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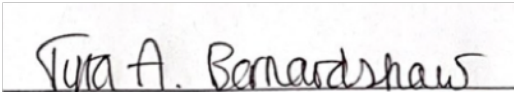Faculty of Landscape and Society

The Black Lives Matter Movement:
Understanding the Impact on Race and Racial Injustice in Norway Following the 2020 Protest Wave
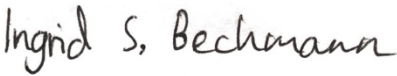
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Declaration

We, Tyra A. Bernardshaw and Ingrid S. Bechmann, declare that this thesis is a result of our own research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than our own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature…..…Tyra A. Bernardshaw………….Date………15.06.2022…………………

Signature…..…Ingrid S. Bechmann…………………………………Date………15.06.2022…………………

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Any errors are ours alone.

Abstract

The Black Lives Matter movement rose as a force against the oppression and systematic violence of black people in the US but spread to become a worldwide movement with local adaptations. While it had existed for some years before 2020, the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 26 sparked a renewed anger and frustration among people around the world. Norway experienced a protest wave in the summer of 2020, which attracted and engaged youth of minority background, in particular, to participate.

This study aims to investigate the extent to which the Black Lives Matter protest wave has had an impact on the current discussion about race and racial injustice in Norway by examining the role of minority youth in Norwegian society. The objective of the study is to deepen the understanding of racialized experiences by lifting the voices of people who have experienced racism or racial injustice, as well as to demonstrate whether the Black Lives Matter protest wave has had any value on the ongoing conversation about racism in Norway. Thus, the main research question that this study has attempted to answer is: *How has the Black Lives Matter movement in Norway made an impact on the conversation around race and racial injustice in Norway?*

Our study suggests that the BLM protest wave has had a significant impact on the conversation around race and racial injustice in Norway, particularly by how it introduced a wider understanding and nuances to the comprehension of racialized experienced, as well as it increased the overall knowledge among the general population of what it is like to be a minority in Norway. It has had a noteworthy impact on minority youth's role in Norwegian society because they experienced having more space in the public room to share their experiences and perspectives, and a reduced fear of voicing their opinions. Lastly, our study demonstrates that there is a considerable lack of trust among minority youth towards the police, primarily because they feel targeted and unfairly treated by law enforcement, based on first or secondary negative experiences with the police.

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1. Introduction

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement first emerged in the United States of America in the early 2010s as a response to racialized experiences of police brutality and killing. The movement spread across the world and made an impact globally, including in Norway, where protests were held in June 2020 after the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis. The movement stirred an engagement among people with various racial backgrounds that sought to "call attention to the devaluation of Black lives in the United States and across the globe" (Olutola, 2020). The significance of the BLM protest wave in Norway is that they demonstrated a commitment among youth towards speaking up against discrimination and racialized injustice. Furthermore, it allowed people of minority background to share their experiences of racism in Norway. According to news articles covering the demonstrations last June, there was a particular rise in engagement among youth that has not had a clear presence in the discussion on racism before (Sterud, 2020).

The BLM protests in Norway have been described as a new wave of activism that has not been seen before. Postdoctoral research fellow, Rune Ellefsen, and professor, Sveinung Sandberg, at the University of Oslo postulate that many of those who participated in the BLM protests experienced it as a type of awakening that moves beyond the topics on which traditional political parties have tended to focus on (Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022). In fact, Jørg A. Jørgensen (2021) suggests that youth are becoming more engaged in some of the societal challenges that were neglected by their parents' generation, such as the issues of racism and climate change. Although youth's involvement in fighting racial injustice is considered a positive development, he emphasizes the importance of recognizing the different historical contexts between the US and Norway. As a new social movement, the global BLM movement and, in particular, the Norwegian BLM protest wave, initiated a public debate around race and racism in this country. While there had been piecemeal discussions around race in Norway, the BLM demonstrations projected youth perspectives on this topic onto center stage. Nevertheless, the focus of the conversations that were taking place in Norway during the BLM protest wave focused, to a large extent, on the issue of racism, what experiences with racial injustice minorities in Norway were facing, and the disparity in law enforcement's treatment of minorities versus the majority population.

