture, and provides equal access to education, housing, health care, and job market. Norway, however, is governed by a right-wing Conservative Party, Høyre, which influences the current character and implementation of the policy, along with the attitudes towards immigrants. Norwegian family reunification policies 'work to actively select migrants on economic grounds' (Staver 2015, 1466), therefore denying

the principle of equality. Moreover, the line between the right to recognition of minority identities and a compulsion to accept and represent such identities is blurred (Appiah 1994, 163). The concept of whiteness is fundamental to the construction of Norwegianness (Jacobsen and Andersson 2012, 834), imposing a binary opposition between the definition of a Norwegian and immigrant (Gullestad 2006, 72–74), and closing the options for newcomers of colour to acquire Norwegianness by customising Norwegian practices (Vassenden 2010). Furthermore, Norwegianness is considered by many as superior in relation to the culture of minorities (Dahle and Seeberg 2013; Johannesen and Appoh 2016). All this results in forcing people of minority background into ethnic categories and closing the options for them to be recognised as Norwegians (Nikielska-Sekula 2016).

Having described the theoretical framework of this paper and the context of the presented research, I move now to the discussion of empirical examples of heritage transformations.

## Individual engagement with heritage: traditions

According to Hall (1999), traditions are carriers of heritage. The Norwegian Turks in Drammen have followed a wide range of traditions originating from Norwegian, Turkish and global cultures, adapting each to their needs by responding to the socio-material circumstances of their everyday lives. No doubt, Turkish traditions are important markers of the identity of Norwegian Turks, but the way in which they are celebrated differs across individuals and families. The most celebrated traditions are festivities originating from Islam, namely *Kurban Bayramı* and *Ramazan Bayramı*. The former, known in English as the Sacrifice Feast, commemorates the sacrifice of Abraham, while the latter is a ceremony celebrated at the end of the fasting month Ramadan. Respondents indicated that they try to follow the traditions by recreating the way they are celebrated in Turkey; nevertheless, the current character of the celebrations in Norway is not the same. Elifcan, a young, Alevi woman, explained how Bayrams are celebrated within the Alevi community. Since the celebrations are not marked as official holidays in Norway, Norwegian Turks must take a day off work to participate.

The majority of the traditions mentioned by the Alevi respondents were celebrated at the Alevi association, together with other members of the community. Sunnis' celebrations, in turn, tended to have a more private character. The difference between Sunni and Alevi Norwegian Turks may be explained by the smaller size of the Alevi community, common local ancestral origin and declared kinship between the members, and their strong sense of a collective identity influenced by a shared heritage of exclusion in Turkey.

While all the respondents celebrated Islamic holidays, their religious dimension was not discussed. For most, religious traditions seemed to play the role of a secular event. This reflected a 'deficit of meaning', as described by Olsen (2004). Here, traditional practices were separated from their initial religious and spiritual meaning, and adapted to the secular circumstances of the everyday lives of modern people, gaining new meaning and becoming new things.

Among the traditions from outside the Turkish cultural circle, attitudes towards Christmas are noteworthy. Most respondents do not celebrate Christmas, although they mark it in some way. For many, it is free time to spend at home. Children celebrate Christmas at school by dancing around the Christmas tree and singing Christmas carols. Respondents recalled participating in this practice out of respect to Norwegian society. All female Alevi respondents reported that they decorated their houses with lights and stars, and exchanged Christmas gifts with friends or within the family. Generally, women were more enthusiastic about marking Christmas in a secular way, while men claimed no initiative with regard to celebration. Furthermore, a few respondents celebrated Christmas in the same way as the *Bayrams* are celebrated:

> For Christmas, the whole family gathers in someone's house. (…) We do it for all celebrations. We celebrate *Bayram* in the same way. We have a [Christmas] party with dinner, food and gifts [although we] are less crazy about the gifts. (Hatice, 32, female, Sunni, married)

Thus, Christmas is celebrated or marked in terms of secularised aspects, such as decorations and gifts. Its religious dimension is ignored by Drammenian Turks, mirroring the process of the loss of meaning and new meaning creation (Olsen 2004) mentioned above.

