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Racism in Norwegian Education: Exploring the Understanding

and Experiences of Africans and African Norwegians

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Declaration

I, Urban Ankamah, declare that this thesis is the product of my own research and investigations. References have been listed in the reference section; sources other than my own are acknowledged. This work has not been submitted to any other university.

Signature………………………………..
Date………………………………………

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my family.

Abstract

Following the painful murder of George Floyd in the united states by a police officer due to racism, there has been increasing concerns about the need to address racism and discrimination issues that racial minorities go through in our societies. Stories about racism is not limited to United States but also in Europe. In Norway, whether immigrants experience racism or not, continues to be a mixed discussion. Some researchers think immigrants in Norway often encounter inclusive, multicultural, and democratic experiences. Opposing views have also arrived at nuanced findings on existence of racism and discrimination in several spheres of Norwegian community.

This study freshens the conversation on racism in Norway and the focus is to contribute to understanding of racial discrimination experiences of Africans and African Norwegians in education.

Drawing on a qualitative study and a human right framework, the International Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination), this paper has dived into experiences of 18 participants (students, teachers, and administrators) from Somalia, Ghana, Kenya, and Ethiopia at some selected universities in Norway about their understanding and experiences of racial discrimination at school. The study finds that Africans and African Norwegians experience indirect racial discrimination in education, including stereotypes. However, an insignificant number of the participants also expressed views on no racism and a high sense of belonging at school.

Ways to combat racism experiences have also been captured from the stories of participants. Generally, both individual and institutional responses to surviving and combatting racism were considered. On the individual level, reliance on professional identity, confrontation, speak out and distancing were some of the individual weapons or personal resources Africans and African Norwegians use to navigate racism experiences. On an institutional level, participants encourage Norwegian schools and the society to intensify awareness creation on racism, strengthen human right education for tolerance, building a shared immigrant network, and learning and living through diversity were some of the vital tools to address racism in education.

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List of abbreviations

CERD: Committee for Elimination of Racial Discrimination

Dembra: Demokratisk Beredskap most rasisme og antisemittisme (Democratic preparedness
       against racism and antisemitism)

FGM: Female Genital Mutilation

ICERD: International Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination

LGBTQI: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex Life

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

1.0 Chapter one

''I have to make it clear, and this is in research, when you are a minority, particularly when you are black and you suggest ideas, it takes time for people to evaluate your ideas and then to actually consider it, sometimes too, it is not even considered at all, so you would be stalked in a way with the feeling of being overlooked and you feel a bit invisible, you can also feel to a large extent that it takes forever for your positives to have effects''

*(*A black African teacher at a university speaks on his racial experience)

1.1 Introduction

In the summer of 2020, after a police officer at Minneapolis in the United States pinned his knee on the neck of a black African American (George Floyd), for 8 minutes 46 seconds (Apata, 2020) and brutally murdered Floyd, racism and discrimination remerged as hot social problems¨ in the world (Apata, 2020, Koram, 2021). One unique thing about Floyd's incident was that his execution was captured on camera and the entire world was seemingly invited to witness the killing of a young African American, in broad daylight, due to racism, as he shouted painfully in his dying moment, I can't breathe (Apata, 2020). Floyd's killing did not only show the world again the pernicious effect of racism, but it also provoked a global surge of protests and marches that appeared to signal the need for a strong collective fight against racial injustices that people of colour go through in world. Whilst this research is not interested in discussing George Floyd incident, the death of Floyd reminds us that racism is a problem in our world today and it must be addressed.

As a young African studying and living in Norway, Floyd´s painful experience did not only inform me about the injustice racial minorities go through, but it also inspired me to take a bold step in my immediate environment to help combat racism. It is in that conviction tthis paper is produced.

In this study, I explore racism understanding and experiences of Africans and African Norwegians in Norwegian education.

1.2 Background to the study

In the coastal Norwegian land, and along its democratic, culturally diverse, and inclusive communities, thousands of people (both immigrants and ethnic Norwegians) who were charged by the murder of George Floyd marched onto the streets of Oslo etc. on 5th July 2020 and some also took to social media to demonstrate against racism and discrimination that racial minorities go through (NewsinEnglish.no, 2020). The focus of these reactions has been on making visible and getting positive responses to the racial experiences of minorities, particularly people of color.

Reacting to George Floyd's incident and its ensuing anti-racism demonstration in Norway, the then prime minister of Norway, (Erna Solberg), who was trying to calm down over ten thousand Norwegians and immigrant demonstrators said that, unfortunately racism and discrimination are on a rise again (NewsinEnglish.no, 2020). She further said that racism isn't restricted to the USA (NewsinEnglish.no 2020). She assured the Norwegian public that her own government has already taken steps to combat racism and discrimination in Norway. The statement of the then Norwegian prime minister about her government already dealing with racism and discrimination in Norway was a clear admission that racism and discrimination is a social problem in the perceived egalitarian and inclusive Norwegian society.

Claims on racism and discrimination in Norway by Solberg is not a new phenomenon. Existing research done by Fafo also claims that racism and discrimination is an issue in Norway.   In a study conducted by Fafo (an independent Norwegian social science research foundation that develops knowledge on the conditions for participation in working life, organisational life, society, and politics), which was to find out the attitudes among Norwegians towards equality and discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, religion, lifestyles, physical handicaps, and sex orientation etc. Fafo's study surveyed over 4443 Norwegians, spanning through all age groups and the study concluded that there is racism in Norway (NewsinEnglish.no, 2019). In Fafo´s study, about 25 percent of the people who were questioned said that they supported policies of equality and the prevention of discrimination (cited in NewsInEnglish.no, 2019 & Ibrahim, 2019: p3). However, 39 percent of the respondents fully or partially think that some races are more intelligent than others (cited in NewsInEnglish.no, 2019 & Ibrahim, 2019: p3). Also, among the respondents, 16 percent believe that a "dark-skinned person" could never become fully a Norwegian (NewsinEnglish, 2019, Ibrahim, 2019: p3). For instance, some of the respondents who are with low level of education believed that someone from Somalia, could never become "completely Norwegian. Fafo's research revealed racism and discrimination

because some of the respondents used their race to determine who can become a complete Norwegian and who cannot. Meanwhile, Norway is a multicultural society and there are Norwegians who have immigrant background. Therefore, saying that an immigrant (Somali) cannot become a complete Norwegian is racial discrimination. Besides, some surveyed participants also used race as criterion for measuring human intelligence without considering the level of one's education or knowledge to intelligence. Fafo's report reveals a stereotypical attitude towards race. Negative stereotypical attitudes toward race can be damaging to an individual or a group since it can hinder an individual's or a group's capacity to participate and belong in a society.

Racism and discrimination conversations are not only on the streets as alleged by Fafo but it is also an issue alleged to be in education. Ida (2014), in her article titled ''*Norwegian schools reproduce racism and gender stereotypes*'' pointed out how racial bullying of immigrants sometimes happen at school. Crediting doctoral thesis done by Stine Helena Bang Svendsen in 2014, who did a detailed study on *Affecting change? Cultural politics of sexuality and "race" in Norwegian education,* Ida (2014) said that Svendsen observed a students' class discussion on immigration in a Norway school and when the discussion on immigration started, students slowly began to have a conversation on who is an immigrant, and a nigger. According to Svendsen, (cited in Ida, 2014; Svendsen, 2014), words like burka and female genital mutilation (FGM) immediately began to fly through the classroom and all the negative traits about immigrants were packed on the only Somali student in the class. The Somali boy in the class was 'racialized' and bullied (Ida, 2014) in the sense that all the negative traits brought up in the classroom about immigrants such as female genital mutilation (FGM) were transferred onto Somalis. Ida (2014), further reported from Svendsen's work that when the Somali was leaving the class after the lesson, he uncomfortably said to the class that they are all racists.

Racism experience in any form or type or level can create a lack of belonging for an individual (Erdal, 2021). It can restrict individual's or a group's ability to participate in their communities and schools. Racism experience could also undermine human rights of a person or group, particularly the right to education and freedoms of minorities (Migration Policy Institute´s report, 2015).

[1]. https://kjonnsforskning.no/en/2015/09/norwegian-schools-reproduce-racism-and-gender-stereotypes

[2].https://ntnuopen.ntnu.no/ntnu-xmlui/handle/11250/244224

From this background, one observes that racism knows no borders and can be destructive. There is the need to take effective steps to investigate claims on racial discrimination experiences of minorities in Norwegian education to contribute to a culture of tolerance, equality, and diversity for the realisation of human rights.

Whilst the responsibilities of individuals to help check racial discrimination are not clearly outlined in international human right law (ICERD), the international convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (ICERD), still charges the world, particularly countries to take appropriate and effective steps to address racism and discrimination to protect the right of all individuals, especially racial minorities, and vulnerable groups in our communities.

1.3 Objective of the study

To contribute to the prevention and elimination of racism and discrimination in Norway and to help advance the culture of tolerance and belongingness of racial minorities at school, this study employs the international convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (ICERD), (a human right framework) to dive into racial discrimination experiences and understandings of Africans and African Norwegians in education. The task is to find out whether people of African descent experience racial discrimination or not.

1.4. Research Questions

1. What are the racial discrimination experiences of Africans and Norwegian-Africans at school?
2. In what ways does racial discrimination impact Africans and Norwegian Africans participation at school?
3. How can racial discrimination experiences be addressed?

1.5 Structure of the study

This thesis is structured in five chapters. Chapter one covers the introduction. The introduction explores the background of the study.

Chapter two focuses on the literature review and the conceptual framework. The literature review discusses racism from both historical and contemporary perspectives. The historical perspective of racism draws on biological construct of race and racism and the cotemporary perspective looks at neo-racism or racism produced by cultural essentialism. Under this same chapter, the existing discourse on the nature and forms of racism in Norwegian society and education are explored. The measures adopted so far to address racism in Norway have also been highlighted. I have also discussed human right and racism. The international convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (ICERD) as a conceptual guide for the study has also been captured.

Chapter three consists of the methodology. The study employs qualitative design. Under the qualitative design, personal interviews were used to collect data. Purposive sampling, sampling size, data analysis, coding method, reliability & trustworthiness, ethical issues and the strengths and challenges faced in the study are discussed.

The presentation of findings and discussion on findings are captured in chapter four.

Chapter five outlines the conclusion, recommendation, and experiences for future research.

2.0 Chapter two

2.1 Literature review and conceptual framework

2.1.1 Introduction

This section of the paper looks at the literature review. Literature review is a critical analysis of existing information on a topic understudy. Cohen et.al, (2018) argues that literature review helps researchers to provide context to a subject understudy. Review of literature also helps to obtain a pre-knowledge about a subject before data collection about that subject. In this work, I engage in literature review by considering existing information on racism in Norway and in Norwegian education. I will also discuss human right theory. Specifically, I will look at the international convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. To do this, I will review academic papers, articles, reports, and other relevant documents.

2.1.2 Racism

Throughout time, racism has uglily and perniciously lived in many different cultures and geographical regions. Those who have suffered the harms of racism understand how destructive racism is. Others who have not experienced racism may not really know how pernicious racism can be. But generally, whether one has experienced racism or not, racism is bad. The term racism is relatively a recent concept, though the practice of racism has lived with generations (Timo, 2010). The word racism is known to have been first recorded and employed in English language in the 1930s and became popular in the 1960s (Timo, 2010). Several practices, beliefs, actions that today would be labelled racist did also happened in the past, but it was not until evidence questioning 'scientific' racial theories started emerging and describing which actions are/were racist and which ones are not. One can remember the Nazi campaigns in Germany against what they considered inferior races. It was through that period that the use of the concept racism became more widespread (Timo, 2010).

To clearly understand racism, I look at two primary thoughts on racism. The (i) component emerges from the notion that human beings belong to mutually exclusive races that are defined by innate biologically features and immutable group characteristics ('racialism') Timo (2010). The biological characters shared by a group reflect in physical traits such as hair texture and skin colour. As these traits are perceived to be naturally and biological given and inherited, the group boundaries are held to be unbridgeable and insurmountable, making preservation of

'racial purity' a typical value held by those infected by racialist thinking (Timo, 2010). The (ii) component of racism is when we begin to attribute certain perceived negative or positive racial characteristics to a group. This attribution works to legitimise hierarchical positioning of races which eventually contribute to justify superiority and inferiority of races. In short, racism can be defined as the idea or the belief that people's qualities are influenced by their race and that the members of other races are not as good as the members of your own. Such ideology has a resulting effect of fair treatment of your own race and unfair treatment of members of other races (Timo, 2010).

2.1.3 Race and racism: Historical Account

Race and its notion of human differences began during the Europeans encountered Africans on slavery. From the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries, as Europeans encountered non-European civilizations (Africans and Indians), enlightenment scientists and philosophers saw race as a biological subject, a subject linked to classification of things. They used the term ''race'' to reference or describe plants, animals, and taxonomic subclassification within a species (Audrey, 1997). The term race was considered as a biological subject and a means of identifying groups perceived to be sharing same or similar physical traits such as skin colour and hair texture. This path of thinking race was then applied to classification and categorisation of human species, that is to be identified as white or black or other (Audrey 1997). As a result, physical varieties linked to human race made it easier to mark out the difference between people of colour and whites.

Anthropologist Audrey Smedley (1997) further tells that when race became a classifier in the early slavery period, a new social identity was constructed through race as there emerged a structural ideological component of race since race was widely used as distinct reference for Africans, Indians, and Europeans (Audrey, 1997). By centring on the physical features and status differences between the slave masters and the enslaved peoples, and Europeans, the emerging ideology wedded the socio-political status and physical traits together and produced a new form of social identity (Audrey, 1997; Timo, 2010). The physical characteristics of different groups served as markers or symbols of their status and that defined their positions within the social system. In that period of slave trade, blacks and other racial minorities were limited to perpetual servitude since the colonial ideology of race keeps whites and blacks as separate and distinct group and the ideology of race continue to maintain the notion that blacks would forever be at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Timo, 2010). In this sense, visible

physical features and biological characteristics became a norm to preserve the statuesque of inequality as it aided racism through slavery.

2.1.4 Racism through race: some historical accounts

Racism has been part of the world for many years now (Bradley, 2019). From slave trade to colonialism, and from nazim that occurred in Germany, to apartheid regime that happened in South Africa. Racism takes it historical root from colonialism and slave trade where people of colour were subjected to several dehumanising treatment due to the notion that they have inferior race (Bradley 2019, Peter 2017). During slave trade, black people were sold as slaves, and some were kept in chains in Africa, Europe, America, and other parts of the world (Bradley, 2019). For instance, the transatlantic slave trade started amid the 15th century when Portugal, and other European kingdoms, were at long last able to extend abroad and reach Africa (Adi, 2012). The Portuguese started to capture individuals and kept them in chains from the west coast of Africa and transported them to Europe. It is evaluated that by the early 16th century as much as 10% of Lisbon's populace was of African descent (Adi, 2012). After the Europeans discovered of the American continent, the request for African labour continuously increased since European and American labour were found to be deficient (Adi, 2012). The demand for African labour in Europe and America in the 16th century through to 17th century led to the exploitation and dehumanisation of many Africans. Most of the Africans were forcedly sold as slaves and shipped to Europe and America to work in plantation farms.

Besides, Nazim was also a political regime implemented in Nazi Germany and it allowed the superiority of "Aryan race" over other racial minority groups (Peter, 2017). Nazism graded humans on a scale. It graded Aryan race as superior and pure race whilst it graded Russians as "inferiors" then follow by the Romani, Serbs, Blacks, and the Jews at the bottom (Peter, 2017). Through Nazim, the Jews and many black people in Germany experienced several forms of racial discrimination in 1935. They were not allowed to join armed forces or have quality education. Blacks and Jews were forced to work in menial job positions and were considered as inferior group (Peter, 2017).

After Nazism, racism did not stop there. Apartheid regime in South Africa also became a major source of racial discrimination. Apartheid was a political regime that authorized the segregation of whites and non-whites and existed from 1948 until the early 1990s (Tshabalala 2010). During apartheid, black majority population in South Africa were denied equal access to political freedom, land ownership, health, and education by the white minority (Tshabalala 2010). Race-

based discrimination associated with Apartheid contributed to many tragic atrocities, such as deaths (Tshabalala 2010). For example, about 21,000 people died in South Africa during apartheid regime including the 1960 incident in Sharpeville, where South African police brutalised and killed 69 peaceful black protesters (Tshabalala, 2010). Racism in the world did not stop at apartheid even when it was abolished through human right law. Just recently, it was announced that black people were been racially abused, as several black people were being sold into slave markets in Libya (Bradley, 2019).

2.1.5 Neo-racism: the contemporary thought

Contemporary research on racism has recognised that discourse on racism no more solely rely on perceived inherent biological features or physical traits when thinking racism and racial discrimination (Timo, 2010; Bangstad & Døving, 2015). A new form of racism has emerged which don't use race as a tool to measure discrimination but rather cultural difference. As Ralph De Grillo (2003) argued, racism has moved from biological race-based discussion to a 'new' dimension called cultural racism or cultural fundamentalism or essentialism. Cultures have been viewed as constitutive of a nation and as mutually exclusive and incompatible (Timo, 2010). Every people and nation have their own cultures and the functioning and maintenance of a particular culture is that nation's duty. Putting it well, national cultures are to be kept sacred and protected. Whilst cultures are protected and separated, they reinforce exclusion of people who do not belong to that culture. In other words, culturally produced racism views all cultures as equal and important; however, it also claims that cultures and therefore the peoples (nations) that go with them should if possible be treated distinct (Timo 2010).

The common feature between race-oriented racism and culturally oriented racism is that both essentialise and reify group identity and view groups as homogenous and with closed values disjointed by unbridgeable differences (Bradley, 2019, Timo 2010). Both neo-racism (cultural racism) and biological racism serve similar inequality function: as they both work to justify one group's supremacy over the other. Though, cultural racism is more recent and often manifest in a subtle way such as assimilating someone who is culturally different in a new culture (Timo, 2010). What then is important to learn here is that racism needs to be understood from different perspectives and its meaning is not stationery but evolves overtime.   The central point of the two conceptions of racism (biological racism and neo-racism), has contributed to a broader understanding of racism, as now, scholars see racism as a tool used for justification or reproduction of domination and/or disadvantage or exclusion along perceived racial or ethnic paths (Bradley, 2019, Timo, 2010).

As societies become culturally diverse and knowledge on racism grows, there is a shifting view on racism. Timo (2010) has pointed out that due to the growing multiculturalism in Europe and western societies, racism in the western world today is more understood as a 'new' cultural essentialism, where categorizes of inferiority and superiority is based on cultural, ethnic groups and religious backgrounds (Timo, 2010).

However, no matter how racism is defined, whether biological racism or cultural racism, we need to understand that the permanent feature of racism across time, countries and cultures is the role of racism in shielding a social hierarchy (Jeffrey, 2015; Bradley 2019) that places some people at the bottom and others at the top based on constructed racial and cultural categories (Bradley 2019). This hierarchical arrangement leads to the construction and maintenance of pernicious power structure in our social systems and institutions which work to make some racial groups located at top (superior) and those at the bottom (inferior).

2.2 What forms does racism take?

Racism can take many forms. It can be present in the attitudes of individuals or embedded in the policies, and practices of institutions and societal systems. This part of the literature gives a brief insight into the forms in which racism take.

2.2.1 Individual racism

Individual racism refers to an individual's racist assumptions, beliefs, or behaviours.   It is a form of racial discrimination that stems from conscious and unconscious personal prejudice Individual racism can be expressed both overtly and covertly (Henry and Tator, p. 329). Sometimes individual racism is expressed openly to fulfil one's personal needs and desires. An example can be refusing to stand or sit next to someone because of their colour or physically attacking someone through harassment or bullying someone because of their religion, sex, skin colour or nationality etc. Another example is when a white man decides not to cross a particular street to avoid passing a black man, etc or a black man avoids crossing a street to avoid passing a white man. Whilst many contemporary approaches to understanding individual racism acknowledge the persistence of overt, intentional forms of racism, it also considers the role of automatic or unconscious processes and indirect expressions of bias. Devine and Monteith (1993), for example, proposed that through common socialization experiences Caucasian Americans in general develop knowledge of cultural stereotypes of African Americans. An example of it is a white man calling a black man nigger without knowing nigger is a racist word.

2.2.2 Internalized Racism

Internalised racism is the personal conscious or subconscious acceptance of the dominant society's racist views, stereotypes, and biases of racial and ethnic groups. It gives rise to patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving that result in discriminating, minimizing, criticizing, finding fault, invalidating, and hating others/oneself whilst simultaneously valuing the dominant culture (Scott, 2007; Pyke, 2010). For example, a black man decides to go for interracial marriage just to give birth to children with lighter skin because that person thinks his black skin is not valued. Internalized racism occurs when individual internalises or inculcates into other person racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies effected by the White dominant society about one's racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one's race and/or oneself" (Pyke, 2010). An example includes enforcing a notion or norm that people who are black are not beautiful unless they bleach their skin.

2.2.3 Systemic racism

Systemic Racism (structural and institutional racism) refers to the ways in which society policies and practices create different outcomes for different racial groups (Pyke, 2010). It is a pattern connected to how government or institutional policies affect society, including education and schools; whose effect is to create advantages directly or indirectly for whites, whereas same policy seeks to oppress and disadvantage racial minorities. These systems can include laws and regulations in education or other spheres in society (Pyke, 2010).   The critical character of structural or systematic racism is that it can work independently of the intentions and actions of individuals. Even if individual racism is not present, the adverse conditions and inequalities for racial minorities will still exist (Pyke, 2010). System racism also involves institutional racism, and this occurs when resources, power, and opportunities are distributed such that certain groups (white) benefit, and others (people of colour) are excluded in the distribution of resources. An example of systemic and institutionalised racism was South Africa's apartheid regime; where a systemic and institutional form of discrimination was built into the political structure which gave privilege to white minority to secure superior social position t excluding the black majority from spaces such as education, health, and political governance.

2.2.4 Racism in Norway

Norway has a population of over 5million (Statistics Norway, 2019) and it is a liberal democratic welfare state (Ibrahim, 2019, Gullestad 2002). Despite Norway is known to be at the fore front of human rights and promotion of human equality in recent times, the country is also known to have contributed to racism in the past, particularly in the 18th century. Historically, racism experiences in Norway were mainly based on direct discrimination. Hervik (2019) tells that, like in the rest of Western Europe, domestic minorities were not spared of racial discrimination in Norway. The Sami people (indigenous Norwegians) and the Roma people were considered as inferior stock and treated as unequal group through ethnic discrimination. Also, during colonisation, Norway was not a coloniser but was colonised by Demark and suffered German occupation. However, Norway facilitated racism because the Dano-Norwegian ships took active part in the transatlantic slave trade in Africa and West Indies, which aided Denmark and Sweden as colonisers to perpetuate racism and inhumane treatment against Africans (Hervik, 2019). Prejudices also existed in Norway in the 1930's as told in missionary publications. For instance, many *tatere*, nomadic people of partly Roma descent, were sterilised in Sweden and Norway because they were perceived to be of incurably inferior character (Hervik, 2019).

2.2.5 The activities of right-wing militant groups

In the 1980's and 1990's, until the recent rise in populist right wing movement in Norway, racism in Norway manifested in physical and violent forms and from the activities of radical militant groups who operate on a certain radical racist ideology; mainly against non-whites and immigrants (Bjørgo 1997). Right-wing extremism and xenophobic were common in local and national level in Norway and most of the Nordic countries. Usually, they use fire-bomb and small explosives, assaults, shootings, and knife to attack immigrants, Muslims and people of colour which leads to fatal outcomes (Bjørgo, 1997). Perpetrators of these violent attacks were unorganized team of friends or local xenophobic gangs, whilst some other incidents were carried out by Nazi skinheads or individuals and groups connected to extremist groups like Boot boys or the so-called Nationalist Milieu (Bjørgo 1997). The concern here is not only about how these violent groups engage in visible and violent racism but also to capture how these groups are driven by radical racist ideology, that creates differences and injustices, and feeling of non-belonging in the society for racial and cultural minorities.

2.2.6 Prejudices and stereotypes

There are numerous similarities between humans as well as many differences. Our social groups play an important role in shaping our identities. Some people may find it difficult to reconcile these differences, which may lead to prejudice and stereotypes against those who are different (Cohrs, & Duckitt, 2021). Prejudice can be seen as a negative attitude toward a particular social group and its individual members, or it can be unjustifiable beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and attitudes held about a group (Cohrs, & Duckitt, 2021). A prejudice is not based on experience; instead, it is a prejudgment, originating outside actual experience (McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980, Tronstad, 2009). Stereotypes are also generalizations that does not take individual differences into account (McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980, Tronstad, 2009). Both prejudice and stereotype often work together. The 2014 Ombud's report on racism and discrimination in Norway stresses that there were prejudices and stereotypes in Norway (Ombud Report, 2014).

Also, The Ombud's 2018 report for UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination reveals mixed finding on prejudices and stereotypes. Whilst the report acknowledges that there were some high prejudices in Norway against immigrants in 1993, this has changed as there are positive attitudes towards immigrants in recent times. The Ombud report in 2017 asserts that there has been a fall in negative attitudes (prejudices) of around 20 percentage points from 1993 to 2017. According to the Ombud report, in 1993, between 40 and 50 per cent of people surveyed said they agreed with the statement that immigrants are a threat to Norwegian culture. Some people who took part in the survey believed that immigrants exploited Norwegian welfare schemes and some also said that they disliked Muslim religious communities (Ombud, 2018 p.7).

However, in 2017, the Ombud report reveals that the number of people who agreed with these same statements was between 20 and 30 per cent. According to the report, there is a sharp reduction in prejudices and stereotypes. The report leaves that there is a growing positive attitude towards immigrants because of the increasing level of education among the population and a growing share of immigrant's population in Norwegian local communities.

Whilst prejudices and stereotypes are on a decline in Norway, there exist some stereotypes. There is the existing stereotype that Somali immigrants do face substantial unemployment and are the immigrant group that highly rely popularly on welfare benefits and are also involved in higher crime rates (Bye, Herrebrøden,, Hjetland., Røyset, & Westby, 2014).

However, it could be an exceptionally ordinary account and normal to expect that numerous people's recognition and pictures of Somali immigrants are formed by the nuanced negative stereotypical media coverage (Bye, Herrebrøden,, Hjetland., Røyset, & Westby, 2014).