There has been limited research on the impact of the BLM movement that focuses on the period following the killing of George Floy, and particularly research that focuses on the Norwegian context (Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022). However, as this is a growing body of literature, this study seeks to be a contribution to this scholarship with an aim to map out and examine the racialized experiences of minority youth in Norway.

1.1 Overview of the Thesis

The following chapter will outline the study's research questions and sub-research questions, as well as give a brief examination of what the study's aims and objectives are. Next, chapter 3 will provide a thematic background discussing the emergence of the BLM movement, introducing the protest wave in Norway, mapping out the ways in which BLM has been explored in the academic literature, and lastly look at immigration and racialization in Norway. The following chapter, chapter 4, will introduce the theoretical and analytical framework of this study. It will begin by examining the discussion of racism in Norway, followed by a discussion on social movements and critical social theories that includes Marxist and Postcolonialist perspectives. Lastly, the chapter will introduce theories explaining trust-building theories with an emphasis on procedural justice theory, which also contains a discussion on the presence of ethnic profiling globally and in Norway. Chapter 5 will focus on the research design and methodology for this study by explaining our choice of research design, as well as provide reflections on the process of data collection, data analysis, the reliability and validity of our study, and ethical considerations. The findings and discussion chapter, chapter 6, will include an outline of the study's main findings and a discussion on the findings in connection to our theoretical and analytical framework. The chapter is divided into the three main themes of our study; 'Racism in Norway' discussing our participants' experiences and knowledge of what it means to be a minority in Norway; 'Black Lives Matter' demonstrating what impact the BLM protest wave has had on its Norwegian audience; and lastly 'Policing in Norway,' which discusses policing practices, our participants' perception of the police's role in Norway, and their experiences with law enforcement. The final chapter, chapter 7,

will provide a conclusion and recommendations based on our study's findings. Chapter 8 and 9 will provide a list of references and appendices, respectively.

2. Research Questions and Objectives

The aim of the research is to investigate the extent to which the Black Lives Matter movement has had an impact on the current discussion about race and racial injustice in Norway by particularly looking at the role of minority youth in Norwegian society. Due to the significance of the BLM movement and the topical focus of the movement in the US, we aim to look closer at how BLM and the protest wave has made an impact on the above-mentioned discussion in Norway, and to identify what the general outcomes of the BLM protest wave were in the Norwegian context. As policing is a key part of the conversation around race and racial injustice, and especially in connection to BLM, the research will also aim to determine how minority youth perceive the role of the police, what impact BLM has had on this perception, and what their experiences with law enforcement are.

Therefore, our main research question is:

- How has the Black Lives Matter movement in Norway made an impact on the conversation around race and racial injustice in Norway?

In addition, our study has two sub-research questions:

- What impact, if any, has the BLM movement had on minority youth's role in Norwegian society?
- How do participants in the BLM Movement perceive the role of the police in Norwegian society?

The objective of our study is to deepen the understanding of racialized experiences and political mobilization around race-related concerns in Norway. We will achieve this by highlighting the voices of people who may have experienced racism, showing what value the BLM movement had on the conversation of race and racial injustice in Norway, and putting a focus on the issue of racism in Norwegian society. The study seeks to increase the understanding and awareness of the

everyday life of minority youth and their realities with racialized experiences. Lastly, due to the limited research available on the deeper understanding of minority youth's perception of and experiences with racism, their contact with law enforcement, and their way of engaging with politics, this study seeks to be a small contribution to the academic literature on this topic.

3. Thematic Background

This chapter seeks to provide an overview of the thematic background of our research focus. As our study focuses on the Black Lives Matter protest wave in Norway and the issue of racism and discrimination, this section will include context on the emergence of the BLM movement, how the movement spread to Norway and introduced a wave of protests, how BLM has been discussed and examined in the academic literature, and lastly immigration and racialization in Norway.