Hatice, a veiled woman devoted to Islam, highlighted the fact that she buys Christmas gifts for her neighbours to improve interpersonal relations. She explained that she was inspired by her Norwegian-Turkish mother's habit of exchanging Christmas gifts between neighbours. She described her motivation as follows:

> I had no contact with [my neighbours]. (…) I felt like every time I greeted them, I never got a 'hello' in return, which I thought was odd. I thought, 'What can I do to break this barrier?' (…) Then Christmas came and I bought Christmas gifts for everyone in the building. (…) [F]amilies were shocked when they saw gifts and they (…) found it strange that a Muslim woman had bought them Christmas gifts. They thanked me and the next time I greeted them, they replied, and even greeted me first. (Hatice, 32, female, Sunni, married)

Traditionally in Turkey, neighbours play an important role in one's life, even though in modern urban areas this relationship has changed after being influenced by more individual lifestyles. Hatice noted that she attempted to improve her relationship with the neighbours because it was important in Islam:

> Islam says that neighbours are important. You have a moral responsibility to your neighbours. For example, the Prophet Mohammed, may peace be with him, says: If your neighbour sleeps hungry, you should feel responsible for that. (…) When I think about it, it was also very important to me [to have contact with my neighbours]. (Hatice, 32, female, Sunni, married)

Interestingly, Hatice's idea of buying Christmas gifts was motivated by Islamic rules of coexisting in society. She used a practice popular in Norwegian society to fulfil the requirements of Islam, thereby materialising Islamic values through practices linked to Christian religious celebrations. This example indicates the fusion between Islamic values and practices popular in Norwegian society, and demonstrates how inherited habits and worldviews gained the dimension of LTK (Ingold and Kurttila 2000), adapting to and being influenced by the circumstances of the new homeland.

Another striking sign of mixing traditionally Norwegian-Christian and Turkish-Islamic practices was described by Ayşe, also a women devoted to Islam. She admitted to using an advent calendar – small, sweet gifts delivered to children each day during the 24 days preceding Christmas – in celebrations during the fasting month of Ramadan:

> We do not celebrate Christmas at home, but my children wanted Christmas gifts. (…) Since the gifts were important to them, we made 30 small gifts, which they received during Ramadan. This way, they were expecting the *Bayram*. (…) Although we do not celebrate Christmas, we do now. (Ayşe, 36 female, Sunni, married)

Ayşe adapted an advent calendar to Islamic celebrations to meet the expectations of her children, who felt disadvantaged by the absence of Christmas gifts. She, thereby, used Christmas tradition to increase children's enthusiasm for *Bayram*, and help them to maintain their identification with Islam – seen by Ayşe as central. The number of gifts – 30 – corresponded to the length of Ramadan.

Maintaining the traditions linked to Turkish and Islamic heritage may represent respondents' diasporic moments. Individuals consider it significant to celebrate *Bayrams*, and this practice is supported by institutions such as mosques. However, as proved above, these diasporic moments do not have a 'pure' character. They are being adjusted to the surrounding circumstances and constitute the LTK (Ingold and Kurttila 2000), and, as I demonstrated, they bear the influences of Norwegian and Christian heritage. At the same time, the annual routines of Norwegian Turks involve celebrations of traditions from outside the Turkish cultural circle such as Christmas.

Interestingly, these practices also often have diasporic moments. Christmas is celebrated by including Turkish patterns of feasting and traditional Turkish food, while 'Christmas habits' are employed to fulfil the duties of Muslims. This shows another side of LTK: Norwegian heritage, learned through school and participation in Norwegian society, was recreated in the local circumstances of Norwegian-Turkish families that included influences from patterns of behaviour common in Turkey. I contend that the traditions discussed in this section and celebrated by Norwegian Turks constitute a new quality of heritage, heritage in becoming, which is processual and cannot be classified as either Turkish or Norwegian. It is shaped by respondents' responses to the technical, structural, cultural, and ideological opportunities and limitations inscribed in the urban society of Drammen and the everyday life of Norwegian-Turkish families.