2.2.7 Ideology of white supremacy

White supremacy is the ideology or the belief system that legitimises that white people and their culture are superior and should therefore dominate other cultures in society. White supremacy here does not mean whites out-numbering other people of colour, or whites living by themselves in a whites-only society or white people been genetically superior to people of colour but rather the belief system central to white individuals and others that white culture is superior and dominates other non-western cultures (Fylkesness, 2019).White supremacy ideology can be executed both consciously and unconsciously to ensure exclusion of racial or ethnic minorities such as blacks or Jewish people. The massacre of 77 innocent people on July 22, 2011, in Oslo by Anders Behring Breivik, is an example of white supremacy. After Breivik's incident, scholars such as Gullestad, (2017) noted that the ideology of white supremacy is part of the ways racism manifest in Norway. Gullestad (2017) has pointed out that Breivik sees himself as being morally justified to protect Europe and Norway from multiculturalism. That is, Breivik action of bombing 77 people in Oslo was inspired by his dislike for the growing Muslim and immigrant population and culture in Norway and Europe.

The idea of white supremacy has also been documented by Gullestad (2005) and Fylkesnes (2019). They argue that racism in Norway manifest in the ways in which Norwegians express their cultural identity. Gullestad (2005) think that Norwegians are identified by their peaceful, solidarity and egalitarian nature, and it is from the expression of these values of identity that Fylkesnes (2019) believe racism occurs. Fylkesnes think these values are good but behind these nice Norwegian values, there are some subtle forms of racism. These subtle and hidden forms of racism emanate from the excessive pride Norwegians attach to the cultural values that identify them. Norwegian identity is expressed and sustained through pride and this pride is shaped by ideology of white supremacy. To evidence this claim, I refer to a recent study conducted by Pew Research which is cited in Fylkesnes (2019) and Strømmen, (2019). The study finds out if people agreed with this statement: our people are not perfect, but our culture is better. Fifty-eight percent of Norwegians agreed, the only Western country in which a majority agreed that their culture is better than others (Strømmen, 2019 143). There is no problem with a Norwegian being proud of Norwegian culture since it is a sense of nationalism. However, to say Norwegian culture is better than others also erode difference and cultural

diversity, and that thought places one culture ahead of the other. Where in most cases immigrant cultures are seen as inferior and (white) western Norwegian culture is perceived as superior. A hierarchy is a rank. Trying to rank Norwegian culture ahead of other cultures is ethnocentrism and since Norwegian culture is western and white centred, it evokes the idea of white supremacy; a post-colonial idea where white people subjugate the cultures of people of colour. The practice of white supremacy suppresses minority cultures, erodes the ability to create spaces for multiculturalism and increases feeling of inferiority and lack of belonging among racial minorities (Fylkesnes , 2019).

2.3 Racism and Education

This part of the study reviews existing discussions on racism in education. Before I discuss the existing views on racism in Norwegian education, I will briefly look at the Norwegian education system and its diversity. This will help me to give a perspective on the multicultural dimension of the Norwegian school system. After that, I will take on the various living literature discourses on racism and discrimination.

2.3.1 Ethnic diversity and education in Norway

Norway has experienced significant socio-demographic shift over the past five decades (Gullestad, 2002). Ethnically, the country was a homogeneous society until the 1970s (Gullestad, 2002). In the 1970's, the society was homogenous because many of the people living in Norway at that time were ethnic Norwegians. Ethnic Norwegians are the traditional people of Norway, ethnographically described as a North Germanic people. Ethnic Norwegians speak norsk or Norwegian. They share genetic, linguistic, and geographical history with Danes, Swedes, Germans, Dutch, and others.

Currently, the Norwegian society has a heterogenous population and with increasing feature of multiculturalism. A report released by statistics Norway on March 2021 reveals that immigrants and immigrant children constitute 18.5 percent of Norwegian populations (Statistics, Norway, 2021). Immigrants from Africa constitute 2.6 percent of the immigrant population (Statistics, Norway, 2021). Urban areas in Norway have also undergone swift transformation through immigration. For example, in Oslo, the capital city of Norway, the city has a huge immigrant population. 30% of pupils are either immigrants or immigrant children (World population Review, 2021).

2.3.2 Perspective on immigrant population in higher education

The Norwegian higher education has seen some growth in immigrant population. The higher education system constitutes all the public universities, colleges, institutions, and programmes accredited and with few private university colleges. In terms of numbers, there is an unsatisfactory data on immigrants who participate in higher education. However, 2018 national statistics on education reveals some growth in number of immigrants and Norwegian immigrant born in higher education. A larger proportion of immigrant children are enrolled in higher education. For immigrants the ratio is 20.1 percent and for immigrant children (descendants) it is 44.5 per cent, while it is 37.2 per cent for others (IMO Report for Norway to the OECD on immigration and integration, 2019). The increasing proportion of immigrant children entering and completing higher education seems to indicate a high degree of integration of minorities. Though, the proportion on immigrants here is low if compared to number of descendants (IMO Report for Norway to the OECD on immigration and integration, 2019. This is partly because some immigrants already have some higher education from their country of origin and do not need to take higher education again and their absence would affect the proportion of immigrants entering or studying in higher education.

Table 1.0 shows proportion of immigrants and descendants of immigrants enrolled in higher education. By age group (19-24), year (2016-2018) and percent.

Students[37]/ year	All			Immigrants			Descendants			Others		
	2016	2017	2018	2016	2017	2018	2016	2017	2018	2016	2017	2018
19-24 years	35.1	35,4	35,3	17.9	18,2	20,1	44.2	45,3	44,5	37.2	37,5	37,2
25-29 years	15.9	15,9	15,9	9.0	8,9	9,7	20.1	19,5	19,9	17.7	17,7	17,4

Sources: *Captured in IMO Report for Norway to the OECD on immigration and integration,*

2.3.3 Education and Racism

Since education is a human right and access to education is free in Norway, schools, specifically classrooms become a meeting point for individuals with different religious and ethnic backgrounds. It is a common knowledge that Norway is a welfare state. Most children and young adults in Norway go to public schools, and to some larger degree, those schools reflect the local community in terms of social class and immigrant origin. At school, there are students, teachers, and administrators from different cultural background. A school is a formal learning

structure considered to be a place where individuals have their formative learning years. Democratic attitude such as equality, respect of the rights of minorities and tolerance are common democratic features expected at school since democratic and tolerant school system is a feature of the Norwegian national identity. Despite one does not need to even negotiate much before encountering schools, education can also become a zone for discrimination and racism.

In a book titled *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education*, Peter McLaren, argued that schooling is a 'resolutely political and cultural enterprise' (McLaren, 2002). Education at school can be constructed consciously or unconsciously through the formal curriculum or via a set of 'unwritten codes' which can be identified as 'hidden curriculum' of schooling (McLaren, 2002). Through unwritten or written codes, the attitudes and behaviours of teachers, students and other school agents could convey specific messages of tolerance and belonging but also discrimination against individuals, particularly racial minorities, and cultural minorities such as people of colour. In this sense, a school system can be both a place of diversity and inclusion and a place of racism and discrimination where racial and cultural minorities can be rendered as equal or unequal members of a school community.

2.3.4 Racism in Norwegian Education
Existing discussion on racism in Norwegian education has energetically focussed on several aspects of racism. Here, I review knowledge on some of these existing discourses.

2.3.5 Imagined Sameness (Likhet)
As Norway develops and with many immigrant populations (Gullestad, 2002), coming from Africa, Asia, Europe, and other parts of the world, education has been organised in a way that will help integrate immigrants and also sustain Norwegian identity. Nationally, the Norwegian school system aims to achieve two main goals: to assist the coming generation with necessary competence for future life and work and to activate am arena that gives insight into cultural diversity and 'promotes democracy, human right, gender equality and scientific thinking' (Opplæringslova, 1998). The national curriculum guides how school is organised and taught. It makes teachers as third parents and they convey cherished Norwegian norms and values to learners as part of a 'national identity' (Røthing, 2015, pp. 72–73). One key objective of the school curriculum is building equality with sameness. Critical researchers' have argued that the Norwegian educational systems' goal of seeking to treat everyone same to achieve equality can be dangerous since it can work to produce subtle discrimination and racism.

Gullestad (2002, pp. 82–84) argued that Norwegian nationhood is grounded on a notion of 'imagined sameness', often understood as observed similarities in looks or behaviour. To Gullestad, the notion of sameness invokes that for immigrants to be equal members in the Norwegian society, they must adopt tor be enveloped into Norwegian social values that guides Norwegian national identity to be the same as the majority (ethnic Norwegians).

The word ''Imagined Sameness'' was discovered by Gullestad and it was from the word ''Janteloven''(Norwegian value that seek a common identity)(Gullestad, 2002). The law of Jante is a communist ideology which is a collection of rules demanding individual humility and 'likhet' or likeness or similarity. Janteloven was propounded by Danish author Aksel Sandemose in 1933 to guide communal welfare (Kirabo S. P. & Kachabe, 2020). The rule of Janteloven overlooks individual achievement but favours stability and equality of societal structures in Scandinavian communities (Kirabo & Kachabe 2020). It promotes common identity and discourages difference, selfishness, and diversion from the status-quo (values considered to be normal in the society). It is both a rule of humility and a rule seeking equality and togetherness. The idea of ''Janteloven'' which is conceived as ''imagined sameness' features prominently in recent discourse on racism in education. Sameness is a mental quest for equality, and it argues that for immigrants to fit into Norwegian society, they must behave or be like Norwegians. To be like a Norwegian, in this context, is not about an immigrant naturalising to be a Norwegian but rather to fulfil the normal image of an ethnic Norwegian. That is to adopt certain common ethnic Norwegian cultural values, principles and functions that could socially and culturally identify immigrants a Norwegian. This logic of sameness breeds racial discrimination since it cuts out immigrants who are not able to adopt these expected values. For a group of people to see themselves as "US", then there is a parallel erection of the "Other". Purporting that as Norwegian education is built on teaching values of (tolerance, human right, humility, democracy etc), it allows immigrants who adopt these expected national values to fit into the Norwegian society whilst at the same time it creates ideas of difference towards minority groups who are not able to adopt the expected Norwegian values.

For example, in Norway, a friend of mine told me his experience. He had come from Ghana to study in Norway. A Norwegian colleague he studies with told him that at their workplace someone has quit his job and the restaurant needs extra hands, and my friend can fit since he has work experience in the kitchen. My friend rushed to the restaurant to drop a job application. Some days after, he rushes to the restaurant to restaurant see the manager when he was called. He meets several people sitting at the lunchroom close to the entrance of the restaurant.

Fortunately for him, he meets the manager of the restaurant having a coffee with some of his work colleagues. They exchanged some smiles and talk. The owner, who speaks very good English, rejects him at a spot. I am sorry, we don't need new workers now, the manager said to him. The owner later explained to the Norwegian guy who asked my friend to apply for the job at their work place that my friend wouldn't have fit there because he didn't even speak a bit Norwegian that is why he declined him since most workers in the restaurant speak norsh. This case illustrates the importance of sameness and the need to fit into a system with certain values. Because this guy couldn't speak Norwegian like the others, he was rejected. Sameness sustains cultural similarities whilst it plays down differences that people(immigrants) share and that can be a form of subtle cultural racism from language. In effect, sameness erects a hidden wall; the notion of ''We'' (Norwegians with certain specific values and norms) vs ''Them'' (immigrants without Norwegian values). This becomes an invisible fence (Gullestad, 2002) that produces subtle exclusion against racial and cultural minorities.

2.3.6 Whiteness and white supremacy

The idea of whiteness has also been one of the major discussions linked to racism in education. Whiteness is seen as a structure that drives white supremacy in education.   As learnt from the impact of colonisation and slave trade, there is a historical construction of social hierarchies with whites' groups always represented as superior to people of colour (Picowa, 2019). This post-colonial assumption invoked the idea that anything white in education is right and superior. According to Picowa (2009), whiteness has taken over the educational space; it is constructed to protect and maintain dominant and stereotypical understandings of race (Picowa, 2019) and it is historically, socially, culturally, and politically produced. Whiteness is socially constructed by post-colonial and imperialistic forces (Duhaney 2010; Fylkesnes, 2019). Whiteness as mentioned here does not mean being white by colour or having European identity but rather it involves an institutionalised and extremely entrenched, normal, and very unconcerned aspects of power relations that permits the occurrence of racism (Fylkesnes, 2019).

In other words, Whiteness defines the social order and has been accepted as a norm and standard against which everything is assessed and valued. In education whiteness are imageries and ideas that are discursively omnipresent in curriculum-related documents that is used as a benchmark and an abstract property to define and represent truth and every social order (Said, 2003; Fylkesnes, 2019). This approach to education presents distinctions and guarantees racialised discourse at school which works to uphold the culture of white supremacy and racism. In Norway, education system sometimes is consciously established to ensure multiculturalism,

diversity, and inclusivity to address the needs of students and teachers from different racial and cultural backgrounds. But this conscious attempt to improve equality and inclusion unconsciously end up reproducing whiteness and racism in education in subtle ways (Fylkesnes, 2019). This is because in Norwegian despite there is high sense of inclusion, some practices of education is grounded on western and white ideas and for such purpose white people and their ways of knowing tend to represent and dominate within and outside academic institutions. White ideas, books, literature, and theories are also often applied in the classroom and these theories are developed mostly by White theorists.

Telling my own experience on whiteness is necessary here. Being an African in a Norwegian dominated class with 6 African students and other students from Asia, Europe, and America, on my master studies, one would not doubt this class is a globally and multiculturally represented classroom. With that kind of class diversity, one expects teaching materials to be madly diverse as the learner's background. Particularly, teachers and articles that tell stories from all cultures, particularly minority stories to empower them. Unfortunately, the experience I had was not ideally what I expected. In my two years of study, I did not encounter any racial minority lecturer. The curriculum I went through on my master programme was somehow diverse but gave more attention to literature and articles that were white authored. In my two years, a handful of non-western authors were recommended to us in our readings. I remember Atapattu, who talked about human right and environment (Atapattu & Schapper, 2019). Most part of literature mainly included Gramsci's hegemony, Foucault´s theory on power and knowledge and Harvey's concept on accumulation by dispossession and global political economy by Ravenhill. Most of these authors are white and their writings represent a more western voice. Whilst I do not doubt the quality of the knowledge I obtained from the works of these white authors, I do also believe that having had access to more literature authored by non-western writers particularly Africans would have helped me and my colleague Africans who were in the class to get access to knowledge coming from our own cultures. These subtle practices mark out minority cultures at school and give excessive advantage to whites or students from western dominant cultures. This is not a passing practice or an event but rather a hegemon; a normalised behaviour and performance (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005) and a form of power that oppresses minorities by constructing white privilege, white hegemony (maintaining existing racial hierarchies in the educational system). I do not generalise my experience as something that happens in all schools, but I still think whiteness is real in some schools.

2.3 Stereotypes

Stereotyping is also another form of racism experience in education. Stereotyping is about ascribing a certain characteristic to a particular social group or an individual which could up or down the group. A person ascribes the collective characteristics associated with a particular racial or cultural group to each member of that group, discounting individual characteristics. Ida (2014) thinks that Norwegian schools reproduce racism and gender discrimination when teaching sexuality in schools. Ida cites a study done by Svendsen on Norwegian sex education. From Svendsen, in her work *sexuality in schools*, she accounted that the nature of sex education in Norway schools creates stereotypical narratives about sexuality that undermines the unspecified racialised other. In basic schools, sex is taught as coitus, and homosexuality is discussed as accepted value (cited in Ida, 2014). In teaching about sex, sex as pleasure is not the focus but the distinction between homo and hetero is sustained (Ida 2014, Svendsen, 2014). According to Ida, when Svendsen studied sexuality, particularly how sexuality is presented in the textbooks of pupils in ages of 13 to 16, she revealed that ethnicity (race) is highly embedded in the narrative of sexuality and that creates subtle racism grounded in stereotyping of unspecified others. The narrative about sexuality taught in school is often about US (liberal sexual values in Norway) and Them (non-liberal sexuality in other parts of the world, (unspecified cultures but assumed as immigrants). In this sense, sexuality is presented as free and gender equal in schools, but sexual norms presented about other cultures are depicted as oppressive, often tied to arranged marriage and intolerance of homosexuality (Ida 2014). Tolerating homosexuality and lesbianism and with a liberal position for stable gay and lesbian identities in Norwegian community is a key point in textbooks which establishes Norwegian sexuality as the right norm because it is free and gender equal.

From the example given, narrative about sexuality is presented like We Norwegians tolerate homosexuality and lesbianism and we are liberal, but the others don't, which makes the unspecified others (non-western cultures) look intolerant and primitive (Ida, 2014). The generalisation that all Norwegians are liberal to homosexuality can be misleading. Maybe, majority of the people are tolerant to it there may be others who do not tolerate.

2.4 Dealing with racism in Norwegian education (existing interventions)

Whilst anti-discrimination laws such as the international convention on elimination of racial discrimination are some of the common frameworks used to address racial discrimination, scholars have argued beyond rigid laws that are used to combat racism. A growing energy is

channelled into the adoption of values and practices that can ensure tolerance among individuals to ensure diversity in society.

Multicultural education, the dembra project and the national introduction programme in Norway are some of the interventions put in place to prevent racism and discrimination.

2.4.1 Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is a curriculum practice or teaching and learning that enables students from diverse racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds to familiarise themselves with educational equality, tolerance, and diversity (Banks, 1993, James 2005). Multicultural education is an educational reform that is sensitive to ethno-cultural differences, allowing and helping learners move beyond cultural hurdles in education, and promote cross cultural understanding between people and groups perceived as different (Banks, 1993, James, 2005). Multicultural education does not only seek the equal presence of minority students' and white students in school in terms of physical numbers but also places significant emphasis on equal recognition of white values and minority values in the school curriculum, policies, teaching items, and the general culture of the school.

Advocates of multicultural education argue that multicultural learning can promote diversity and ensure celebration of differences. Critics have also argued that adopting multicultural approach does not completely address the problem of racism and exclusion since multicultural education is just about a mild curriculum reform (Banks, 1993). Multi-cultural education only brings white culture and minority culture together in a school curriculum to ensure mere representation of cultures, but it does not mean minority cultures equally have a place in discourse. This argument lies in the assumption that in multicultural education, dominant (white) cultural norms still determine what differences are tolerable at school. This means there remain ceilings to diversity and tolerance of differences in education. For example, in Norwegian education, despite education is directed to achieve multiculturalism, Norwegian values such as humility, calmness, western individualism and middle-class mentality still define pedagogical neutrality (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017) and that reinforces white/western norms leaving out minorities.

Critics have again warned that multicultural education can offer inclusive classroom but attempt for inclusive classroom can be illusive and deceptive. Bringing racial minority students to a same class with whites and learning about their experiences are not enough. Because in

predominantly white dominated schools, racial minority students are often expected to speak for their racial or cultural group in the class, something not normally requested of white students (Timo 2010). In this sense, multicultural learning converts racial minority students into spokespersons of their racial groups instead of asking for the independent views and thinking of minority students. That can marginalise them instead of empowering them.

2.4.2 The Dembra Initiative
The dembra project is an intervention introduced to help combat prejudices, anti-Semitism, racism, and xenophobic practices in education in Norway. Dembra is a project aimed at working on the minds of young students so that they can develop a receptive and democratic understanding of the different cultures they encounter at school and society. Dembra means democratic preparedness against racism, anti-Semitism, and undemocratic attitudes. Introduced and facilitated by Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training and in cooperation with the Norwegian Centre for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities (HL-centre), the European Wergeland Centre (EWC), and Department of Teacher Education and School Research (ILS) at University of Oslo. (European Wergeland Centre, 2017).   In 2017 school leaders and teachers from 13 schools in Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, and Sweden undertook a 3-day training at Utøya to develop democratic skills that will allow teachers to engage young people in dialogue on racism and prejudices at school (European Wergeland Centre, 2017). Under the Dembra project, surveys reveal that about 52 schools across the country, including primary schools have participated in dembra (ECRI report on Norway, 2021).

2.4.3 Dembra as a reflective space
The project offers reflective environment for teachers and students to think about individual practices related to prejudices, racism, and anti-Semitism. Dembra serves as a reflective space where teachers and students who hold prejudices and negate stereotypes against religious and ethnic minorities unlearn and challenge their own views through comfortable and uncomfortable conversations. In the process of learning for tolerance, individual convictions are explored and negotiated in a mutually respectable way. This is done by learning to express our views on race and ethnicity and about immigrants and religious minorities in a more respectable manner. It is about talking race in a more positive lens to appreciate that race is not bad since it allows us to see and celebrate our difference, but racism is and must stop.

2.4.4 Dialogue

Dialogue is an important tool used under dembra project to reduce prejudices, achieve tolerance and anti-racism (Norwegian Education Directorate, 2016). It is used to replace traditional forms of discipline such as punishment (sanctions or bans). If a participant expressed his or her views on race in a more stereotypical way, he/she is encouraged to unlearn his/her views and not to be sanctioned. Before the emergence of dembra, students and teachers' attitudes were rigidly policed by laws and sanctions to contain racist behaviours. This hard approach never worked. A liberal dialogue on racism has become ideal. Workshops are some of the spaces used to hold anti-racism conversations. Teams of school heads and teachers and students meet for workshops and online cooperation. They have discussions on topics such as group-based enmity and prevention of discrimination.

2.4.5 Limitation of the dembra project

Dembra focus more on basic and secondary schools. The programme has limited target at the university level, and this may leave a larger gap between children and adults. Adults who are in higher education such as the university could equally have prejudices about others or hold racist views like children. So, educating children on democratic values in basic schools and secondary schools and with a less focus on adults at the university maybe dangerous since most children learn from these adults and they can copy some negative racist behaviours from adults. However, it is also true that children will grow to become adults in the future, since it is difficult to repair broken men, the time is now to help children develop resistance against racism and prejudices.

2.4.6 The introduction programme in Norway

The Norwegian directorate of integration and diversity has developed educational programme to enhance multiculturalism and diversity in the educational and working life of immigrants. The programme was implemented in 2003 (Ugreninov & turner, 2021). This multicultural and diversity enhancement efforts have been pursued through the social integration plan put in place to provide adaptive grounds for newly accepted refugees and immigrants in Norwegian community (Ugreninov & turner, 2021) This policy involves an introduction programme for immigrants to have Norwegian language training and social studies (education). The programme is aimed at aiding newly arrived immigrants to learn and know about Norwegian culture, learn Norwegian language and about society to ensure effective integration of people from minority backgrounds (Ugreninov & turner, 2021). This programme helps to reduce discrimination and foster inclusion of newly arrived minority groups. Whilst the values adopted from this training can help immigrants boost their integration and belongingness in the Norwegian society and enhance their education, social and working life, the programme could

also assimilate immigrants with Norwegian values to the extent that immigrants become drifted from their own values, particularly their native language, culture, and social life since they have no choice that to fit themselves into a system all cost.

2.4.7 Conceptual framework (The Human right theory)

In this study, I adopt human right framework to analyse racial discrimination. Specifically, I use the international convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (ICERD) framework.

Human right is an increasingly growing universal language that has developed with admirable strength in our society. Human right is a framework grounded on democratic practice which tends to structure a space for societies to construct a moral order for respect of individual beliefs, equality, diversity, and peace (Bradley, 2019). Human rights as given by the universal declaration of human right (UDHR) in 1948 is defined as rights all human beings have and must enjoy irrespective of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status (UDHR, 1948). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 November 1948, is perhaps the most influential human rights document to date (Timo, 2010). Its impact on national policies and laws across the world remains immeasurable, and its non-discrimination provisions have served as basis to check racism in the world. The non-discrimination provision in Article 2 of the UDHR says: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status (UDHR 1948 , Article 2).

The UDHR was adopted at a period when gross and often state-sponsored racial discrimination was very pervasive (Timo, 2010). By establishing racial purity laws that led to the extermination of lesser human beings, Germany through Nazism had shown the world how destructive an individual country culture could become without an international check (Rose, 2001). Other human abuse that inspired the establishment of human right framework includes the lynching of African Americans and the bolstering of white supremacy through the 'separate but equal' doctrine in the United States, the Apartheid regime in south Africa which aided the uneven treatment of black people, and the suppression of many Africans and Asian people by Western powers through colonialism (Timo 2010). These human threatening issues influenced the drafting of international convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, an instrument to check racial discrimination.

2.4.8 Discrimination

Racial discrimination is conceived in Article (1) of the Convention on elimination of racial discrimination as follows:

> *In this Convention, the term 'racial discrimination' shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms*

in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life (ICERD, 1965,
Article 1).

This definition of racial discrimination by ICERD is however, now the leading definition of racial discrimination in international human rights documents (Timo, 2010). The definition is very complex. It is complex in the sense that it contains several different terms, which makes it quite difficult to analyse and apply. From the definition, racial discrimination is said to have occurred on the basis that an infringement based on racial' grounds must have put an individual or a group at a disadvantage.

In determining whether discrimination has occurred, the Committee generally applies the test of legitimacy: a difference in treatment is deemed to be discrimination if the criteria for such a distinction are not considered legitimate when measured against the objectives and purposes of the Convention (Timo, 2010). In any event, how discrimination is conceived in the Convention is broad, for any action deliberately intended to violate the rights of a person or group on racial grounds constitutes racial discrimination, even if the intended results never occur. The making of a distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference may also amount to an act of racial discrimination, even if the resulting violation of rights or freedoms was not intended.

Also, the ICERD describes in exhaustive detail the grounds on which discrimination occurs. This includes discrimination based on race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin. However, none of these terms were defined in the convention, nor has the CERD Committee made any convincing recommendations regarding the clarity of these terms. The lack of clarity with the actual meanings of the terms used in the definition of racial discrimination makes it difficult to labelling an issue or act as racial discrimination or not. For example, in the 1991 case Diop v. France, the CERD found that a French law stipulating that only citizens of France could become lawyers did not violate the Convention because refusing admission to the legal profession is not discriminatory (Timo, 2010). CERD held that there was no violation of the Convention because a French law providing that only French nationals could be admitted to the profession of lawyer in France was based on nationality and not on any of the grounds enumerated in Article 1 in the Convention. Nevertheless, the Committee, through its jurisprudence and general comments, reiterated the need for non-citizens to also be protected from racial discrimination. The Committee also noted that citizenship cannot be used to justify racial discrimination (Timo 2010). Example above reveal the difficulty in using ICERD as a guide to establish a particular action as racial discrimination despite the action is a threat to one´s nationality.

Whilst anti-Semitic incidents in Europe played a crucial role in the adoption of the ICERD, the Convention itself does not prohibit discrimination based on religion. Meaning that such discrimination is left to other international instruments. Given the close link between ethnic or national origin and linguistic and religious differences, difficult questions inevitably arise in relation to the drawing of boundaries (Timo, 2010). However, it is clear, both in the light of Article 1 and CERD practise, that multiple discrimination involving discrimination on grounds of religion, language, sex, age or other grounds falls within the scope of the Convention insofar as it also involves discrimination on grounds of race, colour, descent or ethnic or national origin (Timo, 2010). Despite, these complexities surrounding the meaning and understanding of ICERD, I still guide the study with the framework because it is a framework that draws boundaries on what constitutes racial discrimination and what does not.