3.1 The Black Lives Matter Movement

The BLM movement began as a force against the presence of violence against black people, structural racism, and police brutality in the United States. On February 26, 2012, seventeen-year-old Trayvon Martin was shot and killed by George Zimmerman, a neighborhood watch captain, in Sanford, Florida (Ince et al., 2017, p. 1818). The beginning of the BLM movement was marked with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter on Twitter after Zimmerman was acquitted of all charges against him in 2013. A year later, Eric Garner was killed by an on-duty NYPD officer who arrested him and put him in a chokehold, demonstrating yet another killing of an unarmed black man (Hooker, 2016). It was not until the Ferguson protests in 2014 that these events truly catalyzed a conversation about the wrongful killings of black men and boys (Carney, 2016, p. 181-182). The Ferguson protests were triggered by the killing of Michael Brown, who, similar to Garner, was fatally shot by a Ferguson police officer named Darren Wilson (Hooker, 2016). In March of 2020, a 26-year-old African-American woman, Breonna Taylor, was fatally shot in her home in Louisville, Kentucky, after seven police officers entered her home as a part of a drug dealing operation.

The significance of these events, which are just a fraction of the full series of events where black people have died at the hands of predominantly white police officers, is that they display the experiences of many black men and women in the United States, as well as the wrongful actions committed by predominantly white police officers and others who feel the need to take the law

into their own hands. The rise of social justice activism, particularly among young people of color, has played an important role in exposing black peoples' experiences of structural racism and has drawn attention to the issue of accountability for police officers and other vigilantes. At the core of the movement is ethnic minority groups' frustration over the existence of racism and discrimination, which led to a mobilization of youth to protest (Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022).

The Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation Inc. (BLMGNF) was originally founded by the activists Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi. The international organization, located in the US, the UK, and France, seeks to "eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes" (BLMGNF, 2021). Although the organization shares a similar sense of concerns and mission with those who may choose to engage in the movement, it is important to recognize that the two are not one and the same and that the movement is broader than the Foundation. The movement consists of a decentralized network of activists and does not have a clear leadership. The Foundation, on the other hand, has a clear leadership and a larger focus on specific policy-based goals (Clayton, 2018). As a result of the synonymy between the movement and the organization, the separation between the two often becomes a gray area and it can be difficult for readers and observers to differentiate them.

From its initial creation and growth in the United States, the BLM movement spread internationally following the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 26, 2020. The recording of police officer Derek Chauvin pressing his knee on Floyd's neck for 9 minutes and 29 seconds, ultimately leading to Floyd's suffocation, gave a detailed visualization of his death that infuriated people through widespread sharing on social media (The Economist, 2020). Although the BLM movement had existed for a few years before the 2020 demonstrations, the killing of George Floyd fuelled an anger in people across the world, which "triggered a global diffusion of the BLM movement" (Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022, p. 2). In comparison to other killings of similar nature, George Floyd's death sparked protests around the world precisely because of the rapid spread on social media of video footage manifesting his death.

3.2 The Protest Wave in Norway

The BLM movement and George Floyd's death also found resonance among racialized and social justice-minded people in Norway. This led to a number of demonstrations taking place in cities all over Norway, and many of the conversations that were held at the time focused on the underlying structures of discrimination against minorities (Haugsgjerd and Thorbjørnsrud, 2021). On June 5, 2020, an estimated 12 000 to 15 000 people gathered in front of the US Embassy and the Norwegian Parliament in Oslo to highlight the injustice experienced by Floyd and to demonstrate their solidarity with the global BLM movement (Mogen et al., 2020). The demonstrations in Norway peaked around June of 2020, where the primary focus was to recognize and spread awareness about the different types of ethnic discrimination that exists in Norwegian society (Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022). The internationalization of the BLM movement adapted a conversation that had originally started in an American context, to issues of racism and violence against people of color in other countries. In Norway, for example, these solidarity protests sparked conversations about racial discrimination, ethnic profiling, and structural racism in the country. They also raised concern about whether a lack of public debate around these issues might be reinforcing anti-immigrant prejudice and stereotypes across generations. Similar to how Ellefsen and Sandberg (ibid.) have consistently referred to the Norwegian BLM demonstrations as a 'protest wave,' this study will use similar terminology rather than calling it a 'Norwegian BLM movement.' The reason for this is primarily because the protest wave was rather short-lived and too premature to be understood as an established movement. Particularly when comparing it to the BLM Movement in the US, there is a significant lack of structure and organization in the BLM demonstrations that took place in Norway, making it more natural to refer to it as a protest wave.