## *Historical consciousness and inherited identities*

According to Nora (1989), presence is 'a reference point for understanding the past and for imagining of future' (Conrad, Létourneau, and Northrup 2009, 19). Scholarship focusing on the public uses of the past indicates that history is approached by people through the lenses of their present identities. Hence, they are more concerned with the past of their families and communities, than with official national narratives (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998; Conrad, Létourneau, and Northrup 2009; Ashton and Hamilton 2010). In this regard, Norwegian Turks are not an exception. While being aware of the official national history of Turkey and sometimes participating in national days celebrations in local mosques and cultural associations, Norwegian Turks, when defining heritage, that is things they wanted to pass down to their children, named mostly collective identifications with Turkishness and Islam, as well as practical skills facilitating the managing of belonging to multiple collectivities, including Norwegian society. The presented values did not constitute the official collective heritage of the Turks. Rather, they reflected important group identifications and cultural skills linked to them. National and religious identities were, therefore, approached through the family and understood in a historicised and essentialist manner. On the other hand, everyday practicing of these identities was flexible and negotiated with local environment and other social roles and positions of the respondents.

One important collective identification respondents wanted to provide to their children was Islam:

> Passing [religion to my children] is important. (...) If you manage to accommodate Islam in the right way, this is enough. The culture will come by itself. (...) Many things that culture proposes are completely wrong. (...) For example, they say other Norwegians or Muslims do this or that and Christians do that. Muslims do not do this. Religion does not do this. It is culture. (Ayşe, 36 female, Sunni, married)

Here, Islam was viewed as a tool to successfully raise children and Islamic values were incorporated into respondent's heritage. In her statement, Ayşe defended religion, arguing that cultural influences distort religious beliefs. Her attitude could have been driven by the everyday experiences of discrimination and othering she was facing as a veiled Muslim woman in Norway, and to which she referred in an interview. Apart from being an important axel of identity building, Islam was for many 'a window on the past' (Conrad, Létourneau, and Northrup 2009), e.g. through engaging with the biographies of noble men, reflecting therefore the findings of Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) in an American context.

The importance of identification with Islam was often presented along with identification with Turkishness:

> I would like [my kids] to understand that they are Turkish and Muslim. That they received [these identities] from me. They cannot forget that they are from another country, although they should also follow Norwegian rules. As far as we can. We cannot do everything, but we must try to do as much as possible. [I want my children to] obtain language and aspects related to religion from me. (Burak, 38, male, Sunni, married)

Burak's statement mirrors respondents' shared idea of continuity in terms of identity, which fits the definition of MTK well. Children are expected to inherit Turkish and Muslim identity from their father/mother, maintain it and possibly pass it down to their own children. As such, Turkish and Muslim identity are seen as inheritable and related to blood ties. In addition, the Turkish language forms part of this identity and constitutes an important marker of the group's boundary. The idea of coming from another country expressed by Burak, a man born and raised in Norway, is the extension of the first-generation immigrants' longing for home, which is automatically repeated by Norwegians of Turkish origin. On the other hand, the necessity to follow Norwegian rules and adapt to Norwegian society – as much as is permitted by Islam and Turkishness – is also commonly underlined by respondents, as illustrated in the statement above. While Burak's idea of a fixed identity that should be passed on to his descendants refers clearly to the genealogical model of MTK, his statements indicate that he wants his children to adjust this fixed identity to the local circumstances they grow up in, that is, Norwegian society. In other words, he wants his children to possess the skills of LTK while performing Turkish identity in Norway, exactly as the respondent himself did. Burak is a working-class man, claiming the traditional identity of a Turkish villager, however his declared practices present him as a rather modern father and husband, well integrated into the mainstream society (Ingold and Kurttila 2000).

One respondent rejected the idea of passing Turkish values to her children:

> Language is an important part of culture. Therefore, I think that if I get married and still live in Norway, my kids will mainly speak Norwegian, not Turkish. I would like them to learn Norwegian perfectly, as a native Norwegian. (Elifcan, 19, female, Alevi, unmarried)

The tendency of being concerned with the proper education of children and fluency in Norwegian was common, but only in the case of Elifcan was it accompanied with a direct rejection of Turkish values and a preference of Norwegian ones. This may be explained by Elifcan's low status in traditional Turkish hierarchies because of her age, gender and marital status, compared to the one she has in Norwegian society. What prevailed was an attempt to reconcile Turkish and Norwegian values to make children identify with Turkishness, while facilitating their participation in Norwegian society. Generally, the Turkish and Norwegian languages were considered an important heritage, while skills in Norwegian were recognised as crucial for the future success of children.