2.4.9 Types of racial discrimination

To understand the types of racial discrimination, we need to understand discrimination. According to JURK (2019), discrimination can be considered the same as treating people differently without just cause. It means that a person is treated unfairly without any reasonable justification. Discrimination means that one person or group is not given the same rights and opportunities as others. There are two types of racial discrimination under human rights law: direct and indirect racial discrimination.

2.4.10 Direct discrimination

Direct discrimination occurs when for a reason a person is treated less favourably than another person or another group of persons due to race, or culture etc. To prove direct racial discrimination, it is important to prove that someone from a different group who, in similar circumstances, has been, or would have been, treated more favourably than you. Direct discrimination can be openly displayed prejudices, harassments, bullying and slurs or hate speeches, and crimes (JURK, 2019 & ICERD, 1965). Direct discrimination may also take place when, for example, an employer tells a job applicant that he will not hire people belonging to a certain minority because he considers them to be unreliable or because he fears that his business will be damaged because his clients or customers does not accept people with an ethnic minority background (Timo 2010).

2.4.11 Indirect discrimination

Indirect discrimination occurs when a rule, policy, or practise disadvantages one person over another (JURK, 2019). It may occur through institutional, systemic practices that have developed over time. It can also occur through unconscious and conscious behaviour of individuals. Indirect racial discrimination may occur where a rule, criterion, or practice, which on the face of it is neutral, but unreasonably disadvantages persons of a particular ethnic origin. This could be the case, for example, where an employer advertises vacancies in a newspaper which is read only or mainly by persons belonging to the ethnic majority, or where the employer requires a successful candidate to speak the national language as his or her mother tongue, a requirement which clearly discriminates against immigrants

Discrimination, whether direct or indirect, is prohibited under international human rights law (ICERD, 1965, UDHR, 1948).

2.4.12 Equality and non-discrimination

Equality is one of those troubling concepts about who's meaning nearly everyone has an opinion, but no one has a universally accepted theory. Ronald Dworkin called equality "popular, but mysterious political ideal" and George Fletcher describe it "the simplest and complex idea that shapes evolution law" (cited in Timo, 2010). Debate about equality is usually not about whether one is for or against equality, but about what form of equality one favours. Equality is measured by comparing a certain element of a person (such as income or money or happiness or freedom or opportunity or rights or need fulfilment) with the same aspect of another person," argues Amartya Sen (cited in Timo, 2010). While Amartya Sen's approach to equality is valuable, it is very limiting because equality does not have to be viewed solely in terms of individualism: The comparisons that equality judgments imply can happen between groups as well. The central challenge is people can have equal political and other rights, equal opportunities, equal income, and equal happiness in their lives, and have their community-based cultural and religious requirements served equally, but they cannot have all these things at the same time. People can, in fact, become equal (or at least more equal) in one aspect while becoming unequal (or more unequal) in others (Timo, 2010).   For example, people with the same income, will almost likely have varying levels of pleasure with their life. As a result, all communities and political ideologies committed to the ideal of equality must decide which kind of equality will prevail in the end.

Equality and non-discrimination are key elements of international human right law. Particularly, moral equality is at the heart of establishing human right (UDHR, 1948; Timo,

2010). Moral equality refers to who people are rather than what they have or should have (Timo, 2010). It conveys the idea that all people are morally equal, regardless of their individual features. This argument is central to the concept of human rights, which emphasizes that all people are equal in dignity and worth. In describing this goal, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is very straightforward: the famous Article 1 of the UDHR declares that

> *"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights,", The preamble further emphasises, that "the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all human beings is the "foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world".* (Universal Declaration of Human right, 1948, Article 1)

These principles are also reaffirmed in other important human rights instruments, including the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and International Covenant on Civil and political rights, and the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, and the (Timo 2010). To emphasis the dignity of all human beings implies that moral equality is at the centre of human right. Moral equality is an assertion about what people are, not about what they have or should have. It conveys the idea that people are of equal moral worth irrespective of their characteristics. Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that all persons should enjoy human rights

> **"***Without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status***. "** (UDHR, 1948, Article 2).

From this definition, the right to equal treatment and non-discrimination requires that all persons be treated same before the law, without any mistreatment based on their race or culture etc. The principle of equality and non-discrimination demand that those in equal circumstances are dealt with equally in law and practice (UDHR, 1948). Though, it is also essential to point out that not every distinction or differential treatment in will amount to discrimination or racism.

2.4.13 International convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (ICERD)

The ICERD is a human right instrument adopted by United Nations general assembly to help combat racial discrimination (ICERD, 1965). The ICERD was adopted and opened for signature by the United Nations General Assembly on 21 December 1965 and entered into force on 4 January 1969. As of 2010, the convention was one of the most widely ratified human rights instruments in the world: by January 2010, 173 countries altogether had ratified the Convention.

In April 2019, the convention has 88 signatories and 182 parties (ICERD 1965, Bradley 2019). Preparations for the Convention commenced in the 1960s, prompted primarily by the need to respond to and condemn some forms of discrimination, especially colonialism and discriminations that emerges from apartheid, segregation and other "government policies that are based on racial superiority or hatred" (ICERD, 1948). The convention also later extended its check on Nazism and fascism and their possible re-emergence.

According to Timo (2010) two key objectives guided the drafting of the convention (1) to ensure international condemnation of systematic, often state-sponsored, expressions of racism, racial superiority and related phenomena including apartheid and colonialism, and (2) combat individual and groups actions that inspire racial discrimination, as well as putting a check on organisations that foster the spread of racial hatred and acting on that basis.

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) is the body of independent experts that monitors implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination by its State parties (ICERD, 1965). All States parties are required by the CERD to submit regular reports on how the rights are being implemented. States must report initially one year after acceding to the Convention and then every two years (ICERD, 1965). The Committee examines each report and addresses its concerns and recommendations to the State party in the form of "concluding observations (ICERD, 1965)". The ICERD treaty sets out four main responsibilities for the committee including: Examining States Parties' reports (article 9); to consider inter-State communications (arts 11-13); to consider individual communications (article 14); and to assist other UN bodies in their review of petitions from inhabitants of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and reports of those territories (Timo 2010).

2.4.14 Application of ICERD

The Convention contains a wide range of obligations. Articles 2 and 5 are the most important operative paragraph of the Convention and sets out the main obligations that States have and the rights they should use the icerd to combat racism. I use this table to highlight some part of the document (article 2. and 5) to show the operative paragraphs of the convention and the scope of state obligations.

Table 2: Outline on how the ICERD is applied

Article 2.1	Under Article 2(1), States agree to condemn racial discrimination and to pursue "by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and promoting understanding among all races" and to take a variety of measures to give the Convention effect. In subparagraphs (a)–(e) they specifically undertake (a) to refrain from engaging in racial discrimination, (b) not to sponsor, defend or support racial discrimination by any person or organisation, (c) to review policies and amend, rescind or nullify laws and regulations which have the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination, (d) to prohibit and bring to an end racial discrimination by any persons, groups or organisations, by all appropriate means, including legislation as required by circumstances, (e) to encourage, where appropriate, integrationist multiracial organisations and to discourage anything which tends to strengthen racial division. The thrust of sub-paragraph (d), the subject area of which is of the outmost importance for our purposes, is somewhat compromised by the references indicating that the means used should be 'appropriate' and that there is an obligation to adopt anti-discrimination legislation only where circumstances so require, as these two qualifications allow states to defend their choice not to enact legislation by claiming that legislation would not be the appropriate response to the situation or that the situation is not so grave as to warrant its adoption. In this context the CERD Committee has simply opined that the bottom line is that the equal enjoyment of rights and freedoms. The Committee has nevertheless called for "comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation … in particular in the fields of housing, health care, social security (including pensions), education and access to public services".126 Like subparagraph (d), subparagraph (e) is compromised by the addition of the phrase 'where appropriate' and vague language; factors that can potentially

	The substantive scope of the ICERD is more fully addressed in Article 5 of the Convention, which enumerates a broad but non-exhaustive list of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights to the enjoyment of which the prohibition of discrimination applies. The list includes, inter alia, the following rights;
Scope of application **Article 5**	a. The right to equal treatment before organs administering justice. b. The right to security of person and protection by the State against violence or bodily harm. c. Political rights, in particular the right to participate in elections (to vote and to stand for election) d. Right to freedom of movement; – the right to housing. e. The right to education and training. f. The rights to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, to protection against unemployment, to equal pay for equal work, to just and favourable remuneration; – the right to marriage and the choice of spouse; – g. The right of access to any place or service intended for use by the general public, such as transport, hotels, restaurants, theatres and parks; and – the right to inherit.

(ICERD, 1965, p4; Timo, 2010)

2.4.15 The implementation of the ICERD in Norway

Norway is a democratic society; inclusive and multicultural (Ibrahim 2019, Ombud, 2014, Gullestad, 2005). The country does not tolerate racism. Racism is a criminal act in Norwegian constitution. Section 135a of the Norwegian Penal Code prohibits a person from threatening, insulting, or subjecting to hatred, persecution or contempt, any person or group of persons because of their creed, race, colour or national or ethnic origin.   Before Norway's first ratification of the ICERD in the 1970, there was a legal framework in place that checks racial discrimination. It was the 1902 general penal code 135 (cited in Temperman & Koltay, 2017). This legal framework mandates Norwegian court of law to convict individuals who engages in hate speeches stemming from religious prejudices (Temperman &Koltay, 2017). The legislation was put in place to enhance freedom of expression and limit hate speeches that drives religious discrimination. In 1970, a new paragraph 135(a) was introduced to the 1902 penal code, which was a paragraph devoted to combat racism. In that same year, Norway had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and had incorporated the ICERD in the Norwegian Anti-Discrimination Act (Temperman & Koltay, 2017).

After the ratification of the ICERD, Norway, through its parliament has implemented anti-discrimination laws and policies to protect individuals from racial discrimination. The Norwegian constitution has a provision that protect people from discrimination.

Article 98 of the constitution states that "all people are equal under the law and that no human being must be subjected to unfair or disproportionate differential treatment". This law prohibits all forms of discrimination (Linløkken, 2018, p.7, Constitution of Norway, Article 98). Since the Norwegian constitution does not permit discrimination in any form and is guided by human right principles, the constitution gives effective platform to implement international human right policies that seeks to curb racial discrimination.

The Norwegian parliament has passed various anti-discrimination acts to ensure the elimination of racial discrimination. According to Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the country's parliament (Stortinget) passed Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act in June 2017 and this act was entered into force on 1 January 2018. The act prohibits discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, religion, belief, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, age, or combinations of these factors.

2.4.16 Who enforces anti-discrimination discrimination laws in Norway?

The anti-discrimination legislation is enforced by special enforcement agencies in Norway; the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud and the Norwegian Equality Tribunal (Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2017). The equality and anti-discrimination Ombud are an independent body that represent those who have experience discrimination and provides reports on racial discrimination and equality issues in Norway which is forwarded by the state to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) at the United Nations (Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2107). The Ombud gives guidance on the anti-discrimination legislation and ensures that Norwegian legislation and administrative practice are consistent with CEDAW and CERD etc. The Norwegian equality tribunal founded in 2006 also engages in matters that promote equality. Some extremely serious forms of discrimination are regulated in the General Civil Penal Code and enforced by the prosecuting authorities such as the court and police (Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2017). Besides, the Norwegian National Human Rights Institution

was established in 2015 with a responsibility to promote and protect human rights. The Norwegian national human rights institution was established in 2015 with the responsibility to promote and protect human rights (Ministry of foreign Affairs, 2019). In 2017, it received 'A status' accreditation from GANHRI, meaning it is in full compliance with the Paris Principles. Its annual budget has increased considerably since 2015 to promote human right education in Norway and help spread democratic values to combat discrimination (Norwegian Ministry of foreign Affairs, 2019).

2.4.17 The implementation of convention on elimination of racial discrimination in Norwegian Education

The Norwegian government have taken steps for the implementation of international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (ICERD) in education to address issues of discrimination, and to ensure inclusiveness, equality, and non-discrimination (Royal Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination published in 2017 states that Government confronts racial discrimination in education through preparedness. Preparedness is about educating individuals on basic democratic values that can help them to confront racism and antisemitism.   To achieve this objective, the government established an advisory council in the university college and university sectors to deal with matters related to public security and preparedness. The work of the council was to explore actions that could be relevant to manage radicalisation and violent extremism. The council was to have participants from state and private universities/university colleges, vocational schools, folk high schools, and student associations (Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination).

Besides, significant research has been conducted on antisemitism in Norway, and the Government aids research organisations that are active in the field ((Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2017). In 2018, several doctoral/postdoctoral positions were funded in education by government with a focus on group-based prejudices (Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination). The aim was to improve teacher and student skill and augment the long-term effort of raising awareness in schools. The projects were announced by the Research Council of Norway and at least one of the projects was to tackle antisemitism. In Schools, learning resources cover lessons on hate

speech, antisemitism, racism, discrimination against minorities and undemocratic attitudes ((Norway's 23rd/24th report under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2017). The outcome of this interventions is that it has helped reduced the occurrence of hate speeches, racism in the education and in society. For instance, in 2011, Norway witnessed the Breivik bomb massacre of 77 people due to his anti-multicultural stand and his hate for Muslims and racial minorities but since the introduction of dembra project the country has not witnessed such excessive racist human brutality again. This does not mean racism has stopped.

2.4.18 Challenges with the implementation of ICERD

Norway is still facing difficulties in implementing the ICERD Convention, but the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud Act has been effective in combating discrimination in the country, though more things need to be done. There are some limitations with the implementation of ICERD in Norway. For example, the word ''race'' is missing in the Norwegian constitution. In the recommendations of ICERD's twenty third and twenty fourth periodic reports on Norway, concerns were raised on the absence of the term race in the Norwegian constitution. This concern was raised to make a point that effective implementation of ICERD without race captured in the law that is meant to address racial discrimination could be a hindrance to efforts to addressing racism. Authorities in Norway are also of the opinion that to combat racism, it is imperative to do away with the idea that people can be divided into races (Norway's 23rd and 24[th]ICERDreport, 2017). This, however, does not mean race do not exist (LinlØkken, 2018). The lack recognition of race in the Norwegian constitution has contributed to the existing silence on racial issues in Norway. The silence on the word race in Norwegian law has impacted people's attitude to do less research on racism in education since people feel reluctant and do not show so much interest in a word that is not even recognised by law. This may explain why there is limited academic research done on racism in Norway as compared to other areas like environment and ecological issues.

<div align="center">**3.0 Chapter three**</div>

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods used for collection of data and analysis. Methodology is an important feature of research because it shows how research is done and increase the trustworthiness of research findings. Under the methodology, I discuss the research design, sampling, data collection and analysis, interviews, coding, reliability and trustworthiness, and ethics. I will also highlight the challenges and strength faced during the data collection.

3.1.2 Research Design

The study adopted a qualitative approach to investigate the racial discrimination experiences of Africans and African Norwegians in education. Whilst the qualitative approach is the main design, a secondary source of information through reports, journals/articles were used. Particularly, in the literature review section, a huge amount of information on racism, human right and the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), were used to complement the qualitative design.

3.1.3 Qualitative method

The use of qualitative approach to research is a significant choice in data and information gathering. Cohen (2018) advises that qualitative study allows us to explore situations into the depth to have understanding on social structures, individuals experience as well as the environments in which we research. In this sense, Cohen et.al (2018) puts that, in qualitative study the interviewer (researcher) is involved in an interaction with participants and the construction of meaning through gathering opinions and views of participants about a topic or subject.

3.1.4 The relationship between qualitative method and the topic understudy

The topic *racism* is a complex and sensitive topic when one intends to research into sensitive and complex issues because some people want to talk about an issue whereas others do not want to talk about it. Therefore, a researcher's ability to solicit or construct useful data from participants on topic like racism depends on the fluid relationship and active conversation that will be constructed between the researcher and the participants. It is in this perspective that qualitative study is adopted, since the use of qualitative method allows open conversation or guarantees an incredibly open interaction between the researcher and participants during

interview to extract needed information. It also put the people researched at the centre of research since their experiences are essential to any findings obtained.

3.1.5 Data collection and analysis

In data collection, I used both personal interviews and online-interview to collect data. The usage of qualitative interview in research implies that data is somehow external to the researcher and knowledge can be generated between humans, usually through conversation (Cohen, 2018). Interviews become an interchange or exchange of ideas between two or more people on a mutual subject of interest. During interviews, there is a researcher (interviewer) who is seeking to construct knowledge about a topic, and the researched (interviewee); the person who the researcher thinks has something to offer or have answers or knowledge about a given subject.

3.1.6 Personal interview

I adopted personal interviews during data collection. Personal interview is face-to-face contact between the interviewer & interviewee. This method permits a physical interaction between only the interviewer and interviewee/interviewee and their environment.

During the one-on-one interviewing, I adopted tools that are in line with semi-structured interview. A semi-structured interview usually has an interview guide which includes specified questions and topics to be covered (Cohen, 2018). I had in my hand a set of structured questions prepared in advance. This set of questions was not prepared to rigidly police the interview process but was rather to give parameters to the interview such that I and the interviewee would not lose focus on why we scheduled the interview. In other words, the semi-structured approach had some degree of predetermined order but allows effective conversation and flexibility in ways issues are addressed (Bryman, 2016&Dunn, 2010). I chose this method because I could enter the interview with several questions and overarching themes about the subject that needed to be covered, whilst at the same time letting the interview to flow in a natural way by allowing the respondent to lead and steer the path of the interview. This process allowed me to uncover participants thought and importantly talk about, participants' concerns and ideas, as opposed to the preconceived notions that I might have had before the interview. The semi-structured approach gave me some flexibility, such that I could add/omit questions or change the order or form of questions if needed.

Generally, the interviews with students and administrators were done on 15th October 2020 through to 20th December 2020. The interview with teachers and administrators was done in

10 March, 2021 through 1st April, 2021. I interviewed 10 of the participants face to face in a coffee shop. I spent 2hours with each participant during the interviewing in coffee shop whilst I was in my nose mask. During interviews, I did a separate interview for students, teachers, and administrators. I did the interview at each participant's convenience and agreed time. I collected and recorded the data on both a sheet of paper and on mobile audio recording device.

3.1.7 Online interview

I also supported data collection process with online interviews. Online interview is now a widely alternative means of data collection in qualitative research, and it is the use of digital platform particularly the internet systems to conduct interviews (Cohen et.al 2018). Due to the Covid-19 pandemic which led to physical contact and mobility challenges, I chose to reach some of the participants on Zoom. 8 participants were interviewed on zoom. This helped me to reach participants who had busy schedules and those who did not want to have physical contact but still wanted to participate in the study. The views of participants were recorded and saved on a mobile audio recorder during the zoom interview. This was real time interviews (synchronous) through the internet. Each interview done on zoom took a period of 2 hours within the convenience of each participant as already done during physical contact interviews. I mainly conducted the interview in English since most of my participants could speak English and I also speak English. There was no pressure to adopt a translator.

3.1.8 How was the interview recorded?

I recorded most part of the interview with mobile audio recorder and through note taking on a sheet of paper. There was a consensus between me and participants on the use of audio recorder and to take notes during the interviews. I explained to each participant about the confidentiality and privacy of the audio file, and how their data will be stored, protected, and use for this research study. The use of the audio recorder was advantageous. It allowed the flow of conversation and helped to maintain participant's attention during the interviews. It also speeds up the data gathering process.

Most of the information provided by participants was stored on the recorder and in an audio file format. This increased the reliability of data. I was able to capture specific quotes from participants without missing relevant information and points. The limitation of the use of audio recorder was that some information such as gestures and body language could not be captured on audio recorder. But this limitation was addressed through note taking. Also interview climate was an issue. Since I did some of the interviews in a coffee shop, the location of the interview affected the quality of some few data due to little background noise. This made the transcribing

of some of the data a bit difficult. However, majority of data collected sounded clear, quality, and reliable.

Also, some of the participants were psychologically affected by the presence of the audio recorder and this potentially affected the responses of participants. At the beginning of interview, participants were more careful and formal in their responses due to the presence of a recorder but as we continued the interview, they gave natural response without thinking about the recorder. Participants who did not like to be recorded, I asked for their permission of notetaking, and they agreed. However, note taking had its own limitations. Some of the data were not captured. I had to do keyword-based note taking to get the most relevant data captured. With note taking, it slowed down the pace of interview since in the process I needed to pause an interview for a while and note down a participant's thoughts and bod expressions. But since I had the responsibility to take notes, I did pay so much attention to details of every conversation and that was lively. After each interview, I noted down a summary of thoughts and feelings of each participant on the subject.

3.1.9 Coding

With coding, I engaged in a first process by getting to know the data collected. The audio data were carefully listened to and examined to validate its clarity. I listened to the audio file repeatedly and started transcribing interviews to a paper. I listened to the audio over and over to find out the context of the statements that aims to interpret essential meanings from key words or phrases to organise the main ideas and themes and the statements that aims to interpret essential meanings from key words or phrases. The main ideas were elaborated to identify the themes. After transferring data from audio into text, I coded all the text data. Coding is the ascription of a category label to a piece of data in response to the data that have been collected (Cohen et. al 2018). In this study thematic coding system was adopted to ensure that there was a careful, detailed, and systematic categorisation of text data into common themes and patterns and identifiable meaning across the different data set. I broke down segments of text data into smaller units based on themes. I focused on spotted special statements, repeated statements, key words, and phrases about the phenomenon which reveal something essential about participant's experiences of racial discrimination. To find the theme, I compared interview questions, key words and main ideas. Key findings were concluded on common ideas and consistent themes. The categorisation of data set into themes was done in connection with the demands of the research questions. Coding enhanced clarity of data and patterning of ideas. It also contributed

to cutting down biases in data set. This produced a quality and reliable data. To have a sense and correct feeling of the final set of data, I read through the transcript repeatedly.

3.1.10 Participants

The study used a sample size of eighteen (18) people. All participants were people who have been in norway for at least 4years and have some form of diverse experiences in the norwegian society and education. Participants were students, teachers, and administrators of african descent and in higher education. Conducting this research on participants in higher education opened a door for people of colour affiliated with university life in norway to share their own experiences on racial discrimination. I interviewed 14 students, 2 teachers and 2 administrators from 4 selected elite universities in oslo. I recruited participants through purposive sampling, a sampling strategy that allowed me to select a particular group of people whose experiences were relevant to the subject understudy. Purposive sampling strategically derives its sample from the objective of research as it indicates the areas and categories or units to focus on in a study by allowing a fixed set of criteria and a reasonable sample size for data collection (Bryman, 2016). Participants used in the study can be described as 'different' from ethnic Norwegians based on their skin colour, facial features, race, ethnicity, or religion. To say, some of the participants were African – Norwegians (people with both Norwegian and African descent and some were Africans (people with only African descent). I selected Africans and African Norwegians from these four countries (Somalia, Kenya, Ghana, and Ethiopia) as participants. I used both males and females. All the participants are over 18 years of age. Their diverse backgrounds contributed to a quality research outcome on racism that fairly represents the views of people of African descent in some selected Norwegians universities.

3.1.11 Ethical considerations

Ethics is concerned with attempts to formulate and put into action the principles and codes of research behaviour, that is what researchers should do and what they should not do (Cohen et al 2018). Racism is a sensitive subject, and it has emotional and physical consequences. Therefore, the observation of ethics is relevant to the quality and reliability of study findings.

The lack of observation of basic research ethics could create conditions that would hamper the collection of data and findings. Several ethical principles were observed throughout the study.

3.1.12 Participant Consent

An agreement, in a form of written contract and oral/verbal agreement was made with the participants to gain their consent before taking part in this study. This allowed participants to voluntarily take part in the interview without been compelled. Whilst participants had the right to take part in the study, there was also an agreement on the right to withdraw from the study. Some participants agreed to take part in the study but later decided that they would not take part due to personal reasons. Those people terminated their participation without any difficulties.

3.1.13 Anonymity and confidentiality:

In this study, there was a priority to protect research participants' identity and their data. Any sensitive information that could harm participants were deleted and some were anonymised. I removed all identifiers from the data including participants name, positions, and name of schools, phone number and address. I solicited the consent of participants when there was the need to include any sensitive information. Participants right to privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity were highly respected. This prevents readers from identifying the various participants in the study. As part of confidentiality and anonymity, I also deleted all interview recordings from my mobile audio device and the data recorded on paper. This was done to prevent a third-party access to the data that could possibly harm participants. Research must protect participants and not harm participants in anyway (Audrey Trainor & Kate Ahlgren Bouchard 2013)

3.1.14 Power

During interviews on racism, I ethically managed power issues that came up. Fairclough (1989) argues that in qualitative interviews power can be controlling and could constrain the contributions of non-powerful participants in discourse by powerful participants. In one of the interviews an interviewee registered his displeasure ''……*Can you stop this lengthy recording*''. He expressed a feeling of reluctance to go on or continue with the interview because he has been controlled by a recorder. This feeling of reluctance manifested on the

interviewee's face and in his voice sluggishly. I immediately explained to the interviewee that the recording is to help me do transcription after the interview. I had to convince and assured the interviewee that I shall faithfully observe the regulations in the consent form and delete the recording and all data after the study. The overt display of feelings of discomfort with the use of recording device to control participants during the interview reflects a dimension of power that Lukes talked about. Lukes said in the discharge of power, one party can coerce another person in a manner contrary to the person's interest, and this coercion could be applied covertly or overtly (Lukes, 1974). Power issues may occur through uneven direct confrontations between parties where control is explicitly displayed, and power is open (Lukes 1974).

3.1.15 Reciprocity

Research should not be a theft or exploitation of people's ideas and experiences. The knowledge and the outcome of research should be exchanged with participants. Reciprocity is an ethical practice where a researcher gives something back to participants in return of participation in research (Cohen, 2018; Audrey Trainor & Kate Ahlgren Bouchard, 2013)

I shared the interview findings with the participants as a form of feedback. This was done to help participants know what is registered about them and the kind of data I have of them. Any feedback I got from participants regarding biases and sensitive information, I removed it. The interview findings were also shared with participants so that it can be accessible and help to improve the conditions and experiences of the people researched. I will also give an electronic copy of the final research paper to the participants so that they can also have a fair knowledge on the conclusions in the research.

3.1.16 Reliability and trustworthiness

Reliability and trustworthiness are terms used to define the validity, dependability, and credibility of study findings over time. In this study, to ensure the reliability and trustworthiness of the study, I effectively applied the assumptions underpinning qualitative research (Cohen, 2018). One of the ways I demonstrated validity is to make sure I ground my discussions on the views of participants instead of relying on my own views. Agar 1993 in Cohen (2018) argues that the validity of qualitative research must be grounded on perspectives of people researched. I also employed interviews which was a qualitative study instrument to ensure that an

environment was created to dig into the feelings and experiences of those who experience racism. I used 18 people and a smaller sample size may affect generalisation and transferability of findings. However, the different views and experienced gathered through the lifeworld's and the context within which this study is done makes it possible to generalise the outcome of the results.