The BLM demonstrations did not only become an awakening among the Norwegian public, but also stirred an interest among social scientists in the on-going discussion on the prevalence of racism in Norwegian society. Similar to other places in the world that experienced a surge of mobilization after the killing of George Floyd, the media and public debates that took place during the movement's peak in Norway were flooded with stories of experiences with racism (Haugsgjerd and Thorbjørnsrud, 2021). Orupabo (2021) says that one of the things that got her attention was

how the common denominator among the stories of young Norwegians' experiences with racism was their emphasis on the subtle and structural forms of racism. She says that it was not necessarily the extreme forms of negative attitudes and actions against racial minorities that was highlighted, but rather the sum of small actions and experiences on how youth was never seen as Norwegian enough. Orupabo (ibid.) indicates that the demonstrations were a possible eyeopener for social scientists and experts as well and gave an opportunity to abandon the narrow understanding of racism that makes the idea of racism a marginal phenomenon that does not concern the egalitarian country of Norway.

3.3 Black Lives Matter in the Academic Literature

There is an extensive body of academic literature on the BLM movement, particularly prior to the killing of George Floyd, including scholarly work on its emergence, criticism towards its lack of guidance and vision for the future, and its relation to social movement theory. While the majority of the literature, naturally, is situated in an American context and reflects its connection with the racial history in the US, the same cannot be said about the literature on the BLM protest wave in Norway. In fact, only a small number of academic articles on BLM or other related topics in Norway have been produced, most of them in the Norwegian Journal of Social Research (TfS). Haugsgjerd and Thorbjørnsrud (2021, p. 79) believe there are disagreements in the scholarly debate on racism in Norway today, especially following the BLM demonstrations in 2020. The authors note, however, that this debate remains relatively undeveloped in academia despite becoming a more frequent topic in mass media after the BLM demonstrations.

The first and foremost goal of the BLM movement in the US was to "challenge the affront of racial violence and prejudiced policing, … white privilege and supremacy … [and] to disrupt the *status quo* by forcing America to unflinchingly examine the ways in which state-sponsored agents treat black Americans as, at best, second-class citizens" (Bailey and Leonard, 2015, p. 68). Langford and Speight (2015) note that the movement's emergence came as a result of African-Americans seeking to challenge the perception of blacks held by white Americans. They argue that the BLM movement created a "rhetorical space to challenge and to re-envision" black identities and bodies

in response to the repeated violence against African Americans (ibid., p. 79). The movement not only recognizes the individual and collective experiences of people belonging to racial communities, but it also demonstrates the efforts made towards resisting the continuous "dehumanization and devaluation" of black lives (Clayton, 2018, p. 449). This continuing struggle illustrates the underlying notion that social movements reflect a "sustained, self-conscious challenge to an existing system" and become a force against a perceived societal challenge (Walton et al., 2017, p. 110). BLM has also caused counter movements to emerge, including #AllLivesMatter, #BlueLivesMatter, and #WhiteLivesMatter with a goal of ignoring the importance of racial identity and steering the focus of public opinion towards white privilege (Langford and Speight, 2015).

Evolving from a hashtag to a movement, the BLM slogan has been used by activists, mainstream media, celebrities, athletes, and people of local communities in the US and later around the world. In a fairly short period of time, it has also evolved from simply identifying the issue of institutional violence against black people to calling for justice and real change. At the same time, Langford and Speight (2015) suggest that a challenge of BLM's strong presence on social media is the difficulty of producing prescriptive plans to end violence against black communities. Essentially, by having virtual communities that call for change, one ends up having reactive responses to events of injustice and uniting support, but not necessarily a firm proposal to end the wrongful killings of black men and women.

Bailey and Leonard make a similar argument, suggesting that BLM is a movement that represents the need for change in the present moment, where the idea of future "seems almost an afterthought" (2015, p. 68). It is about the here and now; the urgent need for change at this moment, which also resonates with the overarching idea of social media with its focus on the immediate present. The challenge, according to Bailey and Leonard (ibid.), is the inclusion of new perspectives and paths to the goal of seeking justice and changing the social, political, and economic climate for black individuals. Nevertheless, Langford and Speight's (2015) underlying argument is that the BLM movement still has the potential to accomplish what many Black-positive movements have failed to do; changing white consciousness and reconstructing the racial identities of black men and women.