As exemplified above, Norwegians of Turkish origin knew exactly the set of values, skills and identifications they wanted to pass down to their children. They approached this in a holistic way, rather than focusing on official elements of heritage such as particular traditions or history. For them, their heritage constituted a broadly understood identification with Turkishness and, in some cases, with Islam. However, this identification was expected to be paired with a set of tools facilitating full membership in Norwegian society and, therefore, adjusted to the structural circumstances of the modern society respondents' children were growing up in. It seemed that the vague idea of being Turkish while managing in Norwegian society became an element of Norwegian-Turkish heritage, shared by the majority of respondents. The ways in which it could be attained differed among individuals but the goal seemed similar: namely, to maintain inherited religious and ethnic identity (MTK) while possessing organisational fluency in Norwegian society, which entails adapting to Norwegian rules, values and habits, and also mastering the Norwegian language (LTK) (Ingold and Kurttila 2000). Even if a 'contemporary multicultural talk' (Appiah 1994, 156) forced Norwegian Turks into either/or ethnic categories, on a micro level of everyday practices the respondents mastered negotiating mentioned dimensions of their identity without contradictions.

## Institutionalised heritage

Despite the various outcomes of individuals' engagement with heritage, the concept has always concerned collective identity and has been governed by institutions of power. Several scholars maintain that heritage is tied to a nation-state, which influences its meaning (Hall 1999; Graham 2002; Olsen 2004; Gnecco 2015). It has become a part of institutional practices within nation-states, disconnecting from the experiences of the group to which it was originally attached (Olsen 2004, 39), and serving to maintain particular nationalist narratives. These narratives span transnationally, influencing people who are claimed by the nation, but who live outside of its territory. For Hall (1999), the process of creating national heritage is done through 'storying', and is analogous to that occurring among individuals and families. In a previous section, I presented how members of Norwegian Turkish families constantly negotiated between the diasporic heritages and the heritages and circumstances of the new homeland. The results of these negotiations were reflected in the unique ways individuals and families performed heritage and presented as LTK (Ingold and Kurttila 2000). This section discusses another aspect of a relationship between diasporic heritage and a nation-state – one that regards incorporating heritages of immigrant minorities in a national heritage of a new homeland (Arokiasamy 2012; Naguib 2013, 83; Prescott 2013). It is widely acknowledged that the processes of global mobility and the changing character of European nation-states from (officially) homogeneous to (officially) diverse or 'multicultural' has challenged the traditional understanding of national heritage and provoked discussions on minority heritage within the context of the nation (Gnecco 2015). Attempts to integrate the heritage of immigrants in the official channels of heritage preservation and celebration such as museums and festivals are present, however, as demonstrated in the UK context by Arokiasamy (2012), usually limited to 'superficial and safe topics like fashion, cooking, hair care, and migration, and lacking in substance, creativity, and research'. This section using an example of Norwegian Constitution Day celebrations, addresses this issue, problematising diversity in a context of Norwegian national heritage.

### *Celebrations on 17 May: Norwegian constitution day*

17 May is celebrated to commemorate the signing of the Norwegian Constitution in Eidsvoll in 1814, which declared Norway an independent state. Celebrations are both private and public, comprising breakfast with family and friends, a parade of schoolchildren and citywide events. Some Turkish communities, such as the Alevi association, organise activities for the event, during which Turkish food is served. Individual Norwegian Turks celebrate by participating in the city's parade, dressing up and waving the Norwegian flag. Some female respondents indicated that they would like to own a *bunad*, which is a traditional Norwegian folk costume worn during the celebrations. However, this wish is limited by respondents' financial capabilities, as they consider a *bunad* to be very expensive. While observing the parade in Drammen over the study period of three years, I saw women wearing *bunads* and Turkish-Islamic veils (Figure 1). This practice mirrors interwoven Norwegian and Islamic influences on the performance of heritage on an individual level, and illustrates the process of transformation of the elements of official Norwegian heritage that is adapted to the circumstances and needs of the people who use it. Hence, while minority heritage is adapted to the Norwegian reality, as explained in the previous section, this process is also valid the other way round. Transforming MTK or official Norwegian heritage into LTK (Ingold and Kurttila 2000) by minorities involves addressing the circumstances around growing up in a transnational family and results in incorporating symbols traditionally foreign to Norway, for example, those that refer to Islam, into Norwegian national heritage. The outcome of this practice constitutes heritage in becoming.