3.1.17 Positionality

Positionality expresses ways our individual beliefs, values, racial and religious positions affect our neutrality in doing research (Rowe, 2014). Positionality influences both how research is conducted, its outcomes, and results (Rowe, 2014). Research on racism is an emotive and sensitive construct. in this research, I was very conscious on how my racial background, personal values, and experiences would not affect what I do and analyse in the study. I did not allow my racial identity, as a person of colour; become a source of bias to my data analysis on racism. Views of participants were fairly analysed as collected. I also took away my bias glass about white people when I stepped into the study. Growing up in Ghana, I heard about how white people are racist towards blacks in Europe. This was a perception I held for long time, an already formed notion that white people do not like blacks because of their different skin colour. In my early days in Norway, I was incredibly careful of getting close to white people because I did not want to suffer any racial abuse. Such already formed notion prevented me from seeing the diversity and inclusive part of Norway. It was until I started my studies at NMBU through group works and social programs that I realised I had a wrong view about Norwegian society and white people on racism. I had to remove this negative spectacle about white people being racist from my mind and eye and faced the society with some form of objectivity and neutrality. This self-realisation helped me to navigate through the study without difficulties. I was able to solicit help from white supervisors, Norwegians, and everyone as well as analysing data in a non-biased manner.

3.2 Challenges and strength

Methodological challenge: In conducting research on 'race' and ethnicity, a key struggle in social theory stems from how to theorise and research social identities and relations of 'race' (Anne Flintoff, 2015). Anne (2015) argues that the concept of race is tied to identity. Due to that, racism is a 'slippery subject. Racial identity is used to describe both our sense of 'who we are', and our sense of 'social place and belonging. Symbiotically, it implies that who we are and where we belong are connected (Anne Flintoff, 2015)'. Since issues of racism are tied to

descent, race, culture, religion, and ethnicity which are our social locations or where individuals belong and their identity, researching into racism is challenging and slippery. For example, it was difficult for me to engage some participants for interviews from the start because some participants rejected my request to interview them simply because they do not want to talk about issues of race and religion. They are not comfortable talking about racism, so they prefer not take part in the study.

3.2.2 Soft fear and little threats

Also, my fear to do a research on racism and pronounce that there is racism or no racism in Norwegian education weighed on me because I had a feeling that as a black person in a white society even if my findings are valid and suggest that there are racism experiences in Norway schools, there would be others, particularly people that do not belong to my race, who would perceive me as someone accusing an inclusive Norwegian society and its schools as racist spaces. And if I reach a finding of no racism, there are others who may also argue that you do not even care about what people of colour go through, how can you research racism and find no racism? Walking between these opposing tensions generated a little fear, it weighed on me and did put me in a more careful and objective position. I wondered throughout the study which findings I may reach and the reaction I will receive from others who do not share my findings. For instance, a participant told me that he does not understand why I should do research on racism since racism is a sensitive topic and if I don't take care, if a white examiner marks my paper and that examiner is bias, he could give me a bad grade especially if I conclude in my research that there is racism in Norwegian education. I remember, I spoke to a friend of mine who is a teacher in Norway, he would ask me, ''*why are you doing research on racism, be careful and make sure you do not get bad grade because no one likes to talk about racial issues here''*. In his head trying to research racism is a problem and since people do not talk about it, if I start talking about it, they will silence me with a bad grade. If this is ideally the mentality around racism, then no one would talk about racism and the issue would persist and continue to be destructive to many. This statement by the teacher is a symptom of adult silence on racism in Norway, if a teacher who has the power to transmit knowledge fears to even talk about racism; then I wonder whether a lay person on the street who is without that power can challenge racism. In all these subtle threats, I did not listen to him because on my part, I choose not to be silent on racism issues. These slippery and soft threatening comments from friends put some little fear in me at the start of the research but I did not give up because I knew researching racism would be challenging but the outcome will be socially rewarding since the findings are

aimed to transform a society into a better place where we can all live peacefully by accepting our racial and cultural differences in a much healing way.

3.2.3 COVID-19 and research

Another challenge I faced is doing research in a time of pandemic. I had to change few ideas on how to carry out the research when the physical setting and environment to carry out research were no more or limited. I could not meet some of the participants physically due to COVID-19 restrictions on social distancing, so I had to reschedule my interview time, again and again with some participants through Zoom. Some participants honoured the zoom meeting whilst others did not. Despite Zoom meeting is cost effective in terms of time and money, it also comes with some negative ethical, practical, and interactional issues since it is internet technology. There were experiences of dropped calls and pauses, poor audio or sound quality, and the difficulty to read nonverbal signals because of breakups. But these challenges did not stop me from taking the interviews. Participants who I interviewed on zoom were 10 (two teachers, two administrators and 6 students. The participants were calmer. On zoom we were more time-conscious than those I interviewed physically. With those who I met physically; in a coffee shop, there were little noise here and there from other customers at the shop but at the same time it was lively, and we had conversations that exceeded the scheduled time. Participants were more prepared to contribute. However, during physical interview, each one of us had glued our mouths with nose masks to prevent ourselves from contracting Covid 19. These nose masks upon seeing them would impose a task on me to trigger a conversation on covid-19 than even racism. I was careful not to lose focus on the subject since the issue of covid was like clouds in everyone's head. There was fear among participants because some were too concerned about not contracting COVID-19 than even to talk to me about the subject of racism. Every five minutes, I and participant had to position our nose masks well on our mouths which distracted the interview process sometimes. It was difficult since situations like this force you to minimise the duration of the interview.

3.2.4 Strength

My identity as an African helped me during the interviews. I had many friends who are from Africa, so they recommended some of the participants I interviewed to me. These participants recommended fall under the category of sampling that guides this study. Some participants declined their participation in the interview due to personal reasons. Others also honoured the interview as planned. Whilst I had already reminded the participants on their right to

confidentiality and anonymity in the study, some of the participants were still critical on me that I should make sure their data is deleted after the study as indicated in the consent form. I did comply with the feelings expressed by these participants.

Through the study, I accumulated so much knowledge about racism and human right. I have understood racism beyond the colour level. This understanding allowed me to separate my feelings and emotions about my black race from my discussion of issues on racial discrimination. I have learnt to interact with people in a better way, with patience and with neutrality and fairness. I believe that these experiences have helped me to produce this piece of work devoid of bias. I hope my experience in this research will reflect better in this research and any future research I take on racism and human right.

4.0 Chapter four

4.1 Findings and discussion

The findings in this study have been organized according to the demands of the three main research questions asked in the study. The findings have been reported in themes and discussed. I have used #P1 to #P18 to reference participants for easy identification and clarity on presentation of participants´ thoughts. This will also ensure anonymity. I am using **#P1**, through to…**#P18** to reference the participants because eighteen (18) people participated in the study out of a target participant population of twenty-five (25). Seven (7) people declined participation in the study due to their personal reasons and COVID 19 issues. Both men and women took part in the interview. **#P1** through to **#P14** is the views of students of African descent. **#P15** and **#P16** contains the views of teachers. **#P17** and **#P18** contains the views of administrators. The directly quoted views of participants are captured in italics. The broader objective of the research is to explore whether Africans and African Norwegians in education (university) have experiences of racial discrimination or not.

Table 2: Profile of participants and summary of their racial experiences

Number	Country of Origin	Age	Education	Gender	Position	Racism Experience
#P1	Kenyan-Norwegian	23	Bachelors	Male	Student,	Colour racism
#P2	Somali-Norwegian	29	Master	Male	Student	Colour Racism
#P3	Ghanaian-Norwegian	26	Bachelor	Female	Student	Colour Racism
#P4	Somali-Norwegian	27	Master	Female	Student	Colour Racism
#P5	Ethiopian	22	Bachelor	Male	Student	Racial stereotype & prejudice
#P6	Kenyan	28	Master	Female	Student	Religious stereotype& prejudice
#P7	Ghanaian	28	Master	Female	Student	Religious Stereotype & Prejudice
#P8	Somali	30	Master	Male	Student	Religious Stereotype and Prejudices
#P9	Ghanaian	23	Bachelor	Female	Student	Whiteness
#P10	Somali					
#P11	Somali	23	Bachelor	Female	Student	Whiteness
#P12	Ghanaian	30	Master	Male	Student	Whiteness
#P13	Somali	23	Bachelor	Female	Student	No Racial discrimination
#P14	Kenyan	32	Master	Male	Student	No racial discrimination

#P15	Somalian	40	Master	Male	Teacher	No racial discrimination
#P16	Ghanaian	41	PhD	Male	Teacher	Stereotype threat, & Microaggression
#P17	Ghanaian	Undisclosed	Master	Male	Administrator	No racial discrimination
#P18	Somali-Norwegian	34years	Master	Female	Administrator	White Comfortability

1. What are the racial discrimination experiences of Africans and African Norwegians at school?

In my first research question, I explore the experiences and understanding of racial discrimination of people of African descent. On experiences of students, this study found that some students of African and African Norwegian descent have experienced colour racism, racial prejudices and stereotypes, religious stereotype, whiteness, and no racial discrimination. On racial discrimination experiences of teachers, this study found microaggression, stereotype threats and no racial discrimination. On the experiences of two administrators interviewed, the study found that an administrator of African descent is burdened with white comfortability whilst the other has no experiences of racial discrimination.

4.2 Students

4.2.1 Colour racism

Some African Norwegian students at the university shared that their physical features (skin colour) make them experience subtle discrimination at school. Four participants talked about how their dark colour is used as a marker by some people to mark them out as non-Norwegians meanwhile these students see themselves as Norwegians and that experience cut them out of the Norwegian society. I will share the views of two of the 4 participants below. I reference the views of participants whose views are directly quoted here as #P1 and #P4. #P1 has a Kenyan-Norwegian descent. His father, an African, lives in Oslo and his mother is an ethnic Norwegian. Being born in Norway, crawled, and grown up in Oslo, #P1 sees himself as a Norwegian; not only by citizenship through birth but also by culture since he has lived all his life in Norway, speaks good Norwegian, and he has built his life around ethnic Norwegian friends and some immigrant friends as well. But at school his colour makes him go through discrimination since it is a marker that marks him out as a foreigner. This subtle experience cut him out of the majority group (Norwegians) at school. Due to his non-white skin texture, some people silently undermine his Norwegianess. During the interview, when I asked #P1 whether he has experienced any racial discrimination at school or not, he said

''My experience of racial discrimination is about how people respond to my Norwegian nationality due to my colour. I remember a moment at the school auditorium when an ethnic Norwegian I was doing a group meeting with, asked me 'where do I come from and I responded that I come from Norway, Oslo, my answer to her triggered a follow up question from her, she would look at me and asked me again' 'where do you really come from? In fact, the follow up question made me uncomfortable'' (#P1).

I asked *(#P1)* why he thinks it is because of his skin colour that made the girl asked him the follow up question*' ''where do you (really) come from''?* #P1 said that it is his colour because at the time he had this experience, he was together with some white people who said they were Norwegians but due to his dark colour he was the only one singled out subtly as a foreigner.

''I think it was my colour because we were four in the group, with 2 ethnic Norwegians, Danish and I. I was the only person of colour. And I was the only person the Norwegian girl repeatedly doubted my Norwegian nationality asking me that question. In fact, this is an experience that happens to me often, not only at school but even outside school and on the streets and it feels like people mark you out as not Norwegian and assume a different national status for you because of your dark skin colour''(#P1).

In the above account of the African Norwegian student, there is the experienced Norwegianness and non-Norwegianness, where physical appearance is a boundary, with white skin colour making some people being recognised as Norwegians whilst non-white skin colour does not make others being recognised as Norwegians. Such skin colour-based construction of who is a Norwegian, and who is not a Norwegian but a foreigner, is a subtle symptom of racial discrimination. For instance, in the case of #P1, when his ethnic Norwegian study mate asked him where he (#P1) comes from and he said Oslo, Norway, his study mate looked at him again and asked a follow up question *''where do you really come from?''*. Though, to objective minds, this follow up question is an everyday question anyone could ask but whilst the intention used to ask this question may not be racist, the consequences of the question on the (#P1) is that it created a subtle impression that (#P1) is a foreigner and not a Norwegian. This is because the follow up question which contains *''where do you really come from?''*, the word *''really''* as captured in the statement presupposes that the ethnic Norwegian who asked #P1 the question had a preconceived notion that '#P1' has an original identity that is foreign. In other words, an opposite imagined community is triggered. An opposite imagined community is triggered in the sense that an emphasis on the word *''really''* in the follow up question denotes that the ethnic Norwegian who asked the African student this question presumes a different nationality for (#P1) which is external to the Norwegian identity #P1 claims to have. Such critical

interrogation from the ethnic Norwegian to push #P1 who is a person of colour to talk about where #P1 actually comes from other than Norway put (#P1) into foreigner's status which makes him look as a non-Norwegian but an outsider. Being an outsider means #P1 is not a Norwegian.

In contrast, if you are a white by skin appearance, it is likely that the follow up question would not be asked. This was confirmed in the interview when I asked #P1 why he thinks it is his skin colour that made him been described as a foreigner. #P1 said that he was together with 3 white people, but he was the only person whose Norwegian identity was doubted, and the only one marked out as an outsider.

> *"I think it was because of my colour that made her marked me out as a foreigner because we were four in the group, with 2 ethnic Norwegians, a Danish guy and me. I was the only person of colour. And I was the only person the Norwegian girl repeatedly perceived me as not a non-Norwegian" (#P1).*

Aside, the experience of #P1, I also share a similar experience of one African Norwegian girl in the university. I reference her as #P4. #P4 has also lived in Norway for 27 years of all her 27years of life. She was born to a Somalian-Norwegian father and an ethnic Norwegian mother in Oslo. #P4 shares a mixed skin texture; you can easily identify her as not white in terms of skin colour. However, she has a Norwegian citizenship by birth and culturally count as a Norwegian. She sees herself as a Norwegian. She claimed her experience of racial discrimination occurred in the classroom at school when a teacher failed to recognise her as a Norwegian due to her colour, but the teacher recognised her white ethnic Norwegian colleagues as Norwegians. And such experience makes her feel that she was discriminated against due to her colour.

> *''In one of our introductory lectures, the teacher opened the floor for class introduction. We were supposed to mention our names and where we come from. As the process was ongoing, it got to my turn. I mentioned my name and said I am Norwegian………. Surprisingly, the teacher asked, are you sure? Have you seen a black Norwegian before" (#P4).*

> *"I was offended by the comment (…………), I confronted the teacher that his comment is unfair to my colour and is racist, but he argued that it was just a funny comment he made but he later apologised to me after I reminded him that his comment was racist. I was really angry, so I left the class and went home" (#P4).*

From the African Norwegian student's account, a subtle discrimination based on colour also occurred. Particularly with this statement from the teacher ''*have you seen a black Norwegian before'?* This comment from the teacher sounds like an everyday question which anyone with objective mind would say it was a question asked by the teacher to clear a self-doubt hanging at the back of the mind of the white teacher about the ideal identity of the African Norwegian student. This could suggest that the intention of the teacher may not be racist, I suspect so, but I do not know. However, the question ''*have you seen a black Norwegian before'* invokes a subtle implicit racial bias. The teacher's comment reveals a hidden prejudice stored in the head of the teacher that; one cannot be a Norwegian simply being non-white. Such expression from the teacher makes *(#P4)* looks a foreigner in the eyes of the class on the basis that his non-white skin colour is a boundary to her being accepted or recognised as a Norwegian.

Besides, the teacher's decision to raise doubt about only the Norwegianess of the Somalian-Norwegian girl without raising doubts about the Norwegianess of the white students who introduced themselves as Norwegians also invokes that the teacher conforms to the notion that being white is normal to be a Norwegian but being a non-white by skin and a Norwegian sound a bit questionable and requires further probe. If by skin colour, one is not recognised a Norwegian, then that person is viewed as foreigner. As much, the central point which led to the categorisation of white students as Norwegians in the eyes of the teacher (is their white skin colour) and the categorisation of the African Norwegian as not a Norwegian but a foreigner is her non-white skin colour.

From the two cases shared by *(#P1 and #P4)* and similar stories shared by other 2 students of colour which is not directly quoted here, evidence racial discrimination. This is because these African Norwegian students were categorised unfairly and subtly as not Norwegians due to their non-white white skin appearance. In this sense, these African Norwegian students whose stories are shared experienced subtle/indirect racial discrimination because they were not treated same as their colleague whites as Norwegians because their non-white skin texture was used as a marker to mark them out as outsiders.

Being discriminated against based on colour is racial discrimination. Under human right law, the ICERD, describes that racial discrimination occurs when an individual is treated unjustifiably or experiences differential treatment due to their colour, race, ethnic, nationality, religion, ... etc (ICERD, 1965). As captured in article 1 of the international convention elimination of on all forms of racial discrimination

« In this Convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life ". (ICERD, 1965, Article 1)

From the definitions above, it can be considered that racial discrimination can be framed around certain key elements. I break down the definition into three parts now. The first part is differential treatment .

Differential treatment. Differential treatment can be conceived in this analysis as treating someone or a group in a way that the treatment cannot be justified or is unreasonable. From the ICERD`s definition of racial discrimination, captured above, differential treatment emerges from these words: "exclusion" "distinction" and "restriction". Any of these terms could establish circumstances that would lead to purposes of discrimination. But we need to understand that not all differential treatment amount to discrimination. For example, in the area of football, most of the football clubs including real Madrid, Chelsea and Kotoko hire goal keepers who have significant height to keep their goal post. There is evidence that keepers with good height (tall goal keepers) often have higher number of saves in matches and concedes fewer goals. So, in situations where a very short goalkeeper is not hired because of a poor height, that is differential treatment but not racial discrimination. This is because the nature of the job requires keepers with good height to obtain results. We need to ensure that the differential treatment or equal treatment have relative treatment, of somebody else.

The third element is the effect: Effect can be explained as impact or consequences of an act. From the definition of racial discrimination, racial discrimination can be seen as not only when an unjustifiable act based on race or ethnicity is intended and activate, but also when actions based on race, culture, ethnicity etc leads to different consequences on different people which undermines their human right

As captured in the definition "Any *distinction or exclusion ....that have "Effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights»...etc."*

This means not all differential treatment can be considered racial discrimination unless the intention of an act and the act itself is measured with its impact. This denotes again that not all differential treatment amount to racial discrimination unless sufficient evidence is established about its consequences on a person´s human right.

Beside the use of the ICERD framework to analyze racism as done above, I have also done some theoretical thinking into racism that emerges from colour.

Gullestad (2005, p.32) has argued that colour forms part of the main subjects of racial discourse in Norway, particularly skin colour "dark skin colour'' is a marker, a person's looks, the main reflector that he or she 'does not look Norwegian', and that is the way this is currently perceived". A person's skin colour may him/her out and gives them away particularly when the person looks different from the majority group. In other words, there is the experienced Norwegian's, where physical appearance in the form of skin colour is a boundary, where white skin is seen Norwegian but black or dark is not. This also feeds into the notion of white privilege and white superiority where Kuba(2020) in her thoughts on colourism thinks colour is essentially constructed as a hierarchy of skin tone, where in light, or "white" skin is the most greatly desired(coveted) and the darkest tones are considered signs of a lower social value and signs of not belonging (Kuba, 2020).

The use of skin colour as a boundary or a tool to set a border on who a Norwegian is, and who is not a Norwegian does not only produce ideologies of white privilege and racism but also raises questions about belongingess, particularly it raises questions about who then is a Norwegian and who is not a Norwegian. Whilst this may just be an accessory to the above analysis, it makes sense to address it to set boundaries clearer about who a Norwegian is and who is not a Norwegian. In a more open discourse, the issue of who is Norwegian and non-Norwegian is contested by Vassenden. Vassenden (2010, 2011) created an analytical framework to dive into ordinary thoughts and understanding on national identity, recognizing what he described as multiple discursive oppositions. Vassenden submits that being Norwegian is neither fluid and optional nor fully open to negotiation (2011, p. 177, & also cited in Andresen, 2020). In other words, being Norwegian is not directly discretionary or completely open to arrangement (Vassenden2011, p. 177). In Vassenden's head, being Norwegian comprises of many relatively stable discursive structures among which people navigate. These structures are established along four patterns (citizenship, cultural aspect, ethnic boundaries and categories, whiteness/non-whiteness. These pattens can be overlapping and controversial.

Vassenden advises that one must be careful and do analytical check to understand where an individual belongs in the pattern before they are categorised as Norwegian or non-Norwegian because the terms can be employed interchangeably depending on which one is activated. For instance, a person may feel or define himself as a 'Norwegian' because of formal citizenship, but 'non-Norwegian' because of non-Whiteness or cultural distance. The discursive oppositions between being Norwegian and non-Norwegian based on those four patterns/dimensions may be negotiable and dependent on context as well as variable in how fluid they are. Vassenden (2010) notes that the most elastic discourse in Norway is its cultural aspects, while citizenship and whiteness are the most clearly defined boundaries.

From, the above analysis, you can argue then that #P1 and #P4 fulfil the image of being Norwegians by their Norwegian citizenship and cultural status, but they were cut out as non-Norwegians by their non-white skin texture and that is racism.

Dankertsen & Kristiansen (2020) has also added that being Norwegian is often still perceived as ''white'' despite the inclusion of immigrants into Norwegian society. To Dankertsen and Kristiansen, the term Norwegian is mostly linked to being white. Race is, however, an analytically problematic term partly because "race" in a Norwegian/Nordic context is sometimes replaced with concepts such as "ethnicity", "culture", "multiculturalism", or "diversity" (Dankertsen & Kristiansen, 2020). These are terms that indirectly signify racialization (Dankertsen & Kristiansen, 2020). An example is that many grocery shops in Norway have a shelf with the sign "ethnic food", or that people sometimes say that people "look ethnic" rather than talking about their race. Though, these divides often occur in implicit ways, but one can still argue that phenotypical differences, i.e., specific visible physical features, most prominently skin colour, are an important reification of ethnic and racial boundaries in a Norwegian context (Dankertsen & Kristiansen, 2020). Since the notion of Norwegians is aligned with white skin texture, such colour-based categorisation experienced by students of African/Norwegian descent leads to subtle racism against immigrants who are Norwegians but do not have white skin tone or do not behave white. Indirectly, this divide based on colour breed racism since such categorisation makes whites belong as Norwegians whilst others (immigrants) are often categorised as not Norwegians and that silently cut them out from the majority group (Norwegians).

4.2.2 Racial Stereotype and prejudice

Some students of African descent at the university also experience discrimination through stereotypes and prejudices**.** During the interview with students, I asked participants whether they have any experiences of ¨stereotype and prejudice at school or not. Four participants said they have experienced discrimination through racial stereotypes and prejudices. The students who said they have experienced prejudice and stereotypes are all Africans and taking their master studies. These prejudices and stereotype experiences emanate from both race and religion. I will directly report and discuss some of the views of students here. On experiences of racial stereotype and prejudices, one African student from Ghana who is a male (28years), and who I reference as #P7 talked about his experience during his first year on a master programme.

> *''I was in a non-mandatory project group with two ethnic Norwegian girls, the first day we met to do the project work, one of the Norwegian girls in the group said to me, she finds it hard to work well with students of colour so she would prefer I find a different group. I asked her why and she said that the last time she worked with two black persons in a group; she did not make a good grade because the guys she worked with had no time for the group work. She said black students are not serious. In fact, from the way the Norwegian girl insisted that I find a different group, I realised she never wanted to work with me being black, so I joined another group with African guys but from there, I told myself that I cannot take this racism anymore, so I would never be in a group with a white person again or Norwegian again except I have no choice than to be in a mandatory study group'' (#P7).*

From the account above, a girl of Norwegian descent based on her single experience he had with other two blacks in the past to discriminate against *#P7*. This discrimination occurred when the ethnic Norwegian girl decided that she would not work with #P7 in the same group during a non-mandatory group assignment at school. According to *#P7*, the justification that the ethnic Norwegian girl gave for not working with *#P7* is that some black students she (ethnic Norwegian girl) had earlier worked with on a group assignment at school did not show seriousness with time and the work and this behaviour shown by the two black students badly affected the grade she got in her earlier assignment so she thinks black students are not serious to work with and she would not work with #P7 who is also black. Platts (2020), credit Tan et al. (2009) and Lippman (1922) for conceptualising stereotypes as generalised pictures in our heads (Tan, 2009, p. 262). These automatic and exaggerated mental images work as social categories to organize information about people, including excessive-generalized beliefs about

a society, a racial group, individuals, and others, to make sense of and simplify their world (Platts & Piedmont, 2020). When we stereotype people based on their race, we don't consider individual differences. Because our racial stereotypes are so rigid, we tend to avoid or ignore any information that is not in line with the stereotype that we have developed about a racial group. The racial stereotype in the account above is that the ethnic Norwegian girl refused to work in the same assignment group with #P7 due to her perception that #P7 is black so he might also not be serious with the group work like the other unserious blacks she had earlier worked with. In this context, the ethnic Norwegian girl did not work with #P7 not because of #P7 personal attitude towards the group work yet to be started but because #P7 has same racial status as the other 2 unserious blacks the ethnic Norwegian girl alleged to have earlier worked with. This is a discrimination based on racial stereotype in the sense that the ethnic Norwegian girl generalised the unserious behaviour of the two-black students she had earlier worked with as the behaviour or attitude of an entire black students; by labelling black students as ''unserious'' and because of that she would not work with any black student again on a school assignment. Grouping of races together to indicate that black students are unserious is racial stereotype because stereotypes are generalizations that do not take individual differences into account (McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980, Tronstad, 2009). It is due to such race-based stereotype that prevented the white Norwegian girl from working with #P7 during the group assignment. She did not treat #P7 as an individual with a distinct character who may not be like the unserious black others but rather, she prematurely judged #P7 based on her negative perception about black students who she taught were not serious with time and schoolwork. It is a racial stereotype for the ethnic Norwegian to fail to recognise that every individual has a distinct character, and it does not matter the colour of ones' skin. There are serious black people out there and unserious ones, so as there are serious whites and unserious whites. There are also serious brown people and non-serious brown people. But the common point of concern is not about colour or race or culture but to treat each person or individual according to his/her behaviour and not his race or colour.

Besides, the ethnic Norwegian girl's action was also based on racial prejudice because she transported a single experience she had with other people (the two blacks she earlier worked with) to discriminate against a person (#P7) who she is yet to work with. Anything that is based on prejudice and stereotype can alienate an entire race and it is going to create racist ideas, because negatively stereotyping a racial group based on our prejudices and stereotype about a

group, makes the members of that group looks different, worse, and inferior to other racial groups (Whites etc.).

The ICERD advises that any form of differential and unequal treatment that is based on race or colour amounts to racism whether the mistreatment is intentional or non-intentional.

4.2.3 Religious stereotypes and prejudices

Another African, a master student who is 25 years, a Muslim from Ethiopia also shared his experience of racial discrimination. In his words, he reflected on how as a young high school boy in Oslo his own religious beliefs turned into a stereotype and prejudice and cut him out of the majority group at school.

> *''I had a bit of hard time with my own prejudice at high school. You know, I am a. Muslim; so, I do not eat pork and I don't drink alcohol due to my faith, but I had some of my Norwegian mates and other immigrants at school that liked eating pork and liked taking alcohol. As a young boy who was interested in keeping my Muslim faith, when I encountered these guys at school and I found out that they eat pork and drink alcohol, I must confess, my beliefs kept me away from them and I never wanted to get close to any of them since I did not want to be unclean as well'' (#P8).*

The self-reflecting words of this African student echoes religious prejudice, stereotype, and religious intolerance. It gives insight into how subtle religious ideologies grounded in prejudice and stereotypes held by individuals about a particular belief could cut tan individual away from the majority group and limit the individual's inclusion and belongingness to a majority group. From the story of *(#P8),* at school, he eagers to practice his Muslim beliefs of not eating pork and drinking alcohol. This concern for keeping up to one's faith and having the environment at school to practice religion is a step to realisation of a human right on freedom of worship and *to* manifest his religion or belief in observance.

As Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 18 which talks about freedom of religious expression states

> *"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance"* (UDHR, 1948, Article 18)

Whilst *(#P8) enjoys his right* to observe his religious values at school, he has difficulties keeping the difference between him and others who do not share his religious beliefs (not eating pork and drinking alcohol). Due to his extreme religious position of despising pork and alcohol,

he perceives the non-Muslim Norwegians and immigrants who eat pork and take alcohol as ''unclean''. This religious stereotype of (labelling those who eat pork and alcohol as unclean) held by *(#P8) crawls* from his Muslim faith. Lesley (1998) and Lobban (1994) have stated that in the Qur'an, which is the main religious book that guides the practices and faith of Islam, it is mentioned in Sura 5:3, that it is forbidden as commanded by Allah for a Muslim to eat the flesh of swine (pork) and it is also not allowed to drink alcohol because it is a sin and an impiety (rijss) (Lesley, 1998; Lobban, 1994).. The word rijss denotes something filthy, dirty, or unclean (Lesley, 1998).

Recent research has found that activating certain religious concepts can increase stereotype, prejudicial attitudes, intolerance, and discrimination. Researchers have drawn broad conclusions about associations between religiosity and prejudice (Joanna Burch-Brown & William Baker, 2014). For instance, Batson (2013) in Joanna Burch-Brown & William Baker (2014) argues that despite some individuals maybe tolerant with their religious beliefs, others are not. Particularly, it is known that the more religious an individual becomes the more intolerant and discriminatory he or she is likely to be since some religious beliefs are most often grounded in stereotypes (Joanna Burch-Brown & William Baker, 2014) and religious stereotypes is also a case of personal prejudice, with attitudes to faith sometimes driving negative generalised perceptions and discrimination even more than race, ethnicity, or nationality (Joanna Burch-Brown & William Baker, 2014). Stereotype, prejudice, and intolerance are connected to stationary ideas about identity, and categorisation of "us" and "the others" (Lenz, 2011). Such beliefs including religious prejudice and intolerance feed into discrimination since it creates categorisation and enemy descriptions which lead to feelings of hate, dislike, and exclusion. The 2011 European Report on Intolerance, prejudice, and discrimination states that those who hold very hostile views or prejudice of certain groups often feel excluded in society or they are going to end up as losers in society and this is because those people with prejudiced views do not identify with the democratic, pluralistic society because they feel that the social order does not offer them a sense of belonging(The European Report on Intolerance, prejudice, and discrimination , 2011).

In the ICERD´s framework, the term *'racial discrimination'* shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or

exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life (ICERD, 1965, Article 1*).

The definition above invokes three key things: 1. differential treatment, 2. implications or effects of the difference in treatment and 3. Intentions or purpose of discrimination .
In the case above, (#P8) treated his colleagues at school differently and unjustifiably because he felt that those who eat pork and drink alcohol are filthy (unclean) so he disliked them and distant himself from them.

> *"As a young boy who was interested in keeping my Muslim faith, when I encountered these guys at school and I found out that they eat pork and drink alcohol, I must confess, my beliefs kept me away from them and I never wanted to get close to any of them since I did not want to be unclean as well" (#P8)*

Below, I think through the ICERD´s definition on racial discrimination and break down the definition to analyse the case study above. The definition of racial discrimination can be analysed from three key elements

Differential treatment: Deferential treatment means treating someone not the same way as others because of a specific social characteristic. These social characteristics can be race, ethnicity, descent etc. In the account, #P8 failed to treat his colleagues with respect and as equal humans but rather treated those who eat pork with prejudice and stereotype (perceived them as unclean, filthy and had enemy kind of mentality about them) but he treated those who do not eat pork and drink alcohol with respect. This symbolises differential treatment; linked to stereotype (a subtle dislike or hate for those who do share his Muslim beliefs of not eating pork.

> *"I never wanted to get close to any of them since I did not want to be unclean as well"*

Intention: Intention involves the purpose of doing something. In discrimination research, intentions can be conceived as the subjective position of someone, and upon which a differential treatment to others occur.
In the above case study on #P8, someone can argue that #P8 was protecting his religious beliefs so he was blinded by that religious interest which in a way did not allow him to see that the views he held about those who eat pork was racist and discriminatory. This can be classified as non-intentional discrimination. On the contrary, I think the religious stereotype expressed by #P8 and the discrimination he activated was intentional because he was aware of his actions

even to the extend of saying he would never get close to any of the guys who eat pork because they are filthy.

Besides, by intention, it is not always about a person´s subjective position that drives differential treatment but also about grounds or basis on which a differential treatment may occur. In the ICERD definition on racial discrimination, there are some social grounds activated including race, ethnicity, decent, national identity etc. Someone can activate any of these grounds at any time. For instance, someone can tell I cannot love you because of your colour. By intention, the means the basis of he/she not loving you is your race.

#P8 discriminated against those who do eat pork and drink alcohol because he felt that it is contrary to his Muslim beliefs. In this sense, his actions were based on religious discrimination because he felt those who eat pork violates the norms of Islam.

> *"As a young boy who was interested in keeping my Muslim faith"*
>
> *"I found out that they eat pork and drink alcohol"*
>
> *"I must confess, my beliefs kept me away from them"*

The ICERD definition on racial discrimination does not explicitly mention religion as a prohibition ground of discrimination. However, it does recognise that mistreatment of people-based on culture could constitute racial discrimination. Since religion is a fundamental aspect of culture, any form of discrimination that is based on religion invokes the ICERD provision on culture and discrimination. I this sense, his actions were invoked racism.

Though #P8 was practising his religious faith and that must be respected but he failed to keep boundaries between what he likes as a Muslim and what others do not like. He operated on religious stereotype and prejudice that can be categorised as racism.

Impact or effect in differential treatment: An act of differential treatment can be established as racism, sometimes, not by intent but depending on the impact of the act on a person who is victimised through discrimination. There are times when individuals may not intend to engage in racism but some of their unaware bias may lead to differential treatment towards other people which could lead to racial discrimination. An example is calling a black person nigger without knowing that nigger is a racist word. In this sense, since intensions are not visible like stone and rather subtle and subjective thoughts, we cannot judge whether it was deliberate calling someone, nigger or not, unless the person who makes that statement owns himself up and tell that he/she did it intentionally. In most cases, since no one wants to be labelled racist, not hardly

do people confess on their racist intentions even if it on the television. Sometimes too people are not aware of their bias and if you are not aware of something then how can you talk about. To explore whether an act is racist, or no racist, based on its effect is necessary. On 3Oth June 2021, I was watching a UEFA champions league live football match on a television, a match between Paris St German and a Turkish club Basaksehir. The match got paused and suspended later. players walked out of the pitch.   It followed claims made by Basaksehir assistant coach, Webo Piere who said the center referee, Coltescu, had racially abused him by calling him the "black one". The referee was completely shocked and said that he does not intend to call anyone racist. He was showing a yellow card to Webo and instead of calling his name to identify him, he used his visible skin appearance. The referee completely did not know that calling someone the "black one" is racist. By intention, the referee seems innocent of the act, but the impact was everywhere on the television since the victim has felt the differential treatment and shown much discomfort and resistance to the act at the same time.

Therefore, when establishing an act as racial discrimination under human right, both the intention and impact of a differential treating must be prioritized.

4.2.4 Whiteness

Whiteness is also part of the racial discrimination experiences of students of African descent. During my interview, I asked participants to share whether they have or have no experiences of racial discrimination during teaching and learning at school. Stories of some university students reveals that whiteness occurs in teaching and learning, and it produces subtle and hidden racism. Experiences of whiteness occur in two ways: Whiteness emanating from subtle bias in literature choice, and whiteness sustained through stereotyping and undermining of African culture and other non-western cultures**.**

4.2.5 Whiteness emanating from subtle bias in literature choice

Accounting her subtle racial experience, a Ghanaian girl, who is now a final year student at a Norwegian university, narrated the experience she had when she was writing her bachelor thesis.

> *''I remember when I was writing my thesis during my bachelor studies in a nursing programme with two of my immigrant colleagues, we were researching on how to increase body image knowledge in adult breast cancer survivors, women who have undergone a mastectomy, and to provide insight into how information and guidance can*

help women master their body image in Norway. We found a very good article related to this case but written by a Nigerian author, we asked our supervisor about the possibility of including this article from the non-western world in our writeup. Our supervisor said to us that it is not advised because most students choose limitation within Europe and America when selecting articles on topics because articles authored and produced in Europe are usually validated and the quality is higher. Our supervisor's comment did not motivate us, so we had no choice than to decline using the Nigerian authored article and went in for articles written by white authors in Europe and America'' **(#P9**).

Another university student who is in a final year on a master programme also shared similar experience about how education particularly the school curriculum is sometimes organised and taught through white western eyes where most often, ideas, and scholars learnt about in the classroom are white centred and this sometimes cut them (immigrants) out of teaching and learning.

''When being taught how the world works at school we are taught through white/western eyes. We are taught about white scientists and their discoveries, white history, and European languages. We are often thought about an Italian Gramsci and his knowledge in hegemony, we are taught about French scholar Michel Foucault and his ideas about knowledge and power. The perspectives of scholars from Africa and views of scholars from other non-western cultures are rarely mentioned in the classroom; meanwhile our class is a multi-racial class'' (#P10).

From the story of *(#P9)*, she raised a critical issue about the subtle bias in literature choice in teaching and learning. In her case, she and her 2 immigrant colleagues, found a very informative article written by a Nigerian author on breast cancer and body image that could be useful to the writing of their bachelor thesis. But when they asked their teacher (white supervisor) whether they could use this article as one of their reference materials, the supervisor told them that it is not advised but though, she did not say directly to the immigrant students that it is completely impossible for them to include this article in their work. According to the African student, the teacher explained why she does not advise the use of the non-western Nigerian authored article. She said (1) most students in the school select articles that have limitation within Europe and America because (2) the quality and validity of articles produced in Europe and America are usually higher.

In this account, the teacher (supervisor) describes article/literature that are of higher quality and validity as the ones that are produced in Europe and America. As claimed by the African student, the supervisor also expressed her awareness of normalised dominance in the use of white authored articles in teaching and learning at her school by advising the immigrant students that most of the articles used by students here have boundaries in Europe and America.

> *''Our supervisor said to us that it is not advised because most students choose limitation within Europe and America when selecting articles on cancer and body image because articles authored and produced in Europe are usually validated and the quality is higher''* (#P9*)*

The words of the teacher (thesis supervisor) about why she does not advise the use of the Nigerian authored article shows how the teacher unintentionally/intentionally but subtly gives more priority to ideas and knowledges from the west (Europe and America) whilst silencing or hierarchically placing behind or below ideas from non-western scholars and ideas coming from outside Europe and America. Whiteness as racism is subtle but an insidious part of everyday reproduction of injustice in education curriculum (Fylkesnes, 2019). It works by marginalising the Other (non-western cultures and its ideas) (Fylkesnes, 2019). The marginalisation of the Other is based on a white property of dominance of the groups to which the Other belongs (Fylkesnes, 2019).

In the above case, subtle white dominance occurred because the teacher (I mean the thesis supervisor) consciously or unconsciously thought that for her to help these immigrant students to have better articles on cancer and body image for the research thesis, she needed to recommend quality articles produced in Europe and America. The recommendation of only western authored articles to the immigrant students was grounded in the notion that those western produced articles (which are commonly white authored) are always better (with higher quality and validity). Normalising the use of articles produced in the west at school suggest that article of the Nigerian author is hierarchically placed behind; and that means that knowledge from the non-western culture becomes silenced, excluded, and dismissed. Fylkesnes reminds us of the pernicious effect of whiteness in curriculum practice in education. She contends that "whiteness" produced through curriculum practices takes the character of indirect or subtle exclusion, and it generally works by measuring and marking out the racial Other (non-western people) as inferior or unqualified (Fylkesnes, 2019). From the account of the African student, it becomes clear that through whiteness, the teacher marks out the Nigerian author's text as unqualified but at the same time prioritised white authored articles as better and qualified. This

indirectly marginalise the knowledge of the African scholar and that would work to deny the African student and her racial minority colleagues the opportunity to hear the voices of their own scholars and ideas coming from their native cultures. This means whiteness becomes violent and marginalises the Other whilst it at the same time pushes for white supremacy (an ideology that makes white values and knowledge become a benchmark to which all other forms of knowledges are measured). It is violent and seeks to render all other identities such as African values (like the knowledge of this Nigerian author) and other non-western values and knowledges as sub values. Whiteness simply becomes an assemblage, supported by material practices, educational curriculum and institutions which legitimises western/white ideas and their ways of knowing as powerful and at apex of knowledge construction whilst it puts the Other (non-white western) cultures and values and ideas at the bottom and undermines it as inferior ((Dray, 2008, Leonardo, 2002; Fylkesnes, 2019) and that is subtle racism.

Whilst this experience shared by the African student on body image and cancer studies is a case of whiteness and a subtle racism; we need to also look at the other side of the coin to avoid stereotyping white people and white culture as racist. When talking about whiteness in the context of choice of literature, there is the need to admit that body image and cancer studies are historically white construct. They are historically White construct in the sense that, body image studies first emerged in the western world and most of the authors behind body image studies are whites. As Lindsay Dorian and Paul E. Garfinkel, M.D (2001) remind us, the concept of body image first appeared in 1935 in the book written by the German physician, Paul Schilder, *The Image and Appearance of the Human Body.* Body image construct was also expanded in 1988 by Peter Slade. In recent times, Slade P.D (1994) also wrote on *What is body image? Behaviour research and therapy, 32(5) 497-502, 1994.* I outline these historical texts on body image and its corresponding white authors to prove a point that historically, the subject of body image is white driven hence if one wants to learn about it, it is highly inevitable for not reading articles produced by white authors since the history of the course is white.

But at the same time, there should be boundaries of learning, where a generalised approach to learning and a teaching culture in a form of dialogue or other is pursued for both majority and minority students also actively representing minorities in literature and articles used for teaching and learning.

A complete lack of recognition for the Nigerian authored article by the white teacher leads me to contend that the white teacher should have also looked at the other side. That is, it would

have been good for diversity and inclusive learning if the teacher had advised these immigrant students to consider the article of the Nigerian author or similar minority text in their readings on body image research. But failing to recognise the non-white authored article and still putting these immigrants into white mode, by subtly motivating them to read mainly western articles because they are perceived as better, brings me to a point, where I agree that the story of #P9 points to a normalised culture of whiteness in #P9´s school. But that does not mean her experience is same in all schools in Norway. I cannot generalise because #P9 experience happened at a particular time, in a particular school and with a single teacher. I cannot therefore say whiteness is a generalised culture in education in Norway, but I do agree that her experience makes it visible that whiteness is a tool to pursue racial injustice at school and it is an invisible form of racism which worked to marginalise students of colour unintentionally/intentionally and prevent them from getting equal knowledge as their colleague white about their native cultures. In this sense, whiteness becomes a silent, systemic, and institutionalised racism where it simply dictates western norms and values as the ideal and everyone must follow, and that ideology marginalise all other non-white/western values as sub values (Fylkesnes, 2019).

Whiteness as a form of subtle racism can work to undermine racial minority students', particularly, the experience of whiteness in the form of bias against the use of racial minority text and literature at school could undermine the right to education of racial minority students. This is because Article 13 (2) of the right to receive education states that

> *"The form and substance of education, including curricula and teaching methods, have to be acceptable (e.g. relevant, culturally appropriate and of good quality) to students....).* (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1999, Right to education, Article 13).

In this case, education curriculum, literature subjects and other school teaching materials must be culturally inclusive and diverse to address the needs of all cultures at school without any discrimination against a social or cultural group. Where this human right demand is not met in the classroom or at school due to whiteness, it is discrimination and an injustice against racial minority students.

4.2.6 Whiteness and stereotype

#P12 is an African and a master student from Ghana. His experience of racism at school crawls from his observation of negative stereotypes about Africa and other cultures that often flies around in his classroom during lessons on environmental management. To #P12, teaching and learning in his classroom about natural resource management, often supports naming, blaming, and shaming African culture and non-western values whilst Norwegian culture and European values in relation to environmental management are presented in the classroom to both racial minorities and white students as ideal and positive than others.

> *''In relation to my field of study, which is about natural resource usage and management, developing countries, particularly Africa and other non-western societies are often blamed in the classroom as the main cause of global environmental degradation and must therefore reduce their dependence on nature to reduce degradation, I hear this often in my ears in the classroom, meanwhile, Norway has drilled oil for more than 60 years and have never paused which probably could be a prominent cause of global warming and climate change but little is been said about it in the classroom and what is normally taught about Norway and Europe in relation to the environment is their friendly environmental nature''* (#P12).

In this account, the African student subtly admits that teaching and learning in the classroom at the university is grounded in diversity but also in narratives of negative stereotyping of racial minority values (African values and non-western others) and that tends to produce subtle bias and racism against minority students in the teaching and learning space.

#P12 tells that in his classroom, when teaching about global environmental management, the narrative of the bad guys and the good guys are alive and well in discourse. The narrative of the bad guys in the classroom is that Africa and other unmentioned non-western cultures are presented to the class as cultures or people that over depend on nature for survival and their overdependence on the natural environment is the main course of global environmental degradation. As (#p12) pointed out.

> . *''.... Africa and other non-western societies are often blamed in the classroom as the main cause of global environmental degradation and must therefore reduce their dependence on nature to reduce degradation. I hear this often in my ears in the classroom''* (#P12).

The narrative of the good guys is also sustained in discourse to protect western Norwegian image and white supremacy, where Norway and European societies are presented as environmentally friendly when talking about environmental management.

> *''......Meanwhile, Norway has drilled oil for more than 60 years and have never paused which probably is a prominent cause of global warming and climate change, but little has been said about it in the classroom, what is normally taught about Norway and Europe in relation to the environment is their friendly environmental nature'' (#P12).*

In this account, one could deduce that, #P12 who is environmental management student recognises that there exists some form of attempt on diversity in teaching and learning where a learning space is often created to allow all students to know about environmental management practices that affect their native cultures and their different worlds in the classroom. However, within this attempt of a multicultural learning about environmental management, a subtle bias against racial minorities is produced through whiteness and stereotype. To #P12, Africa and unmentioned non-western others are often portrayed as the homogenous and a face of a demon in terms of environmental use and management. Africa and other unmentioned non-western cultures are often presented to students in the class as societies that over depend on natural environment and those societies are mainly labelled and blamed as the main cause of global environmental degradation. Meanwhile, Europe, particularly Norway, is often portrayed as a culture and people that live friendly with the environment. #P12 was even concerned about why large-scale oil drilling activities in Norway that has the potency to harm the environment and contribute to climate change is rarely mentioned in the classroom.

The words of the student reflect how stereotype, especially negative stereotype is unconsciously or otherwise used as a tool in the classroom to ensure white innocence and white domination whilst at the same time undermining the racialised "other".

In the book titled *orientalism*, said (2003) argued that through stereotyping, non-western cultures are hierarchically positioned at the bottom and wrong place in discourse and for purposes of white domination. Put differently, the primary objective of negative stereotyping of non-western cultures is to undermine the Other (non-west) (Said 2003). The occident (the west) uses it as a tool to make non-western cultures, values, and its people (orient) look inferior which aids the superiority of white practices and strengthens white power and domination (Said 2003). The negative stereotyping of the racialised other (Africa and other unmentioned non-western cultures) in the classroom can be viewed as a system of representation that produces a particular knowledge about a topic and a culture. In whiteness discourse, a concern is placed

on representation of the racialized Other and this system of representation is a subtle symptom of the legacy of the racist imperial and colonial practices of categorisation (Fylkesness 2019). Categorisation in discourse is a hierarchy, and always woven in configuration with power/knowledge, and often places the race of the classifiers at the hierarchical apex (Dyer, 1997). In applying this idea to negative stereotyping and whiteness, a basic categorisation principle in whiteness education is the use of binary oppositions (MacLure, 2003). Binary oppositions may be understood as dichotomous, unfair pairs of terms (e.g., white/black, good/bad, cultural/natural) that are always established around a superior term that is always related to a lesser and deviant Other (MacLure, 2003, p. 10, Fylkesness 2019).

In the story of #P12, Africa and others are categorised and represented in the classroom as a deviant Other, (In the context that the continent of Africa and its people are most often presented to students (both whites and racial minorities) as a society that ''over depend'' on natural resource and their overdependence on natural resource is the main cause of global environmental degradation. Homogenising an entire continent and label them as environmentally deviant is a stereotype because there is no recognition of national and individual differences, particularly a lack of recognition for the non-deviant ones who do not threaten the environment as contrary portrayed in the classroom.

It is very true that Africa shares part of the blame for global environmental crises such as climate change, but it is also an unfair generalisation to say that African's overdependence on natural environment is the main cause of global environmental degradation. For example, in South Africa, Ghana, Ivory Coast and many other countries in Africa are into gold mining, and some are also into oil extraction. It is very true that activities such as oil extraction, which comes with oil burning may release carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, contributing to warming of the planet. But the image of Africa about environmental management is not only negative but also positive. Africa also have some culturally reserved environmental protection sites such as Paga crocodile pond in Ghana for housing of crocodiles and keeping of natural habitat. The Kintampo waterfalls located at Kintampo (Ghana) is also a reserved site to protect natural water bodies and good climate for sustainable lives. The Serengeti national park in Tanzania is a safari where you can see millions of migrating wildebeest crossing the Acacia plains and untouched African forest for climate sustenance.

But when the story about Africa and its environmental management systems are told, it is told one-sided and often portrayed as bad and negative. Whereas Europeans, specifically Norwegians are most often portrayed in the classroom as cultures and people who are environmentally friendly and are portrayed as not the bad guys towards the natural environment. They are often cut out from the picture of those who are responsible for global environmental degradation. Meanwhile, Arvin (2021) and Welin (2020) points out that Norway is a not innocent of environmental degradation. They alleged that in December 2019, Norway's Supreme Court ruled against environmental activists who sued the government in court because they felt oil-licensing permits granted in the Norwegian Arctic threatened their right to a clean environment under the country's constitution. This legal move was unsuccessful on the part of the environmental activists who sued the state to help protect the environment. However, it still reminds us of the awareness that people have about the negative implications of oil extraction on the environment in Norway independent of court ruling. Maybe, oil money is economically beneficial to Norwegian economy, but oil extraction can still be a threat to the Arctic and a gateway to climate change crises in Norway and the world. Even some experts refer to this as Norway's paradox: As captured in Arvin (2021), Norway wants to be at the forefront of international efforts to combat climate change; meanwhile, it continues to depend heavily on polluting the environment through fossil fuel extraction for continued economic prosperity (Arvin, 2021). Whereas the attitude of Norway towards the natural environment is mixed (positive and negative) as shown above, the negative part is rarely mentioned in the classroom during discourse on environmental management in Norway as alleged by #P12.

Meanwhile, Africa and other non-western unmentioned societies are the ones blamed as the bad guys when it comes to talks on the environmental management. Such unfair representation, categorisation and binary oppositions produce a hierarchy of meanings that construct Africa's environmental management identity as bad, primitive, whilst western (Norwegian environmental management identities) are portrayed as friendly, good, and better. In this sense, the unfair narrative about Africa generates negative representation of its people and its culture. It racializes and make minorities (Africans)and unmentioned others look inferior in the eyes of the class since all the negative things about poor environmental management flies in the class and lands on Africans and racial minorities in the classroom whilst at the same time, positive narrative about environmental management is associated with western Norwegian culture, making them look positive, ideal, better, and superior over the "Other".

In the literature review, I discussed that stereotyping is a form of excessive generalisation that overlooks individual difference, and it is a source of racism. Stereotyping of an entire African culture and its environmental management identity as deviant; the bad guys behind global environmental degradation, and without recognising the positive environmental management stories about same African culture and its people may lead to a lack of recognition of a full culture. This can lead to marginalisation of the positive stories about environmental management in Africa. Such negative stereotype which is based on homogenising African beliefs towards the environment takes away differences and heterogeneity, the difference some Africans share towards good environmental management. All Africans are not the same and their attitude to natural environmental management cannot be the same.

However, as the negative story about Africa dominates in the classroom as shared by #P12, there is an inevitable construction of essentialism; the unconscious or conscious tendency to switch learners into a mode where they understand social categories as expressions of discrete, fixed, natural, uniform, and defining characteristics that are shared by all members from a particular culture or social group. A permanent feature of essentialism in stereotyping is that a group or a culture that is negatively stereotyped suffers reductionism (Bradley, 2018. Pg. 3&5). Reductionism allows people to quickly make predictions, simplify matters and create unfair social categories and undermine others Bradley, 2018. Pg. 4). In this context, the common feature in the story told by #P12 is that narrative in the classroom about environmental management sees western Norwegian ways of managing environment as homogenous but however ideal (friendly) whilst African beliefs and practices relating to environmental management is also perceived homogenous but closed deviant values and with unbridgeable differences. In this sense, stereotype rooted in essentialist perspective could become a key instrument to boost cultural inequality function: as it works to justify one cultural group's supremacy over the other and in this case, western Norwegian environmental management values are perceived ideal and friendly (better) and superior whereas the racialised Other (Africa and unmentioned others) are seen deviant and (inferior).