Active participation in the 17 May celebrations – an important element of Norwegian heritage – and the desire to participate in traditional folk dress, expresses Norwegian Turks' belonging to

**Figure 1.** 17 May celebrations in 2014 in Drammen. Women wearing *bunads* and Islamic veils take part in the parade. Photo: author.

Norway and provides them with an opportunity to publicly demonstrate this stance. Repeating this practice every year indicates that they have permanently joined and found their place in Norwegian heritage, even though the motivations behind it vary across the group. Some respondents participate voluntarily and to express gratitude to Norway, as in the case of Cansu, who repeated the rhetoric that immigrant minorities must repay the society that hosted them (Ahmed 2014): '17 May is very important to me, because I live in Norway and feel that I must respect this country, which has given me bread' (Cansu, 24, female, Alevi, unmarried). Others only accompany their children, who must participate with their schools or see themselves as external observers of this festivity:

> I know this is not my tradition. (...). I was born and raised in Norway, so I need to show respect [and celebrate 17 May] of course, but this is not my celebration. I do not belong to it. I am an observer. (Can, 23, male, Sunni, married)

In a latter group Sunni males prevailed.[6] Nevertheless, despite the meaning given to Norway's national day by individuals, 17 May has become a tradition celebrated by Norwegian Turks. It was mentioned in all the narratives alongside *Bayrams*. Thus, I will risk saying that 17 May has become part of the heritage of Norwegian Turks. Its celebrations constitute respondents' practices and skills 'none other than that of people's practical engagement with the environment' (Ingold and Kurttila 2000, 192–193), even if they are framed by the Norwegian discourse on a multicultural society.

Some scholars contend that a positive relationship exists between participation in national days by immigrants and their children, and their belonging to a new homeland. In the Dutch context, Coopmans, Lubbers, and Meuleman (2015, 2048) state that 'the more frequently people participate [in national days], the stronger [are the] feelings of national belonging'. This is especially visible among first-generation immigrants and non-Western minorities (2049–2050). Indeed, Alevi respondents, who were showing the biggest enthusiasm for celebrations, declared greater attachment to Norway than Sunni males, least interested in the Constitution Day. Consequently, I argue that the 17 May celebrations are an occasion on which Norwegian Turks' sense of belonging to Norwegian society is manifested, even if its performance at home includes Turkish habits such as sharing Turkish food and visiting family or friends.

Norwegian cities known for their diverse character have attempted to include immigrants and minorities in the Constitution Day celebrations, mirroring the de-facto multicultural (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007, 197–198) integration policy of Norway. These attempts were visible during the traditional parade in Drammen, where people wearing various ethnic clothes and representing different ethnic minorities walked alongside ethnic Norwegians, waving Norwegian flags and sharing the festive mood (Figure 2). Significantly, while ethnic markers were present and visible during the parade, there was a lack of national flags other than the Norwegian one. This indicates a diverse nation united under the Norwegian flag, even though the reality may be more complex. Therefore, I argue that by including immigrants and minorities in the national day celebrations, Norway produces the heritage to substantiate the discourse on a multicultural society. This heritage is meant to function in a similar way to that of Canada (Leung 2006). Essentially, minorities are viewed as a societal resource (*Meld. St*. 2012). However, at the same time, their 'ethnic' contribution is limited to safe elements such as folklore. In this way, diversity is included in the official heritage of Norway through the celebrations of 17 May, even though it is not necessarily accepted on the individual level. Many Norwegians still find it difficult to accept immigrants wearing *bunads*, as these folk dresses have a specific meaning

**Figure 2.** Ethnic accents during Drammen's 17 May parade, 2014. Photo: author.

involving autochthonic belonging to a particular place in Norway. On the other hand, members of minority groups accept the invitation to participate in Norwegian heritage, eagerly wearing their *bunads* and waving the Norwegian flag.

## Conclusion

The analysis presented in this paper indicates that the notion of heritage may go beyond the limits of nation-states and engages with the processes of transnationality that are enforced by global mobility movements. As illustrated above, the recreation of Norwegian Turks' ancestral heritage was strongly influenced by Norwegian and globalised cultures. The respondents, by exercising practices inherited from their ancestors while living in Drammen, 'through a mixture of imitation and improvisation in the settings of practice (…), develop[ed] their own ways of doing things, but in the environmental contexts structured by the presence and activities of (…) predecessors' (Ingold and Kurttila 2000, 193). In a modern complex society, the impact of predecessors is inscribed in different social structures and in everyday encounters with people of various positions in the societal hierarchy.