This research is guided by ICERD framework. The framework sets grounds on boundaries within which racism must occur. This involves when an act (whether intentional or unintentional) has unjustifiable disparate impact upon a group or individual due to their race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin (ICERD, 1965). In the above discussion, a subtle discrimination occurred based on negative stereotyping of African cultural values in relation to

natural resources management and the environment. The basis for stereotyping and discrimination is linked to culture. And if someone or a group suffers stereotype and discrimination based on their culture then that person or group experiences racism. Besides, this experience of racism based on cultural stereotype can be described as an aspect of neo-racism produced through essentializing cultures.

4.2.7 No Racial Discrimination

No racial discrimination accounts were also present in the stories of some students. Two (2) students of African descent at the university said they have no experiences of racial discrimination at school. I have referenced these students neutrally as #P13 and #P14. #P14 is 32 and on a master programme. #P13 is 23 years and on a bachelor programme. They shared that they have not experienced any racial discrimination since they started their bachelor and master programmes in Norway.

> *''I have not experienced any racial discrimination. In my school, my mates and teachers are one of the coolest people on earth. Since the first day I came to the school, everything organised in class, or done by the school is to integrate us both people of colour and whites" (#P13).*
>
> *"The school organised sports programmes, entertainment, and social programmes for us. We had programmes like the buddy week also which allowed us integrated very well with other people by talking to each other and having dinner together. Our teachers also put us into work groups during learning, this makes you feel part of whatever that happens at school'' (#P13).*

Another master student of African descent also added his experience of no racism

> *''I have no experiences of racism at school. Even I have some Norwegian and many white friends at school and they really respect and support me in learning and that makes me feel more belonging at school' **(#P14).***

4.3 Teachers

The racial discrimination experiences of teachers of African descent are mixed. I interviewed two teachers. Both are of African descent. The first one had his bachelor and master's degree studies in Oslo and currently teaching in a high school and the other one is a psychology lecturer at a university. I had an interview with them on 24th February 2021 on zoom. Among these two teachers, the first one has no experience of racism whilst the other (the psychology teacher) has experienced racism at school.

4.3.1 No racism

This African teacher who has no experience of racism had his higher education (bachelor and master studies) in Norway. He is 40 years and teaches mathematics. Being in Norway for almost 20years and having taught in a high school for 11years and as the only black teacher in his school, he says he has not experienced any racial discrimination. He enjoys an inclusive and empowering school environment built for both whites and racial minority teachers at his school. In his school, he enjoys a position of power, and that privilege makes him feel part of the school. In his 11years as a teacher at school, he does not see racism, what he sees is recognition, inclusion, and belongingness.

> *''I have taught in my school for almost 11 years. Nobody has discriminated against me based on my colour, culture, or nationality or other; it is something I do appreciate about the school environment. We are treated equally whether black or white as teachers. For instance, apart from me being a teacher in the school, I am also appointed into a position where I am responsible for helping and assessing whether new teachers' black brown or white' that come to the school are doing well or not and report to my rector, so, I do not think there is anything like discrimination that occurs through colour or other in my school, if there is, I would not have gotten that position because there are many white teachers in my school than even people of colour''* (**#P15**).

In contrary, the other teacher, who teaches psychology at a university, has a different experience at school and he claims that as a black person and the only black person in his department he sometimes experiences stereotype threat and microaggression.

4.3.2 Stereotype threat

During my interview, when I asked this teacher about whether he has experienced any stereotypes and prejudice at school. He said that he has experienced stereotype threat. In his account, he said there are some negative generalized beliefs hanging in the thing air in the society that blacks are lazy, unprofessional, and noisy and do not perform on their job as compared to whites. And as the only black teacher in his department, who is also concerned about his racial group and aware of these negative stereotypes and rumours that are hanging in thin air about black people, he becomes worried that he might be viewed through the lens of these stereotypes at school by his white colleagues. The constant worry and fear of not confirming these negative stereotypes about his racial group in the eyes of his colleagues at school is a colour (race) tax he pays in his mind every day.

> *''Generally, there is this perception that blacks are lazy, noisy unprofessional, and do not perform on professional jobs, these negative stereotypes are there, you feel it as a*

black person working and living in a white society and it is something that you have to go through. It hunts you mentally; because you sometimes think about it, like as a black teacher, sometimes I think about it, do they see me in that way or not......) such concern is there, and it is worrying'' (P16).

Stereotype threat is the pressure or situational concern in which a person is caught in because of the fear of being viewed through the lens of a negative stereotype about his race or social group. It is simply the fear of doing something that would inadvertently confirm a stereotype about ones social group (Steele, 1999, Neuberg S. L, 2007).When an individual who belongs to a particular racial group or other becomes aware that people hold certain negative stereotype about their racial group, they become hyperconscious and visited with fear and pressure and this compels them to (behave in a more careful manner)so that they do not confirm the negative stereotypes people have about them and their racial group. That is the nature of stereotype threat this teacher goes through. This teacher is aware of the existing stereotype, and he shares how this stereotype threat hunts him and controls him

"Due to my awareness about these negative stereotypes, I am highly careful not to make any little mistake on this job, because you don't know what will happen so you always have that little fear that you can easily be cast out of your job due to these negative stereotypes about us" (#P16).

This African teacher seem hyperconscious on his performance not to make any little mistake on his job at school, so such focus and awareness has forced him to adopt a behaviour where he is more cautious of himself and his performance. Beillock et al, (2007) argues that when an individual realise they are been viewed by others through a negative stereotype lens associated with their group, they can work more professionally than expected to disapprove the negative stereotype about their racial group and that can increase output in the organisation and at the same time shapes a positive image about that individual, their group and maintain their value in an organisation (Beillock et al, 2007).

The stereotype threat experience does not only make (#P16) hyperconscious and work hard to avoid any mistake at work but also the stereotype he faces put him into cognitive dissonance mode (a situation involving conflicting thoughts, attitudes, beliefs, or behaviours) whilst his colleague whites do not go through same experiences.

> *'' It hunts you mentally; because you sometimes think about it, like do they see me in that way or not....'' (#P16)*

Here, this black teacher was asking himself whether his colleagues view him through the lens of these stereotypes. For instance, because he is black and blacks are associated with the negative stereotypes mentioned above, he wonders whether his colleagues at school see him as lazy or not, or been seen professional or not, noisy or note. Such concern and conflicts in the mind of this black teacher reveals a state of cognitive imbalance that phenomenologically depicts a more conscious focus on the self instead of the teaching task.

Beilock et al (2007) suggests that such inconsistency in thoughts of an individual during stereotype threat could contribute to a negative work performance because the individual's working memory becomes loaded with distracting information that competes for attentional resources. As a result, behaviour that might have been enacted efficiently on working task is now attended to monitoring existing stereotype threat cues and that could drain a lot of mental resources required for teaching task and positive teaching output. In this sense, stereotype threats based on race, creates extra burden for racial minority teachers which could be distracting to the work of teachers of colour.

Meanwhile, their colleagues who are not black might not go through same stereotype experience. Carter et al. (1999) suggested that stereotype threats are stereotyped assumptions (underpinned by racism) perceived to be held by certain cultures seemed to account for the marginalisation that some minority ethnic staff may experience in higher education.

4.3.3 Microaggression

This teacher *(#P16)* does not only experience stereotype threat but also, he talked about the microaggression experience he encounters in a white dominated staff faculty. He appreciates for being in the school as a black teacher; however, his racial status as the only black person in the faculty affects him since during group research work, his contributions and ideas sometimes takes forever to be assessed and considered by his white colleagues. He thinks that such subtle overlook of his ideas is little, little discrimination that marginalizes him since his positives are not allowed to have effect in the white majority space

He attributes this to his racial identity as a black minority. He does not tell this story as just a personal experience, but he tells it with a general concern that such experience he goes through at school is a common experience for many black educators in white-dominated institutions.

This is the story of a teacher of African descent who teaches psychology in a university. Being a racial minority in his department, he thinks this experience occurs to him due to his status as a black person and a minority.

> *''I have to make it clear, and this is in research, when you are minority, particularly when you are black and you suggest ideas, it takes time for people to evaluate your ideas and then to actually consider it, sometimes too, it is not even considered at all, so you will be stalked in a way with the feeling of being overlooked and you feel a bit invisible. You can also feel to a large extent that it takes forever for your positive to have effects.......'' (#P16).*

Gillborn (2008, p.7) describes the acts of omission, invisibility, inaction, and exclusion of black minority educator 'ideas and views in white space as a subtle and complex form of everyday racism that is hidden in operations of power. Put differently, Huber and Solorzano refer to it as microaggressions, 'a form of everyday racism used to maintain or keep those at the racial margins in their place (2015; 298). Microaggression is behaviours that intentionally or unintentionally communicate a negative message about a non-dominant group. Microaggressions takes the nature of subtle snubs, frequently unknown to the perpetrator, but clearly convey a hidden insulting, exclusion, and marginalising message to the recipient (Sue et al. 2007, p.274). It is 'characterized by communications that convey insensitivity and demean a person due to his racial heritage or identity. Maylor's (2009) submits that black staff in higher education and particularly those working as educators and researchers in white dominated staff schools may sometimes feel invisible, because their academic potentials particularly ideas are rarely regarded or are not fully acknowledged in research and policy making at school. This occurs not because black teachers' ideas and contributions to group research are not always good but rather white ideas are often viewed as enough for the task at hand. These are covert discriminatory experiences that happen as part of the everyday experience of black minority teachers and educators. This leads to lack of empowerment.   As *(#P16)* said

> *''You will be stalked in a way with the feeling of being overlooked and you feel a bit invisible. You can also feel to a large extent that it takes forever for your positive to have effect'' (#P16)*

As a racial minority teacher who is grounded in a different cultural experience, an experience that is not the same as the experiences of white majority teaching staff. He therefore could bring to group research different ideas that would enhance diversity in research projects but the

experiences of microaggression, a subtle disregard of his views and subtle delay in considering his ideas takes away his ability to demonstrate his potentials and that makes him feel invisible (not seen as someone with positive ideas and value) and that contribute to his marginalisation and disempowerment. Tackie in his 2016 study, titled *Through Our Eyes: Perspectives and Reflections from Black Teachers*, she submits that black teachers are been made the 'Other' and they are the Other because their voices are mostly disregarded and subtly dismissed and that make black teachers and educators worry about whether they are even being valued, seen, and considered as equally important members of a white school community.

4.4 Administrators

Two administrators of colour were interviewed, a woman and a man. The man describes his experience at school as belonging and without racism. Whereas the woman talked about a racial experience that reflects white comfortability.

4.4.1 No racism

A male administrator who works at a university in the finance department talked about no racial discrimination experience at school. As one of the only two black administrators in his university, he described his experience in the university as belonging and without racism. He has not experienced any racial discrimination. But at the same time, he feels a high sense of belonging at school because his colleagues respect and appreciate his hard work despite being a black administrator and a minority. That experience he enjoys makes him feel very accepted and included at school.

> *"Honestly, I don't think I have experienced any racial discrimination here at school. My colleague staff members and the students I work with respect and appreciate what I do every day and that makes me feel happy and accepted but sometimes you may have your little differences with the people you work with who are from diverse cultural background but that is normal" (#P17).*

This black male administrator did not stop there but also talked about the fact that his high sense of belonging and his no experiences of racism did not occur in a vacuum. He worked for it. He believes as a racial minority, he survives the white working space without racism because of his hard work and commitment to his work at school. He believes that when you work hard on your job everyone likes you and that step alone takes away a feeling of not belonging because through your hard work you are seen through your profession and not your racial identity.

"I think as a racial minority, if you want to feel accepted in a white dominated space you just have to work harder on your job, I do that, I work hard like liaising my little girls shoes and through that I feel so accepted and belonging because everyone will like you because they see you through your hard work and not your racial background" *(#P17).*

4.4.2 White comfortability

She is identified anonymous as #P18 in this study. A woman of mixed descent, an African Norwegian. She works as a human resource assistant in a university. She works with several ethnic Norwegians, two Africans and other racial minorities. #P18 shared her racial experience at school and the theme that emerges from her story is white comfortability. In the account of #P18, she said that, though, she is a Norwegian, not white by skin colour, but some of the white staff in her school like her and would often interact with her because they see her as one of them.

''I am saying that, individually, the whites often prefer to be close to me because I remember one of them told me they see me just as one of them, maybe my fair and my little white colour and my norwegianness attracts them because they see me as just one of them and easy to go with'' *(P18).*

In the account above, #P18 declared that her white colleagues like her because they see her as one of them. Being one of them means what? #P18 contemplates over reasons why she is seen as one of them. On her first thought, she assumed she is one of them, maybe, because o*f* her fair and little white colour.

"Maybe my fair and my little white colour and my norwegianness attracts them because they see me as just one of them and easy to go with'' *(P18).*

On her second thought, as captured in the quote above, #P18 assumed again that maybe they (whites) like her and see her as one of them because of her norwegianness and her easiness to go with.

#P18 is liked and seen by some of her colleague white administrators as one of their own and that can be a factor of her inclusion into the majority group. On a point of inclusion and her belongingness, #P18 said that some of her white staff like her and that allows her to easily access the spaces of the white majority. She accounted that because she is seen as their own, she often gets invited for a dinner by some of her ethnic Norwegian staff. She accounted this as opportunity and a source of privilege because she had earlier said that the whites see her as easy

to go with. As she speaks to me, she smiled. This is because not all her immigrant colleagues get the opportunity to access white spaces to activate their inclusion like she is offered.

> *"………., Some of my white colleagues, especially Norwegians would easily set up a dinner with me and when you have a conversation with some of them, they would not say it directly to u, but you could detect that they are not necessarily happy to often setup lunch or dinner meetings with other colleagues [Africans]". (#P18)*

Whiles #P18 enjoys some inclusion and belonging through the likes she receives from some of her colleagues, her explanation of why some of her white colleagues like her and how she pictures herself in her explanation leaves a footprint of subtle racism. Based on her account, she said, maybe they (whites) like her and see her as one of their own **(1)** because of her norwegianness and **(2)** because of her fair and little white colour.

I prefer to describe both her 1st and 2nd thoughts as a subtle racist ideology. I described her thought as subtle racist ideology because it reveals symptoms of internalised racism. Internalised racism is the personal conscious or subconscious acceptance of the dominant society's racist views, stereotypes, and biases of racial and ethnic groups (Pyke, 2010) which gives rise to patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving that result in discriminating, minimizing, criticizing, finding fault, invalidating, and hating others/oneself while simultaneously valuing the dominant culture (Scott, 2007; Pyke, 2010) (see also Talé A. Mitchell 2020, P1 on colorism). An example includes enforcing a notion or norm that people who are black are not beautiful unless they bleach their skin.

On a similar trend, #P18 thinks and feel comfortable that she is liked and viewed as one of them(whites) because of her lighter or fairer skin tone. She links her lighter skin colour to her belongingneess into the majority and assumed that it might be part of the reasons she is liked by some of her white staff. This thought erects a racial fence. It presupposes that people of colour with non-lighter or non-fair skin colour or dark cannot get same opportunity or be liked, accepted, and included into the majority group (ethnic Norwegians who are predominantly white). This brings us to discrimination that occurs based on preference. The definition of racial discrimination in the in the ICERD use some common terms to define differential treatment or discrimination and these words include 'distinction,' 'exclusion,' 'restriction,' and 'preference' (ICERD 196, Article 1, 1965, Norwegian Centre for human right, 2004). Any of these words can be booked to pursue discrimination but my focus here is on   'preference' 'Preferences'

suggests that the action does not necessarily have to be directed against the group alleging discrimination but may be effected through unreasonable promotion of a person or one group at the expense of others (Norwegian Centre for human right, 2004. p 9). If her guess is true that the whites like her and that source of preference crawls from her lighter skin colour s racism. Since her "preference" and differential treatment granted to her is based on colour and nationality.

Besides, it is true that she was also liked and seen as one of their own (whites) because of her Norwegianness, then that could also be conceived as racism since her norwegianess serves as privilege card and unreasonable preference over the others. This means that if Norwegianess is the source of inclusion then those without Norwegian identity would be excluded. That can also spark neo-racism; where cultural, nationality and ethnic boundaries decide who belongs and who does not belong at school.

4.4.3 Reflection on no-racial discrimination

In the stories of teachers, students and school administrators, there was significant stories of racial discrimination experiences. However, it was also found that no racial discrimination experience is a cross occurring experience, among the three different set of participants. Though, the number of participants who experienced no racism were few. Despite, few participants accounted on no racism experience at school, it is still important to reflect on no experiences of racism and look at the issues that could account for that.

First, it is important to point out that when some of the participants say that they have no racial discrimination experience at school, then, it may suggest that there is a sense of inclusion and belongingness they enjoy at school. Belongingness is the positive feeling one has because he/she feels he is accepted and empowered as part of a community. Belongingness at school manifest in different ways in the lives of participants.   As I remember, in the narrative of some participants, a black male administrator (*#P17)* who claims, he has no experience of racism at the university said, he feels very included at school because he is appreciated and respected by his colleagues. To him, respect and recognition of his work is belongingness. An African teacher (*#P15)* who had his higher education in Norway and teaches in a high school said he has also been recognised with a position of power at school (he serves as a lead teacher for newly recruited teachers in his school) and through that power he enjoys, he feels very happy, recognised and belonging at school (#P15). A similar story of no racism tied to a sense of belonging and inclusion was shared by a student of colour, who also feels very accepted and supported at school because his ethnic Norwegian friends assist him during learning and academic activities if he needs help and experience alone that does not make him feel any discrimination and exclusion (*P13*). This points to a common direction that there are subtle inclusive structures in Norwegian education which make people with immigrant background feel accepted and empowered and that works to strengthen inclusion and against racial discrimination and exclusion.

Also, the fact that some participants said they have no experiences of racial discrimination does not mean some of them have not experienced racism at all in Norwegian education. There are some systemic and institutionalised racism that some participants might not be aware of or might have even forgotten to talk about. For instance, critical researchers of Whiteness believe that whiteness is racism, and feeds on its power and domination and feeds on its ability to reman

invisible, unseen, and unmarked (Dyer 1997; Fylkesnes, 2019). In the field of education in Norway, Gullestad and Fylkesness have claim that whiteness exists in Norwegian education, and it remains a subtle engrained and unexamined form of racism and continues to 'slip in through the back door' (Gullestad 2004, 177) which affects racial and cultural minorities and impedes social justice (Fylkesness, 2019). LGBTQI issues come to mind when conversations on whiteness is activated in Norway. Despite, there are some individuals who do not subscribe to bisexual behaviours, there is a strong tolerance on bisexuality in Norway. Based on field work and textbook studies, Røthing & Svendsen (2011) argues that gender equality and gay tolerance are construed as part of Norwegian culture, in contrast to the foreign (non-Western). It is commonly emphasized in several literature that bisexual practices including gay marriages, and lesbianism are liberal in Norway (Røthing & Svendsen 2012, Ida, 2014, Svendsen, 2014). One reason for tolerance of bisexuality in Norway has come from arguments on human right and individuals'(adults) freedom to choose their own sexual behaviors.

Contrary to Norway, when discussing sexuality in Africa, heterosexuality is often seen as a commonly agreed norm (Omodara and Idowu, 2020) since it is a common family and societal value. There is a strong societal disapproval on non-normative sexual identities, with very little tolerance for homosexuality and other alternative sexual behaviors (Omodara and Idowu, 2020, p.2). Homosexual acts are illegal in approximately 37 African countries. Whilst some countries, such as Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, and Guinea-Bissau, have no written or explicitly stated laws criminalizing homosexuality, others, such as Nigeria, Benin, Burundi, and Cameroon, have criminalized homosexuality and made the act punishable by law (Omodara and Idowu. 2020, Global Legal Research, 2014). Even in my own country, Ghana, as I speak, there is a private member's bill on the floor of Ghana´s parliament, with some members of parliament, seeking for criminalizing of bisexual behaviors and homosexual activities in Ghana because they believe bisexual behaviour is against African family values and seen deviant. Opponents of the bill also argue that the bill is against human right and criminalizing bisexual practices in Ghana is discrimination against sexual minorities.
Undermining Africa's little tolerance toward homosexuality and other bisexual orientations is

South Africa. South Africa is the only country in Africa that has legalized homosexuality. Despite, homosexuality is even legal in South Africa, Thapelo Makhutle, a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex (LGBTI) activist was killed in 2012 (Omodara and Idowu.

2020). The murder was engineered by some extremists to suppress Thapelo and several of his kind from spreading non-normative sexual values such as gay and lesbianism.

Whilst the views on bisexuality are diverse, there remains majority Africans who strongly oppose bisexual behaviours. Many Africans come to Norway and other western countries to study, work or find love etc , and I am one of the many who came to study. Most often racial minority students in Norway are commonly socialized into liberal notions of bisexuality since education system in Norway is tolerant to bisexual behaviours. The liberal position on bisexuality by many countries in western world including Norway makes bisexuality looks a western norm. At the same time, since most Africans do have little tolerance for bisexuality(gay marriages, lesbian, LGBTQ etc), behaviours, socializing racial minority students (Africans and other minorities) into the western liberal thinking of bisexuality, could make minority students experience whiteness since education in Norway might undermine the difference((non-tolerance) and the alternative positions some immigrants have towards bisexuality. This might lead to marginalization and exclusion of some minority student´s perspectives since common liberal position on sexuality sustained in popular conversations in education see bisexual behaviours as right, civilized, and modern. This may reinforce white/western norm and culture and could lead to white supremacy. White supremacy is the ideology that white norms and ways of seeing the world must define the world, a world where views and values from non-western cultures are seen as sub values or disqualified perspectives. This kind of thinking might be out there in Norwegian education but since it is subtle and indirect aspect of racism, several minority students might not be aware of it and would not talk about it as an experience of racism. I think maybe, the lack of awareness on the subtle aspects of racism can also be a factor for some accounts of no-racism.

Besides, I am not accusing participants of denial of racism, but some researchers have also contended that when people say they have no racism experiences, such account can be attributed to denial of racism (Krieger & Sidney 1996, Ibrahim, 2019). The denial of racism is where an individual chooses to say he/she has not experienced racism but meanwhile he/she has experienced but chooses to remain silent. The individual may feel like the impact of the experience is not serious or damaging so one can overlook it or not talk about it. This denial style that some people employ might be effective for a short period especially if the encounter happened only once or rarely, but it could be devastating and damaging and heat up and become

visible when the torture of racism continues for a long time (Krieger & Sidney 1996; Ibrahim 2019).

4.4.4 Situating the different racial discrimination experiences in human right

This research is grounded on human right theory. In the review of the literature on racial discrimination, it is indicated that there are two types of racial discrimination under human right law. Direct racial discrimination and indirect racial discrimination. It is therefore important to situate the different forms of racial discrimination experiences found in this study within these two perspectives on discrimination.

4.4.5 Direct racial discrimination

The direct form of racial discrimination experience is when someone is treated less favourably compared to another person who is treated favourably due to their descent, race, ethnicity, culture, religion, nationality etc. Direct discrimination can be harassments, bullying and slurs or hate speeches, and crimes (JURK, 2019). Direct discrimination is visible or overt or more open. In this research, the study found that there are no direct racial discrimination experiences in the accounts of the three different sets of participants (students, teachers, and administrators). The lack of experiences of direct discrimination by the different participants suggests that the forms of racism found in education in this study are subtle and indirect.

4.4.6 Indirect racial discrimination

All the racial discrimination experiences discussed in the study can be categorised under indirect racial discrimination. The indirect forms of racial discrimination are hidden and subtle aspect of racism. When racism is hidden and subtle, it means the act is not overt but covert. Indirect racism is invisible and unconsciously held and have become deeply embedded in individual behaviours, systems and institutions that have evolved over time (JURK, 209). Indirect racial discrimination experiences students go through include whiteness, racial and religious prejudices and stereotypes, colour racism.

Indirect experiences of racism that teachers of African descent go through also include stereotype threat and microaggression. The indirect racial discrimination experience of an administrator of African descent is white comfortability. These racism experiences shared by participants are classified as indirect discrimination because they occur in subtle forms, mostly invisible, silent, hidden and embedded in individual beliefs, institutional and systemic practices. For example, the study found racial and religious stereotypes as behaviours that are embedded

in the attitudes of individuals which silently work to cut out racial minority students from the majority group at school.

The study also found colour racism (where I argued that some students with Norwegian identity were not recognised by their colleagues as Norwegians) at school because of their colour. This form of racism is indirect but can also be described as structural because in Norway equality among citizens, particularly on issues of sense of belonging is a significant social norm. Who feels at home and who does not (who feels a Norwegian and who does not), and who decides these kinds of feelings and recognition are processes embedded in informal structures (such as individual subtle behaviours) and formal systems through laws and regulations (Erdal 2021). These informal structures (includes the racial experiences of #P1 and #P4) reported in the findings chapter. These informal structures may often not be overt discriminatory behaviours but covert, and invisible. However, they are real, and they work to undermine the belongingness of some social groups, particularly immigrants.   It was also found that there is internalised racism occurring through white comfortability and that subtle experience creates racial and cultural divides in both discriminatory and non-negative ways.

The study also recorded institutional racism, and it occurs in the form of whiteness. For instance, in the face of entrenched multicultural learning in Norway, teaching and materials such as course literature and articles are still often dominated by ideas emerging from western white/authors and such practice is normalised and perceive ideal and that works to undermine the ideas and knowledges that emerges from authors with non-western descent. I cited in the study how a Nigerian authored article was subtly and dismissed by a white teacher who was supervising some immigrant students, where this supervisor advised these immigrant students to choose articles that have boundaries in Europe and America because she believed western European/American authored articles are often of higher quality than non-western authored articles. To assume that all set of ideas coming from the west is automatically better than set of ideas coming from Africa or Asia breaches diversity among cultures and that kind of thought feeds white whiteness and supremacy.

4.5 Impacts of racial discrimination experiences

2. In what ways do racial discrimination experiences impact people of African descent at school?

Under this research question, I explore the consequences of experiences of racial discrimination on Africans and African Norwegians. I report and discuss the impacts of racial discrimination experiences on students, teachers, and administrators. These findings are reported and discussed in themes. On students, some of their stories are that racism leaves them with a feeling and a sense of lack of belonging. The thought of being an outsider visits them when they experience racism. Some students also face performance difficulties at school due to relationship difficulties produced by racism. On the experiences of teachers, stereotype threat generates stress and anxiety.

4.5.1 The outsider feeling and a lack of sense of belonging

Students who claimed they suffered racial discrimination due to their non-white colour talked about how their experience of racism impacted them. Three students of African Norwegian descent said that when they experienced racism, they were visited with the thought of feeling unbelonging.

> *''The feeling of not being accepted and belonging at school and in the community visited me when I experienced racism because it made me begun to doubt my inclusion. Though, this pain occurred to me in a short time particularly during the moment I was discriminated against but over time I realised not everyone in Norway is racist''. (#P1)*
> *''When I was marked out as not a Norwegian due to my dark colour, it made me felt a little bit discouraged to define myself as a Norwegian again, I harboured the doubt and the internal fear that I was not accepted'' (#P3)*
>
> *''I was caught with the feeling that this is not where I really belong but later, I felt positive too since the majority of the people at school are not racist towards me (#P4)''.*

The focal point of sense of belonging to a community is the extent to which a person feels personally accepted, respected, included, and supported by others in a school environment and in their community (Susan, 2017). Put differently, belongingness is individuals' psychological feeling of connection to or integration into their community. According to Erdal (2021), a lack of a sense of belonging that comes with experiences of racism is destructive to an individual

since it can subtly take away an individual's inclusion into a community. Belongingness and inclusion is essential for racial minority students since education is a social phenomenon and learners need to function as a social group and share experiences to realise their dreams. When student of African descent experience racism, they lose that community or social connection with the majority group (ethnic Norwegians) because they feel like they are not accepted and recognised as equal members of the school and such feeling makes them become cut out from the majority group which prevents their inclusion and effective integration. The lack of sense of belonging that comes with racism can be a threat to the right to education of racial minority students who go through racism. Particularly, in the right to education framework, acceptability is a key target point for inclusion. Article 13 (1) of the right to education adopted in 1999 by Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights demands that education must be culturally appropriate and include diverse groups. The lack of sense of belonging experienced by students of African descent therefore means that their inclusion and sense of been accepted in the school community can be undermined by racism and that can negatively affect the quality of education these students would eventually have at school.

4.5.2 Racism threatens positive social relationship and performance at school

Five students (two girls and three boys), who are at a university said that racism in the form of racial prejudice and stereotype could have negative implications on a student social and academic performance at school since experiences of racism is tied to social and relationship difficulties. In participants' attempt to clarify how racism could lead to relationship difficulties and poor performance, they said racism could prevent communication between parties antagonised in prejudices since raced based prejudices and discrimination has the potential to generate dislike and enemy mentality among and between parties. This can erode the conducive social environment required for knowledge sharing and supportive learning for racial minority students at school. This could have indirect implications on racial minority students' interaction with white peers and teachers, their social development, and how well they do at school.

> *"If racism such as prejudices manifest to such an extent that one is less likely to be included by classmates in projects, or that teachers are less willing to help and guide students of colour, this could have effect on their social relationship and will affect how well a student would do at school" (#P7).*
>
> *"I think discrimination based on racial prejudices and stereotypes could lead to dislike and that can create social difficulties such as lack of effective communication between*

a victim of racism and a person or group perceived to be racist and this can affect effective communication and learning" *(#P7).*

You know racial discrimination can lead to a negative social relationship and could have an indirect effect on student academic performance since it would weaken the effective interaction and positive social learning environment required to seek relevant knowledge from colleagues and teachers (#P14)

"I don't know but I think experiencing racism such as prejudices and stereotypes could also push one to have that enemy kind of image about persons they feel and see as racist "(#P4).

From the above account, all the five participants' spoke on how racism and discrimination could threaten the social relationships and racial minority students' performance at school. Strong social relationship is fundamental for students' engagement, belonging, and, ultimately, learning (Education Trust and MDRC, 2021). The more high-quality relationships students of minority background have with their teachers and peers, the better the do at school (Education Trust and MDRC, 2021). Positive social relationship between racial and cultural minority students and teachers are essential for social development and performance of racial minority students at school (Education Trust and MDRC, 2021). For instance, if racial minority students have good relationships with their teachers and whites' colleague at school without discrimination difficulties, it could have positive and long-lasting implications for students' academic and social development. Imagine a student (immigrant student) who feels a strong personal connection to her white teacher or white students, and often have conversation with the teacher and colleagues, and receives more constructive feedback from them. In this sense, it is likely that the student would form a positive social relationship that is likely to help him trust her teacher and learn from colleagues, and show more engagement in learning, behave better in class, and achieve at higher level of academic performance and belonginess. In this sense, positive social relationships between students and teachers and even among colleague students draw students into the process of learning and promote their desire to learn (with the assumption that the content of class material is engaging, age-appropriate and culturally, adaptive, and well matched to the student's skills. However, to the five students I interviewed at the university, they said that racism, such as racial prejudices and discrimination, both implicit and explicit, can easily lead to harmful social relationships and practices that erase students' interaction with their colleague and teachers they perceive racist. This can also erase their cultural identities and weakens their social connection and performance at school. Good social relationship lives in good conversation. Racism can limit effective conversation between

parties who are involved in racial squabbles since each party sees the other as an enemy and that kind of perception and image has the capacity to ruin the connection between racial majority and minority students essential for tolerance and diversity which are needed for social and academic development. As one student asserted

> *One may find it uncomfortable to have good social relationship with colleagues if they have racism experiences (#P12)*

Furthermore, motivation is a key ingredient for learning at school and a participant added that racism will not only be a threat to social relationship but also can deactivate a student's motivation which could undermine the talent of students of colour since racism has the capacity to erode the supporting environment required to help students to dialogue and do well at school. As emphasised here by a student

> *When racism, this backward phenomenon gets rooted in schools, it will have immeasurable effects on students who experience it, it can automatically kill the talents of students since the student who has experienced racism might not have the motivation and supporting environment to ask relevant questions or seek relevant knowledge from colleagues and teachers, they do not have good relationship with due to racism (#P11).*

In effect, poor social relationship and lack of motivation could be produced through racism and could lead to abuse on the right to education of students, particularly those from racial minority backgrounds. The quality of education that they are supposed to enjoy including positive relationship, inclusive cross-cultural learning, access to culturally relevant knowledge can be denied and that could be a major hindrance to their right to education. The right to education frameworks, both the principle of accessibility and acceptability will be abused. For instance, the right of access to education dictates that it is the indispensable right of every child to have education based on equality of opportunity and without discrimination on any grounds. Access to education must not only be about being in a school environment physically but also racial and cultural minority students must be part of the ongoing dialogue at school without being discriminated against to have a share on culturally relevant knowledge produced at school. As declared in article 13 of right to education framework on accessibility and acceptability

> *"Accessibility: educational institutions and programmes have to be accessible to everyone, without discrimination……''*

> *"Non-discrimination: education must be accessible to all, especially the most vulnerable groups, in law and fact, without discrimination on any of the prohibited grounds….''*

"Acceptability: the form and substance of education, including curricula and teaching methods, must be acceptable (e.g., relevant, culturally appropriate and of good quality) to students''

(The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1999, Article 13)

When students of racial minority background experience discrimination that creates poor social relationship at school and are excluded from teaching and learning, the inclusive aspect of their educational life is likely to be undermined. To achieve this human right goal on accessibility and acceptability, it is imperative that education is available for, accessible to and inclusive of all children without racial discrimination and all other forms of discrimination that ruins inclusion of students of colour. This will help them build positive social relationship at school, become motivated and develop their lives to realise their dreams at school.

4.6 How does racism impact teachers of African descent?

4.6.1 Stress and anxiety

One racial discrimination experience of teachers identified in the study is Stereotype threat. Stereotype threat experience has some consequences on a racial minority teacher. The consequence of stereotype threat is stress and anxiety. An African teacher said that pressure and concerns about not confirming negative stereotype about his racial group produces stress and anxiety. When the African teacher was talking about the effects of stereotype threat on his life, he said

> *"In fact, it is not easy to be hunted by these invisible threats, since you can sometimes go through some stress and anxiety thinking about issues like this simply because you are black"* (#P16).

Steele (Steele et al., 1997) asserts that stereotype threat effects reflect increased anxiety and stress. Anxiety is a subjective feeling of tension, apprehension, nervousness, and worry associated with arousal of the nervous system (Devi, Praveena & Reddy, M & Zahan, Onaiza & Sharma, and Jvc.2019). Stress can be understood as the feeling of being overwhelmed or one's inability to cope with mental or emotional pressure that may arise from anxiety (Devi, Praveena & Reddy, M & Zahan, Onaiza & Sharma, Jvc. 2019). Van Heeden (2005) & Kaupa, 2020) think stress is not a disease but when it is serious and it occurs for some time, it can have negative effect on mental and physical wellbeing of the individual who experiences it. For instance, it can produce depression, breakdown of nervous and create heart diseases including high blood pressure. Stress and anxiety can have some human right consequences on the

individual who experiences them since stress and anxiety can have health related impacts as (Van Heeden, 2005) and (Kaupa, 2020) as already identified. The preamble to the 1946 Constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO) defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." (Constitution of World Health organisation, revised draft, 2006, p1).

Stress and anxiety can negatively affect the physical, mental, and social wellbeing of an individual since stress and anxiety could lead to depression and other health related struggles. This means that effects of stereotype threats in the form of stress and anxiety could threaten the right to health of the African teacher and other individuals who experience stereotype threats. As human beings, our health is very important. Regardless of our race, age, gender, socio-economic or ethnic background, health is the basic essential asset of our life. If a teacher is not in a good health condition and have bad health such as stress and anxiety which could lead depression, then it can keep a person (a teacher) from going to school or to work. Even if he can go to school, he might not have supporting mental and physical capacity and motivation to teach, and this may affect the teaching task of the teacher. If this teacher is not able to teach due to health issues, it can also impact the right to education of students who benefit from the tuition of this teacher. This teacher is a resource in education in terms of the knowledge he transmits to students through teaching and learning. Therefore, if students are not able to access the knowledge of this teacher due to the health issues that the teacher faces, it means the right to access to education by students in terms of receiving knowledge from a teacher can somehow be undermined. Accessibility is a key dimension of right to education. It states in article 13(2) paragraph (i) of right to education framework adopted by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1999 that access to Education is *Non-discrimination -* education must be accessible to all, especially the most vulnerable groups, in law and fact, without discrimination......etc.

3. How can racial discrimination experiences be addressed?

I answer this research question in two parts. First, I look at ways individuals cope racial discrimination experiences and second, I look at the institutional measures that can be adopted in education to combat racism experiences.

4.6.2 Racism coping strategies

In my attempt to understand ways in which people of African descent cope/handle racism experiences at school, I found several strategies suggested by, students, teachers and administrators at the university on how to deal with racism experiences.

4.7 How do students of African descent cope with racial discrimination experiences?

4.7.1 Confrontation

Two participants (students) shared that confrontation is a strategy they use to handle racial discrimination experiences. The choice to confront, as opposed to the choice to remain silent during experience of racism, is the volitional process where one exercises overt disapproval of a discriminatory behaviour and towards a person or a group engaged in a discriminatory act. Confrontation has been recognized as a "universally available prejudice reduction tool that does not rely on systematic intervention but relies on the power of the individual" (Czopp & Ashburn-Nardo, 2012, pp.176-177). #P12, who is a master student, said that when handling racism, one must speak to the racist and show disapproval of a racist act. In his opinion coping racism through confrontation is ideal. And to him, the perpetrator of racism must be directly confronted or approached by the victim of racism in a way that the perpetrator would be reminded that racism is disrespectful, bad and isn't a good thing and must not be encouraged. This can be difficult and sometimes uncomfortable but must be done.

> *''I think one of the ways to handle racism experiences is to speak to it; you can do that by directly confronting the person who engages in racism and let the person misbehaving knows that racism is bad and engaging in it isn't right but disrespectful. Confronting someone may be uncomfortable to the person who engages in racism since it can be perceived as a threat, but the goal is not to make a person comfortable either but to stand and speak against a racist behaviour and change racist perception''(#P12).*

Another student, a lady, who is on a bachelor study programme also subscribes to the use of confrontation to handle racism, as she adds

A way to tackle racism is to openly and politely confront the person who engages in racism, tell the person that racism is wrong and racist behaviour is unacceptable (#P10).

In both accounts, students suggest that a perpetrator of racism must be confronted. The objective of the confrontation is not to violate the social norms of politeness or to threaten the image of the perpetrator of racism but about being assertive and standing up for yourself and your right in the face of racial injustice. That is engaging in a direct and immediate conversation that gives a clear signal to a perpetrator of racism that you (victim of racism) do not accept a racist behaviour. Registering displeasure directly against racism in the face of a perpetrator of racism may not be easy since it can be uncomfortable to the perpetrator as it may hurt his/her racist ego and if not handled well it could lead to some form of violent conflict or other. However, in this case, and the other student suggest non-aggressive confrontation as this would help in changing the perpetrator's perception about a racist behaviour because through non-aggressive confrontation the victim may politely bring to the perpetrator's attention that a particular racist behaviour is wrong and unacceptable and that can be an effective way of creating awareness and reducing prejudice and other racist behaviours. From Isaac's view and the other student, confrontation is non-aggressive. It is not about a display of violence, anger and emotions or employing minimum force to respond to racism but about choosing not to remain silent over a racist act and that is, holding a direct conversation that transmits a signal to a perpetrator that racism is disrespectful and bad and must not be encouraged. Gullestad (2004) argues that confrontation has some consequence on a perpetrator of racism. To him most Norwegians feel ashamed, and embarrassed when confronted on racism because they do not want to be confronted and accused as being racist. In some cases, perpetrators of racism suddenly disappear when you confront them, or they strongly become defensive and deny when accused of racist act. An example witnessed in this study is when a lady of African Norwegian descent accused a teacher of being racist and the teacher said it was a joke. In that sense, the teacher became defensive and that could be a difficult thing when addressing racism with confrontation since people can deny and become defensive. But it is well encouraging that one exercises the power of confrontation to register his or her approval of racism.

4.7.2 Distancing

Whilst some students openly stand against racism through confrontation, others do the opposite. Three students of African descent shared that they use distancing to handle experiences of racial discrimination. These participants perceive distancing as the power of the individual to respond

to racism by moving away from the person or group and the environment that racism has occurred. An African Norwegian girl who is referenced as #p4 in this study who has ever experienced subtle racism based on her colour in the classroom, she did not only confront her teacher who flamed the fire of racism against her to register her displeasure, but she also activated distancing method by leaving the scene (classroom) where racism occurred.

> *I confronted the teacher that his comment is unfair to my colour and is racist, but he argued that it was just a funny comment he made but he later apologised to me after I reminded him that his comment was racist, but you know I was really angry, so I left the class and went home (#P4).*

Another African student, a Kenyan at a university, also talked about how she activated distancing method in response to one of her experiences of racism. She sees racism experience as a trap that could easily provoke anger and violence which could generate further violence and aggression when one is not careful in his or her response to racism. So, to her, to escape this trap of not losing his mind and been aggressive towards racists, he consciously, smartly, and carefully distances herself from scenes of racism

> *"You know that experience of racism can be provoking in the eye and mind and can make you angry and react badly which could lead to violence, so me, I am very careful about what I do, anytime I experience racist behaviours from others, I just distance myself from the person who is perpetrating this act, just to make sure I do not overreact and lose my conscience in that tempting environment'' (# p6)*

Similar story about the use of distancing to respond to racism was shared by another university student, he asserted,

> *''Why don't you leave the seen and avoid further fire, there is no need to be arguing with someone who is racist, just leave and stay strong'' (#P7).*

In the above account of students, employing a distancing strategy may be helpful to navigate racism. Students of African descent do activate the power of distancing not because they fear to stand against those who perpetrate racism, but they do distance themselves from racism scenes because they see racism as a slippery experience (an experience if not carefully handled could flame anger and violence) between a victim and perpetrator of racism). Due to this thought, they think that it is important for one to distance himself or herself from scenes of racism to gather emotional control to cut down anger and violence that may be inspired by a racist behaviour.

Whilst these students use distancing to cope racism and it somehow helps them survive racism, the tool of distancing as a means of coping racism may not be ideal because distancing may

only make us blind or ignore racism and it could prevent an individual who experiences racism from expressing displeasure against an act of racism, because the individual harbours the thought that their response might trigger violence or further uncomfortable issues. But we need to understand that distancing or ignoring a racist act or a person who is racist is merely an action that only waters down a discriminatory behaviour and empowers racism and racists. When one distances himself from a racist act or racism, he/she refuses to speak against an act of racism and that may be dangerous since it leaves racism hanging and it also denies us the opportunity to educate and change the perception of people who may be perceived racist and even our own prejudices. When that happens the perpetrator of racism is oiled, and he/she may extend his/her racist behaviour to others since he/she might not even be aware of how injurious their racist behaviour is to others, and one would continue to operate in racism.

In a book written by Kendi (2017) titled "*How to Be an Antiracist*," Kendi warns about the danger of ignoring racism either systemic or even individual actions. Using a case study from the United States, Kendi tells in his book how he participated in Prince William County's 2000 Martin Luther King Jr. oratorical contest. He reminded black youth for being unmotivated and unambitious towards challenging racism. Kendi believes that black people in American society are sometimes responsible for their own misfortune, particularly when racism offers little career options to black people because they remain unconcern about acting against racism. His thoughts are not to victim people of colour (blacks) but encouraging black people and Americans to be active in their efforts to see racism as a problem, confront it and combat racist thinking, including their own. In this sense, he expresses an opinion that racism feeds on denial or distancing. It must be actively opposed. In other words, we must challenge racism, speak against it, and let people be aware of their biases as well as our won and take actions. This will help us understand and address the problem of racism instead of ignoring or distancing ourselves from racism.

4.8 Institutional effort: measures schools can adopt to combat racism

4.8.1 Awareness creation
Three university students also suggested that awareness creation on racism can be an ideal way of handling racism. They believe awareness creation can be useful for dealing with racism because most people particularly some ethnic Norwegians believe that there is no racism in Norway. Some Norwegians see Norway as a society that possesses a highly near perfect equality and desirable inclusive qualities. This perception embedded in the minds of some people has become an invisible wall that makes some Norwegians and even immigrants think

that there is no racism in Norway. Such idea prevents many people from making effort to eliminate racial discrimination and reflecting on their own biases. Therefore, creating a constant awareness on racism will help people to understand that racism exists at school and in the society and that self-consciousness and awareness on existence of racism in Norway will be an important step to address racism particularly racial prejudices and stereotypes. As four students of African descent at the university pointed out

"Many ethnic Norwegians believe that Norway is some sort of utopia where racism doesn´t exist. These people are not going to educate themselves on this issue, much less help in the process of eliminating it, until they are convinced that it is still an issue it will be difficult to address it" (#P3)

"We must create a constant awareness on racism to educate people about the existence of racism and that can help people realise their bias towards racial minorities" (#P5)

"You know racism is not something that is mostly talked about in Norway, and this makes one finds it difficult to know whether racism even exist here, so we need to strongly talk about it at school and in the community. Talking about it can be a starting point to make people understand that racism is in the society, it is wrong, and it is an unacceptable behaviour" (#P7).

"There is the need to educate people about racism in the society to ensure respect for minorities and this is a good way to help shine light on the fact that racism is something that is still going on and it is wrong and cannot live here" (#P12).

Racism such as religious and racial prejudices and stereotypes are not fixed attitudes or behaviours. They are socially constructed behaviours and attitudes rooted in ongoing bias treatment of individuals due to a lack of understanding and our incorrect perception about their racial, cultural, and religious background. Therefore, making people realise that racism exist and telling them about their bias and the dangers of racial prejudices held by individuals is an important step to address racism. Awareness creation will help people become conscious of racism and unlearn their personal prejudices. It will help to promote respect and tolerance.

As pointed out in the recent European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), report on racism in Norway adopted on 4 December 2020 and published on 23 February 2021, awareness creation is vital tool to combat racism and discrimination. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) is established by the Council of Europe,

as an independent human rights monitoring body specialised in questions relating to the fight against racism, discrimination (on grounds of "race", ethnic/national origin, colour, citizenship, religion, language, sexual orientation, and gender identity), xenophobia, antisemitism, and intolerance. The ECRI (2021) report urges Norway to take swift action to combat racism and hate speeches. One key intervention mentioned in the report is that racism, discrimination and hate speeches can be prevented through awareness creation (ECRI report, 2021. Pg.20). As stated, ECRI is highly concerned about the intensifying waves of hate speech that Norway saw over the last years and the serious harmful and divisive effects it produced within the Norwegian society. After the Breivik attacks in 2011, the constant xenophobic and anti-Muslim hate speech fuelled dangerous and deadly racist attacks in 2019. Such growing and unacceptable form of outbreaks of racist violence show that persisting public hate speech must set the alarm bells ringing, as experience shows that such prejudices discrimination could lead to terrible racist attacks and violence (ECRI, report, 2021). This therefore calls for public education and awareness creation on racism to reduce hate speeches, prejudices with the will to advance tolerance and diversity.

Besides, the committee on elimination of racial discrimination (CERD) recommended Norway in 2019 to intensify its awareness creation on racism campaigns "to address prejudices and stereotypes as a means to increase tolerance between various communities to prevent hate crimes" in Norway (CERD, 2019, p.3).

Some participants proposed some initiatives that can be taken to ensure awareness creation on racism at school. These initiatives suggested by participants include group-based reflection on racism topics. That is engaging students in group projects and allowing them to talk about and reflect on issues of racial prejudices and other subjects related to discrimination and racism. Two students who are in the university and have a background in multicultural studies and pedagogy shared their experiences from the classroom on how to prevent racial discrimination in the classroom. They suggested that teachers should put both racial majority and minority students in group projects and that move is essential for learning about racial and cultural differences. This can be a way to create awareness on differences that trigger racism

> *"In the university, teachers can make group projects or allow students to make their own groups and this group must be diverse in terms of racial, culture and gender background. Students in these groups can be given a task on racism or a teacher can make examples of some of the racial prejudices in the society and at school, so that*

students can make their own conscious efforts, talk about, and find a way of addressing these issues. Raising this type of group awareness should also be done for pupils in secondary and basic schools (barne – og ungdommsskole/ videregående), and this will erase the "us and them" issues around racial prejudices and racism" (#P7)

''Teachers should help create awareness in the classroom by engaging students on topics and projects on racism. Teaching must not skip topics on racism because talking about racism in the classroom is going to help students be aware of the issues that leads to racism as well as be tolerant to other people that do not belong to their racial or social group''.(#P3)

From the statement above, if racial minority students (immigrants) and whites are put in diverse working groups at school and are allowed to talk about issues of racism such as racial prejudices and become aware of their own biases and the biases others have about them, it will make student become conscious of their personal biases and the subtle prejudices they have about racial minorities and the biases others have about them in the society. This will not only help the students unlearn their prejudices and develop respect for one another, but this can also be an avenue for immigrant students and ethnic Norwegians to develop knowledge about each other and they will understand their cultural differences, form friendships, and tolerate and respect each other. This could be an important step to erase, prejudices and other aspects of racism at school and society.

The issue of awareness creation recommended in this study reinforces the existing intervention put in place in Norway schools to combat racism. The existing intervention is the dembra initiative in Norway schools where students and teachers are allowed to engage in topics on racism through dialogue and self-reflection to seek tolerance and respect for all students and teachers, particularly racial and cultural minorities to help prevent "group-based hostility" and ensure diversity.

Aside the views above, I personally think awareness creation on racism must also go beyond classroom dialogue on racial discrimination. Students and teachers, no matter their racial background, can also involve themselves in social activism, such as the Black Lives Matter campaign and protest racism and other forms of discrimination at school and in society. For example, in the year 2020, during the summer, when many Norwegians and immigrants went onto the streets to protest and speak against racism when George Floyd was murdered in United states, myself and my three Norwegian friends from our little corners took part in this protest

to speak against racism. If I can recall, we wrote on pieces of displaying cards, ''*racism is not good, black lives matter, all lives matter so racism should stop''*. This was a form of activism that we used, together with the energies of the demonstrating crowd, to tell the world about our disproval of racism. Also, the internet (digital and social media) such as Facebook, twitter and others can also be an avenue to create awareness on racism to educate and prevent hate speeches, negative stereotyping, and discrimination against racial minorities (ECRI, 2020).

4.8.2 Strengthening diversity through multicultural learning
Some participants also suggested that if schools strengthen diversity in teaching and learning it would help schools to address racism experiences. Diversity and multicultural practices here mean learning about differences and ensuring the inclusion of all cultures at school to appreciate, recognise and celebrate the differences between and among cultures that are present at school and in communities. A student and a teacher of psychology background advise that when educators are designing school teaching curriculum, such as teaching syllabus that guides how classroom is organised and taught, there should be inclusion of materials that are culturally and racially diverse which reflects the different cultural experiences of learners. Participants highlighted those materials such as articles and ideas from racial minorities and from non-western world must form an important part of school curriculum and must be employed during learning to help aid inclusion and recognition of the perspectives of racial minorities in the classroom.

> ''*I think as educators we should be open to books, ideas, and literature from the west, south, north, and east (around the world) and such understanding will help us to work with minority cultures and against social constructions of whiteness*'' (#P16)
> ''*Schools can employ many non-Norwegian and non-western lecturers*'' (#P9)
> ''*Consistent use of some of the books and articles written by non-white authors as part of curriculum and more to reflect the stories of racial and cultural minorities*'' (#P9)

In the accounts above, *#P16 and #P11* seek for curriculum practices that can strengthen the inclusion of minorities´ literature (articles and books), ideas and stories as important part of learning process. Participants believe this can help improve diversity and challenge racism that craws from whiteness and others.

Multicultural content and diversity education in the modern classroom is critical to helping students construct their identities and share differences and feel like valued members of their school and society. For instance, when we take bisexual issues in Norwegian education,

sexuality is often presented as 'liberal' (Ida, 2014) and western(white). The liberal notion of sexuality denotes educators should build in the minds of all learner's freedom to bisexuality (to be a gay or lesbian or other) is a choice. If an individual chooses to do so it is her or his right in Norway. This liberal normative approach to understanding sexuality is commonly perceived as a white norm, western, better and a modern thinking of sexuality in the classroom. In contrast, when teaching about minority cultures and their beliefs about sexuality in Norway schools, most often, the coin is flipped. Religious and cultural minorities are perceived as 'non-liberal' to bisexual issues (Ida, 2014). For instance, some Muslim's beliefs are perceived by some people as non-receptive to gays and lesbians because the norms of Koran frown upon sexuality and this is often viewed as non-white, non-Norwegian, non-western, and somehow primitive.

However, in constructing a multicultural classroom and building diversity in the minds and hearts of learners to help deactivate whiteness, we need to learn about each other's world

"We can overcome whiteness by improving our understanding of the diverse world cultures, that is by learning about each other's world, so it is important we include books, and information from different cultures, both western and non-western stories and this will bring us close to seeing the world beyond white/western view" **(#P11)**

As #P11 advises, we need to construct a classroom culture that is open to different ways of knowing. To this, a generalised culture of learning and pipes that allow the flow of different cultural experiences must be activated in the classroom.

For example, with the issue of bisexuality, I don't think there is a single Muslim belief or practice about bisexuality. I suspect that there are some Muslims who don't accept bisexuals' people, or gay practice, etc, whilst others do accept bisexual practices. Moreover, when it comes to Muslims, some claim that female genital cutting is normal and is about following the Koran whilst others claim that it is not. This means there are heterogenous thought about bisexuality in the Muslim communities. This plurality of thought on bisexuality is also very consistent with Christian views and some other religions.