Consequently, Drammenian Turks' diasporic practices, despite having strong links to Turkish collective heritage, were adapted to the contemporary Norwegian society, occurring in new habits unique to this group. Examples presented in the paper prove that demarcating the boundary between that which is considered Turkish and Norwegian in the recreation of cultural heritage by individuals is impossible. I maintain that, rather, people use all the sources they have obtained through their socialisation in Turkish families and Norwegian society, and adapt them to their current situation. They do not switch from Turkishness to Norwegianness but instead incorporate multiple aspects of their personal positionality, while interacting with their socio-material environment. As such, no strictly defined arenas exist when one or another performance of 'pure' heritage emerges, although there are moments when one or another becomes more visible. Consequently, the Norwegian-Turkish dichotomy is inconsistent in respondents' heritage practices that instead take the shape of LTK (Ingold and Kurttila 2000) and constitute heritage in becoming, being adjusted to the circumstances of current Norwegian society and going beyond national storying oriented on consistent autochthonous belonging.

I argue that the traditional understanding of heritage that limits the concept to the borders of nation-states requires reconceptualisation to remain attuned to current mobility processes. People of Turkish origin in Drammen perform diasporic practices and have diasporic moments, in Brubaker's (2005) terminology. However, they are also rooted in Norway, and as I exemplified, these identifications are not contradictory on the individual level. They have managed to create their space in Norway and the effects of their actions are reflected in fluid heritage practices performed on the individual level: the official Turkish-Islamic heritage was strongly influenced by Christian and Norwegian habits, while the elements of Norwegian heritage were enriched by feasting practices common in Turkey. National heritages of Turkey and Norway where thus transformed by the actions of individuals, going beyond the fixed limits of nation-states while being situated in Norway, and they call for recognition as part of the official heritage of a so-called multicultural society. Attempts to do so are seemingly present in Norway: Incorporating immigrants in the National Day celebrations and other events are tools to include the heritage of minorities in Norwegian heritage. This heritage is, however, limited to the safe aspect of the folklore of minority groups. In addition, as Gnecco (2015) argues, this process is still evolving, and to achieve the heritage of diversity, nations must open up their historicised national heritage for alternative narratives, which has not yet happened in Norway.

## Notes

1. The project comprised extensive research conducted for the purposes of my doctoral thesis entitled: 'Locating in-betweenness: belonging, translocational positionality and cultural heritage of Drammenian Turks'. Data collection took place between 2013 and 2016 in Drammen, Norway, and in a number of

villages in Konya province in Turkey. In total, I collected 36 interviews with inhabitants of Drammen and experts, including those of Turkish descent, around 3000 photos of the space of Drammen and villages in Konya, and around 50 field notes and numerous informal conversations with people in Drammen and in the villages in Konya. These findings serve as the context of analyses presented here.

2. By this, I refer to Norwegian-born children and grandchildren of immigrants from Turkey with both parents of Turkish descent. As the difference in the statements between first- and second-generation Norwegians were insignificant, I do not classify respondents according to generation in the paper.
3. Transnationality is understood here as 'referring to various kinds of global or cross-border connections' (Vertovec 2001, 573), and an 'analytic optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of persons, goods, information and symbols triggered by international labour migration' (Çağlar 2001, 607).
4. I recognise the analytical problems of the concept of culture, interpreting it here as a process rather than a fixed set of values. I continue with non-italicised typing of the notion.
5. In the 1970s, Norway borrowed the solutions for integration policy from Sweden, which had been receiving immigrants and refugees since the end of the World War II (Brochmann and Djuve 2013, 223).
6. My research proved that men were more likely to spend free time in ethnic clubs, while women, even if participating in ethnic activities, did that within the framework provided by the municipality\ NGOs. Moreover, the cultural offer of local libraries targeted women and children, rather than men. These nuances, combined with a myth of a 'young, male, criminal of immigrant background' popularised by media might have influenced a reluctant attitudes of some young males towards the mainstream society.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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