Similarly, in Norway, whiles being bisexual is legally accepted and supported by some of the people; I don't think all Norwegians are liberal to bisexual activities. This brings us to a point where I want to emphasise that if we need to build diversity to combat discrimination that stems from whiteness and others, then the conversation on bisexuality must be plural.

In other words, learners should be educated to understand that there are different perceptions about bisexuality hence we must not essentialise a particular culture as fixed and intolerant tolerant to bisexuality. Same as the opposite.

Learners should also be guided into a dialogue, a conversation where they are allowed to encounter multiple perspectives on sexuality rather than only seeing bisexual issues as western (liberal, free, and right) as Ida captures from some Norwegian classrooms. When sexuality is not prescribed but discussed and reflected on, by both racial minority students and whites, learners can build their own independent understanding on bisexual preferences. This will make the presentation about sexuality fair instead of categorising all Norwegians as liberal and non-western others as non-liberal to bisexuality.

Also, in building up a multicultural climate and diversity about sexuality in the classroom, we need to admit that in human right context, human right is about universalism. It points to a fixed wall that all humans (including gay, lesbians, etc) needs respect and are equal humans and must not be discriminated against irrespective of their choice of sexuality. The universal notion of human right and its tolerance to sexual minorities will help support all cultures to enhance freedoms of sexual minorities, including giving them a voice in society: a voice to be recognised and a voice to include their health or psychological needs in policy making. Whilst this may be part of the human right argument for sexual minorities, we must also introduce students to the harms that the universal and liberal western position on sexuality will do to some cultures who are no liberal to bisexuality, as it would undermine the differences (intolerance etc.) they have towards bisexuality.

Generally, to address tensions like this in a less stereotypical way, neutral positions about sexuality will help. We can include both racial majority and minorities' written articles and books and presenting the interest and positions of cultures about bisexuality in a non-right or non-wrong perspective. This may lead to respect and tolerance of each other's ways of seeing the world about sexuality. For white students, particularly, Norwegians, this will help them realise that whatever values they have grown up with, and about sexuality are not necessarily the only correct ones and through that they can develop a multiple view on bisexuality.

Learners must also be made aware that the inclusion of materials and stories of racial and cultural minorities in curriculum is not to steer blackness or other (imposing non-western norms, ideas, and practices on whites (majority group) and ethnic Norwegian learners) but

rather must be viewed as an effort to build an alternative window where racial minority students (people of African descent and others) can see their own world in the classroom outside the normative western discourse that dominates bisexuality as western good and must be tolerable at all cost and by all cultures. The Higher Education Academy, which is in Scotland, asserts that weaving diversity and equality in the curriculum is a way to build a learning, teaching and assessment climate and experiences that proactively eliminate discrimination, support equality of opportunity and foster good relations in a manner that values, preserves and responds to difference (The Higher Education academy, 2015).

Also, a participant (*(#P9)* said that the recruitment of many racial minority teachers in schools will also help improve diversity and cut down white dominance. It is a significant step because it will not only ensure that racial minorities are also consistently recognised and given a place in (academia) but also teachers of non-western background (black and brown etc.) can effectively explain the racial background of non-western texts and issues that are complicated for a white or ethnic Norwegian teacher to understand and explain to the understanding of a class due to their different cultural experiences. This will help improve diversity and improve understanding among learners.

4.8.3 Human Right Education and Tolerance

The study also finds that human right education can be used as a tool to combat racial discrimination in schools. Human right learning can produce values essential to the formation of good attitudes such as tolerance that helps to prevent discrimination and racism. Tolerance offers knowledge about other cultures and people we do not know. Human right education offers a space where there can be inclusive learning and respect.

Some students highlight that

> *''Through human right lessons we can teach students to respect racial and ethnic minorities and their values and be more tolerant to their beliefs, I think that are a good way to eliminate racism''* (#P4)
>
> *''To curb racism, we must learn to know each other, not cultural differences and our values and beliefs, so the teaching of human right in schools will help us know each other sufficiently and that can limit enmity and racial biases and prejudices''* (#P7)
>
> *''Human right education is ever important, a tool to build tolerance, inclusive, diverse and a better society without racial discrimination''* (#P11)

Human rights are sets of fundamental rights intrinsic to all human beings, irrespective of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status (Bradley 2019, UDHR

1948). The basis of human right education is in Universal Declaration of Human Rights *(UDHR) article 26 (2)*, which states that *''Education shall be directed to […] the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Education shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups''*.

From the voices of participants, schools and communities can fight racial discrimination in education if teaching and learning prioritises values of human right. Some of the values mentioned by participants as quoted above include building tolerance and showing respect for diverse groups at school particularly racial and religious minorities and their values and belief systems. One key word mentioned is tolerance. Tolerance is one's willingness and capacity to listen to and be open to opinions and behaviour that one does not like or disagrees.

Tolerance and respect as human right values as suggested here by participants could be a useful means to eliminate racism. For example, in my analysis on religious prejudices and discrimination which can be found under my discussion chapter on research question one. It was raised that a Muslim student faced subtle discrimination because his religious belief of not eating pork and drinking alcohol turned into a stereotype and personal prejudice which cut him out from the majority group at school. In his case, the majority group that eat pork can show him respect due to his different religious beliefs and find ways to tolerate and involve him at school. For instance, during school dinner and parties, the majority group (the group that eat pork and drink alcohol) can occasionally eat with him and drink with him by adopting occasionally a food system that is devoid of pork and alcohol. The Muslim student must also be made to understand that if someone does not share your religious beliefs it does not mean that they are enemies but only, human values differ so he should also respect the way of life of the majority group or the people who eat pork. This can help us realise the right to food and tolerance. The right to food is a human right. It protects the right of all human beings to live in dignity, free from hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition. The right to food is about been able to see to it that all people could feed themselves in dignity. The capacity to feed oneself does not only mean having food items on the table but also having the right environment where what you eat is respected.

The right to food is recognized in article 25 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), as well as a plethora of other instruments. The realisation of the right to food by getting the capacity to have food and freely access culturally appropriate food will also strengthen

tolerance of religious differences and combating of religious intolerance at school. This can further help to realise Article (27) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states that ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, ...). Also, religious minority students' right to education, particularly the right on acceptability at school: which requires that education must not be discriminatory but the form and substance of education, (....,..) should be acceptable (e.g. relevant, culturally appropriate and of good quality) to students will also be realised.

4.9 How do teachers and administrators of African descent cope with racism experiences?

Some of the teachers and administrators of African descent I interviewed also have their own ways they use to navigate racism. Forming an informal immigrant network to navigate racism, speaking out on microaggression, and reliance on professional legitimacy are the ways educators use to survive racism.

4.9.1 Little community Connections that count: informal immigrants' network

In understanding racial discrimination experiences of teachers, one teacher said he experiences microaggression which occurs through a subtle snub of his ideas by his white colleagues during research work at school. That experience leaves this teacher very invisible and disempowered since he feels his ideas and positives are sometimes not allowed to have effect in research projects and that leads to a subtle exclusion. When I asked this teacher how he copes with this experience at school, this teacher, who teaches psychology at a university, subscribes to an informal way of managing this microaggression. He pushes for a little community for immigrants. He said educators who are with immigrant and with a common social and professional interest can form an informal network, a network which will serve as a support system; a space where immigrants can work together to seek their belonging and create their own voice. He reflected on his own experience; that is, the informal network he has formed with some immigrants to push for their inclusion and empowerment

> *''You can develop your own circle of social and professional friends, I mean, you must develop your own network, a support network of professional colleagues, often are international mates and immigrants who are in the same situation as you, you talk to each other and in my case, I normally work with an Ethiopian colleague, Nigerian, and an African American.........etc''. (#P16).*

''We are not in the same institution, but we talk to each other online, on zoom and WhatsApp, we develop research project together and this helps us to activate our inclusion and our voice'' (#P16).

As *(#P16)* pointed out, this network is an informal online group formed by some of the immigrant teachers in higher education. Whilst he did not mention the name of the group, he pointed out that the group is a platform that supports the social and professional research activities of immigrant educators. It is an informal group created by these immigrant teachers which serves as a little community where these teachers meet, share ideas and produce research work together. This African teacher feels this network give him and his immigrant colleagues a voice and a feeling of being involved in research projects. He feels his positive ideas are allowed to reflect in research works and working together as immigrant professionals is empowering and inclusive because their views are heard and are not undermined, as compared to working with their white colleagues.

''So, generally I look outside, and work with people who share immigrant experience with me since I can easily be heard working with them, and it is more inclusive and empowering'' (#P16)

This teacher does not only look outside to seek inclusion and belongingness by doing research projects with his immigrant colleagues, but he sometimes works on research projects with few of his ethnic Norwegian colleague to ensure intercultural learning and diversity. Though, he hinted that this occurs rarely.

''This does not mean I do not work with my ethnic Norwegians colleagues at all, I do sometimes, but our project in that sense is very limited'' (#P16).

Whiles the use of social and professional immigrant network maybe helpful for a temporal survival of exclusion by immigrant teachers in the educational space, I think that approach adopted by immigrant educators to contain racial discrimination may not be ideal. This is because such network could breed segregation between racial minority educators and their white peers, but it will also prevent a cross cultural learning between racial minorities and white educators.

In the current global world, schools are industries for building diverse and multicultural experiences. It is a place to develop individuals through cross-cultural learning to appreciate diverse values and knowledges. This means dialogue among teachers of different racial and cultural background is essential to achieve diversity and inclusion. As Amy Stuart Wells, Lauren Fox, and Diana Cordova-Cobo (2016) advocate the benefits of school diversity run in all directions. There is a growing body of evidence that diversity makes larceners smart

Students who are exposed to other students who are different from them, as well as the novel ideas and challenges that such exposure brings, improve their cognitive skills, including critical thinking and problem solving (Lauren and Cordova-Cobo, 2016).

Though these authors used students in their example, but the main point here is about how essential it is for schools to create a space that allow people learn from both sides (learning racial between and among minorities and whites) to achieve diversity and critical thinking. This is because teachers of African descent are immigrants, who have enormous knowledge about social situations and other experiences from their home country and abroad. Whites and ethnic Norwegian teachers also have experiences that racial minority teachers, (Africans and African Norwegians) do not have. Ideally, if ethnic Norwegian teachers and teachers of African descent' often work together (for example, do research projects together), and share diverse experiences, they will be able to produce results that would reflect diverse ideas and knowledges from multiple cultures as well as improve their critical thinking of the current world. This can be beneficial to their individual development and the development of tolerance and diversity among teachers and students. However, the distance mode posture that is adopted through this informal immigrant network, where immigrant educators see themselves as a little ''segregated community'', may cut them away from the majority group (ethnic Norwegians) and this could block spaces required for a constant dialogue between people of African descent and ethnic Norwegians. Even if there can be an inclusive interaction between whites and immigrant teachers, it will be occasional. Though, with this immigrant network formed by immigrant teachers, it would help African immigrant teachers to empower themselves since it would allow them to produce their own research works that reflect their own voices and immigrant experiences. This can help empower them. However, it would also silently force African immigrant teachers who are tied to this network to coil into their own immigrant shells. Immigrant teachers would only end up learning and working with their fellow immigrants but would fail to learn and integrate with the majority ethnic Norwegians and that could even reinforce further exclusion of these immigrant teacher.

4.9.2 Speak out

#P16 reflected on how racism can be addressed. He touched on microaggression. He said in dealing with microaggression, racial minority teachers should understand that Norway is not a confrontational society but rather a highly avoidant culture. Therefore, in situations where a racial minority teacher feels that his/her professional ideas are been subtly overlooked by their

colleagues during research projects, racial minority educators should express their feelings and dissatisfaction about this injustice to their colleagues or to appropriate authorities so that they (white majority) become aware of the marginalisation black teachers go through.   The expression of disapproval of microaggression must be done with calmness, respect to others and with consistency without antagonising.

> "If you accuse people of not listening to you or overlook your views, you do not want to antagonise individually. In my institute for example, there were issues that were not sitting well with me in relation to research as I have already said, I kept hammering on it, that is speaking out about it for some time, and it was finally addressed. In Norway, it is highly avoidance culture, you need to learn how the people reason and deal with them in patience" (#P16).

4.9.3 Reliance on professional identity

A teacher of African descent who teaches psychology and is the only black teacher at his department at a university said that racial minority teachers can prevent racism experiences and feel belonging in their white dominated staff faculties if racial minority teachers rely on their professional identity at school instead of their racial identity in the white dominated institutions as that move would increase their legitimacy and also prevent heightening the racial differences they have with others. He believes being blind to race and been open to professional identity can be helpful to navigate racism in white space.

> "You do not have to use your group identity; for example, if I think too much of my blackness it will limit my ability to relate with others. I know that I am black, and I am a racial minority in my department, I know but I focus only on my professional identity just to ensure my legitimacy. This also helps me to avoid heightening the racial differences I have with others" (P#16).

Similar story about the focus on professional identity at school to navigate racism was echoed by a black school administrator (at finance department) at a university. He believes that to navigate racism in education and at the faculty level, racial minority staff has to put much hard work and commitment into their professional roles and that makes white colleagues and other faculty members see them through their profession and not their colour or racial identity which helps racial minority staff to feel accepted in white dominated faculties.

> "I think as a racial minority, If you want to feel accepted in a white dominated space you just have to commit harder to your job, I do that, I work hard and I am committed to my work like liaising my little girls shoes and through that I feel so accepted and

belonging because everyone in the faculty likes me because I am seen through my hard work and commitment to work and not through my racial identity as a black person. Though, being a foreigner, you may have little challenges here and there but that is normal" (**#P17**).

Discourse on professional identity is embedded in the study of personal identity. Gecas & Burke (1995: 42) cited in Holly& Smith (2010) sees personal identity as the various meanings attached to oneself by self and others. Gecas and Burke (1995) argue that the significance of identity is about fixing an individual's place in society through relationships sustained by the meanings individuals adopt for themselves. Membership in a profession therefore shapes self-definition and it also defines how others may see an individual in that profession. In this sense, professional identity therefore includes attributes, beliefs, values, and energies people use to define themselves in specialized, skill- and education-based occupations or vocations (Holly and Smith, 2010).

On the other hand, racial identity is a socially constructed phenomenon where individuals identify themselves in a society through a particular race or racial group and based on their race, they form important relationships. As the two participants account above, focusing on professional identity is essential and a social capital for autonomy and inclusion at school since one is seen as part of a community because of a skill and certain defined competence he demonstrates at work. When an individual focuses on his or her professional identity to form import relationships in a white faculty, colleagues can view that member as part of the faculty, since the individual is always identified through his professional identity, mainly his capacity in the working space and not identified by his racial identity. Being recognised through professional identity and labelled as 'one of us' in a profession is a social capital that ensures not only autonomy, but also acceptance and belongingness of racial minority administrator at a white working space. As he said

> *"...I work hard, and I am committed to my work like liaising my little girls' shoes and through that I feel so accepted and belonging because everyone in the faculty likes me"* (**#P17**).

In this case, this black administrator's reliance on his professional identity (by working hard and being committed to his job) is a tool he uses to negotiate strong social relationships and belongingness at school but at the same time, he uses hard work and commitment to his profession (which is a form of professional identity) to paper over the racial differences and cracks. The reliance on professional identity whilst papering over racial differences and colour

is also a strategy to achieve autonomy, legitimacy, and egalitarianism. As one teacher of African descent stressed

> *"I know that I am black, and I am a racial minority in my department, I know but I focus only on my professional identity just to ensure my legitimacy. This also helps me to avoid heightening the racial differences I have with other." (#P16).*

Whilst focusing on professional identity to manage racism may trigger a certain form of belonging which could reflect in the form of having important social relations and autonomy at school for black educators, the focus on professional identity and the desire of black educators seeing race as immaterial when navigating racism is dangerous. Existing research evidence that efforts not to 'see' race insinuate that recognizing race is problematic (Subini Ancy Annamma, Darrell D. Jackson & Deb Morrison, 2017).

Colour blindness or colour evasiveness has its own consequences on racial minority teachers and educators since it has the potential to limit diversity. For example, as stated above, a black teacher says that he does not focus on colour because he does not want to heighten racial differences between him and his white colleagues.

An administrator also said he works hard for people to identify him by his hard work and not his race. This means these educators tend to be colour blind and the fear to heighten racial differences between them and their colleagues would inevitably prevent them from cross racial learning and that has a potential to subvert diversity. Lack of understanding about racial and cultural differences could lead to lack of knowledge of other racial groups and it could reproduce prejudices and racism.

Colour blindness, whilst often heralded as an antidote to racism due to its power to seek egalitarianism, it can also aid negative outcomes for people of colour. Existing literature supports that people high in colour blindness not only are less sensitive to racism but also may be less attuned to minorities' unique realities (Neville et al., 2000). Research done on early-career teachers revealed that those with more colour-blind orientations were less willing to adapt their teaching to ethnic minority students' needs (Hachfeld, Hahn, Schroeder, Anders, & Kunter, 2015).

Other research shows a link between colour-blind racial attitudes and lower adoption of inclusive teaching practices by educators (Aragón, Dovidio, & Graham, 2017), lower empathy in therapists (Burkard & Knox, 2004), greater apathy to racism (Tynes & Markoe, 2010), and less willingness to support diversity) efforts (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2006) such as having knowledge about others as a strategy to reduce discrimination (Moreover, colour blindness will

not only help black educators to contribute to racism but also if we fail to talk and speak about colour and racial differences, we only reinforce the social order by allowing people to see themselves as nonprejudiced, and that can be used subtly to defend current racial hierarchies, and diminishes sensitivity to racism.

4.10 Summary of discussion and reflection

The study engaged three different set of participants (teachers, students, and administrators) of African descent. Many participants interviewed in the study have experienced racial discrimination. Their experiences of racism are subtle and covert and occur in different forms, levels, and shapes.

The observation is that all four participants (students) who have African Norwegian descent have similar experience. They mentioned racism that subtly craws from colour and Norwegianness. This time of racism is also structural. They have tensions between their colour and been recognised same as Norwegians. This affects their belonging at school. However, participants with only African descent (students) have scattered racial discrimination experiences. Some have experienced racial and religious stereotypes, and whiteness.

In terms of how to cope racism, confrontation, distancing, awareness creation, speak out, learning and living through diversity and human right education are some of the ways to survive and combat racism in education

On the part of educators (teachers and administrators) the views on racism were mixed as well. Some have experienced racism whilst others have not. Some of the racial issues were stereotype threat, microaggression and white comfortability. Some of the coping methods used by teachers and administrators of African descent to manage racism include formation of little immigrant community that count, reliance on professional identity, and speak out.

Despite, I used both men and women in the study; gender issues did not influence experiences of racial discrimination. However, nationality did influence how racial minority teachers stand against racism and exclusion. It was realised in the study that some educators from Ethiopia, Kenya, Ghana, and other African regions form immigrant circles and network ae to fight and survive discrimination and exclusion.

Having reflected on the different racism experiences of participants and the various dynamics in the study, I will argue from a human right perspective that the cross-cutting racial discrimination experience among Africans and African Norwegians in higher education is indirect racial discrimination. This finding may contrast some of the findings on racism in other spheres of the Norwegian society. In the area of employment and housing direct racial discrimination has also been observed (JURK, 2019, p19). For example, JURK (2019) reports that many immigrants experience difficulties accessing housing either to rent/lease or buy. One issue reported in 2019 was about an Iranian family who wanted to buy a house. The Iranian family gave best offer for the house, but the owners of the house said that they cannot sell it to them because they don't want any trouble (JURK, 2019, p19). The report concludes that the Iranian family were treated unfairly for refusing them the house in favour of a Norwegian family. The treated them unfairly because they were foreigners. This is ethnic based discrimination .

5.O Conclusion and recommendation

Racism, in all its shapes, forms, types and levels continue to be a major cause of discrimination, indignity, and lack of equality for many people in the world today. Through international human right law, efforts have been made in the world to reduce racial discrimination practices such as slavery, genocide, apartheid, and segregation (Bradley, 2019). With the birth of international convention for elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in 1965, racial discrimination is now abolished, and the world seems to limp towards freedom. Despite, this admiring steps toward a better human right world, racism continues to be a problem for many people in the world today and it is a human right threat that requires more attention.

As part of the effort to contribute to elimination of racism in the world, particularly Norway, this study has dived into the experiences of Africans and African Norwegians in higher education in Norway. Using 18 participants, and employing a qualitative approach through personal interviews, this study concludes that people of African descent in higher education (university) have experiences of indirect racial discrimination. The impact of indirect racial discrimination experiences includes difficulties threat to belonging at school and poor academic development and performance. On the part of educators,' stress and anxiety were the effects of racism on their lives.

In terms of how to deal with racism, awareness creation on racism, human right education, inclusive curriculum, speaking out, confrontation, and distancing are some of the racisms coping strategies students pointed out. On the part of teachers and administrators, they deal with racism through reliance on professional identity, and forming of a shared little community that count. Whilst these are the forms of racism found in education and the ways to handle them by students and teachers; I think I used very few participants (only 4 people) to gather views on administrators and teachers. This will make the generalisation of findings on teachers and administrators quite difficult. This is the conclusion I have arrived in the study, but I also recommend that if a further research based on a larger sample size is done to exploring racial discrimination experiences of teachers and administrators, it would widen the scope of understanding of racism experiences of racial minority teachers and administrators in Norway.

5.1 From Ghana to Norway: Telling my personal experiences on racism

As a young African, who spent most of my formative educational years in Ghana (from basic school to bachelor level), I have had a limited understanding about racism since it is not a common discussion in Ghana. When you would hear of discrimination issues in Ghanaian communities, it normally would be political topics, not racial topics. Topics, where parties in political environment will practice winner takes all. Such as my party (party A) is in power, or we are the ruling government, so we control all resources whiles excluding people who do not belong to that ruling party. This is common in areas of employment. ¨

There are also several religious groups in Ghana including Christians, Moslems, and traditional African worshipers but barely do you here religious discrimination. You can be a Christian and go to Islamic established schools. You can be a Muslim and go to Christian based schools. During my high school days in 2011 and even today, we have state sponsored boarding house system at the senior high school level where both Muslims and Christians and others share living together including food and bed use. I mean there is that sense of tolerance and diversity from several angles of the Ghanaian society.

 We also had our own occasional racism issues amid the tolerance and diversity. You may find some few tribal and ethnocentric issues, particularly among the Akans (the largest ethnic group in Ghana, which mainly includes the Ashanti's and few others). The Akans are the affluent people in Ghana. They dominate economy and politics. This allows them to find power and wealth to support but also humiliate tribal minorities. Some of Akan people normally see people from other ethnic groups as inferior to Akan's. But this is not a national issue but normally at the individual level.

At my time in Ghana, I was not aware that ethnocentrism was racism. When it comes to racism issues, it is talked about in Ghana mostly when people are talking about Africans living in Europe and America and their experiences. Until I came to Norway to study, I understood racism as a problem caused by only white people and against people of colour. I have perceived racism to be solely a practice that is caused through a direct dislike of a person due his colour. I have perceived racism to be direct racial discrimination such as open religious hate speeches and bullying such as race-based name-calling.

However, after going through this study, I have learnt new things about racism and unlearned many of the things about racism. I have minimised the stereotypes I had about certain social groups. I would eliminate all stereotypes from my mind if I could but hmm in our world today, we hear stereotypes every day and they become pictures in our heads. But the good thing is that when I hear them this time, they don't stay in my head again and I don't operate on it anymore, thanks to this research. This has also allowed me to educate others. I visited a Romanian friend, she had a lot of bread in her thrash bin, as we were speaking about good life in Norway, she switched the conversation in a form of joke and said to me "*Urban, do you know all these bread in my thrash can feed all Africans, hahaha, you know Norway is too good)?*". We all laughed over it; it was funny but uncomfortable. Her perception is that Africans do not have food to eat and are poor. She was somehow right because some Africans are hungry, but some too have enough food in the fridge, but she generalised and that is a stereotype. I later politely told her to see every society or community as a space that involves several individuals who have different or diverse experiences. Some are poor and some are rich and middle class who can buy food. Thinking this way is often ideal than generalising and homogenising an entire continent as fixed and poor.

Genetically, I have learnt that there is nothing like white race or black race, but it is merely a social construction. I have understood that racism is not a static phenomenon, not just biologically constructed but socially and culturally constructed. I have learnt that not everyone and not every white person is racist. I have also learnt that racism does not only occur through skin colour or race discrimination but can be also happen through ethnic, cultural, national, and religious ¨discriminations etc. I have also become aware of the subtle aspects of racism such as whiteness which I did not even know about until I started this project.

I have also familiarised myself with several human right laws and why it was adopted. At least, I have come to know that the international convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination was created in response to genocide, apartheid regimes and racism around the world after the 2nd world war. I think this experience has prepared me better for my next research on racism and human right.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

Sex:

Age:

Entry question

Nice meeting you, can you share with me a bit about yourself**?**

Student

1. Can you share with me your experience as a student in Norway?

2. Have you heard about racial discrimination?

3. What is your understanding on racial discrimination?

4. What are your experiences in relation to racial discrimination at school?

5. How did racial discrimination experience happen?

6. When did racial discrimination experience happen?

7. Do you have any experiences of racial stereotypes and prejudices at school?

   If yes, what is it? If no, why?
   ,
8. Do you in anyway consider your experiences of prejudices and stereotype as racism?

9. Does teaching and learning at school lead to any form of discrimination against racial minority students?

10. What impacts are associated with experiences of racial discrimination at school

11. What kind of impacts does racism experiences have on your human right?

12. Can human right education be used to address racism in anyway

13. How do you cope with racial discrimination experiences at school?

14. What further choices can be made to address racial discrimination in education?

Teachers

15. What is your experience being a racial minority teacher in Norway?

16. What is your understanding on racial discrimination?

17. Do you have any experiences of racial discrimination at school?

    If yes, what is the nature of racism experiences have you had?

    If no, why?
    When did you have this experience?

    Where did you have this experience?

18. What impacts are associated with experiences of racial discrimination

19. Does racism experience have any human right implications?

20. How do you cope racial discrimination experiences?

21. What choices can be made to handle racial discrimination experiences that racial minority teachers go through?

Administrator

22. What are some of the experiences being a racial minority and a school administrator in Norway?

23. Have you had any experiences of racial discrimination at school?

    If yes, what is the nature of racism experience?

    When did you have this experience?
    If no, why ?
24. Have you had any experiences in the form of prejudices and stereotypes?

25. Do racism experiences have any consequences on your human right?

26. How do you cope with racial discrimination experiences?

27. What choices can be made to address racial discrimination experiences that administrators of African descent go through?