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The fact that social media has played such a prominent role in the BLM movement is an interesting attribute. In fact, there is a general agreement among scholars that social media has a unique ability to mobilize support for political causes, as well as in shaping political behaviors (Hsiao, 2021). This is something that has been seen in protests, community buildings, and presidential campaigns, to mention a few. In the case of BLM, we have seen the hashtags #BlackLivesMatter, #BLM, #ICantBreathe, and #NoJusticeNoPeace appear on Instagram and other social media platforms that demonstrate users' support to the cause (ibid.). As the literature on the BLM movement highlights the role of social media as a prominent part of its ability to mobilize support and as platforms where users can unite in a shared struggle (Wilkins et al., 2019), a deeper understanding of collective action on social media in a BLM-context is important to recognize.

Additionally, as our study has a particular focus on youth's involvement in the BLM protest wave in Norway, a group who are also big users of social media, it is important to look into the ways in which youth engage with efforts towards political change and in rebelling against the status quo. Honwana (2019) suggests that youth in countries of the global North participate in social movement protests because of their perceived political marginalization and exclusion. She interprets their motivation to participate in social movements as a result of losing faith in politicians and having a stronger faith in their own ability to enact change (ibid., p. 10). In the case of youth's involvement in the BLM movement, Honwana argues that this group, in particular, recognizes the need to challenge the social injustice they witnessed in the US and to "fight against state-sanctioned violence" (ibid., p. 15).

3.4 Immigration and Racialization in Norway

According to Statistics Norway, there are 800 094 immigrants with citizen status in Norway as of 2021, which makes up 14.8% of the total population (SSB, 2021a). In addition, there are 197 848 people born in Norway with immigrant parents (second generation immigrants), which makes up 3.7% of the total population (ibid.). Out of the total population of Norway, 8.8% are African or Asian (including Turkey) immigrants and second generation immigrants (ibid.). Norway's history

of immigration has to a large extent been shaped by different waves of arrivals in the 20th century, in addition to the free movement of people and workers in the European Union. Norway received a large number of immigrants from Hungary in the 1950s and experienced an increase in labor migration from India and Pakistan in the 1960s (SSB, 2021b). In the 1970s, immigrants from Chile arrived in Norway, as well as refugees from Vietnam, Iraq, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, among other countries (ibid.). The largest number of immigrants from Asia came in the 1980s, whereas the largest number of immigrants from Africa came in the 1990s (ibid.).

In comparison to other cities in Norway, Oslo is the city that has the most apparent divide between lower and higher income households. Although this can partially be explained by Oslo being the capital and having the highest number of citizens, data from Oslo Municipality show that Oslo is geographically split into a west-east divide that accentuates the differences in class and income (Aas et al., 2021). In the past ten years, there has been a growing divide in income that also results in a growing social divide. In the eastern, poorer part of Oslo, there has been a clear trend of a growing immigrant population and a decreasing number of ethnic Norwegians (Røed-Johansen, 2021). The verdict is clear among observers; Oslo is a divided city and the social differences between the western and eastern part of Oslo are only rising.

With the abovementioned mobilization that took place last summer in Oslo, there is a perception that people of color in Norway, and particularly younger generations, have engaged more actively in documenting and discussing political and societal challenges related to race and immigration than before. As this is a fairly new development in the Norwegian context, there has been limited substantial research on the effects of the BLM demonstrations nationally. We aim to help fill this gap by examining the extent to which the BLM movement mobilized racialized youth of immigrant background politically, how it impacted the conversation on race and discrimination in Norway, and minorities' relationship to the police. Our research will help to address the need for a deeper understanding of racialized experiences in Norway, while also drawing attention to the political significance of social movements. It aims to highlight the factors that may motivate oppressed groups to engage with issues related to social injustice, and challenges related to policing in Norway and the growing mistrust among minority youth towards the police. Lastly, it will

demonstrate how a global movement has made its mark in a Norwegian context, thus being a small contribution to mapping the movement at a global level.

4. Theoretical and Analytical Framework

This chapter seeks to provide a presentation of our study's theoretical and analytical framework. The purpose of doing so is to draw attention to the theories and literature that we deem as necessary to use in the discussion of our data, as it allows for a wider understanding of what the meaning of the data is. The theoretical and analytical framework will also allow us to elaborate on the points and arguments made by the interviewees, and connect it to relevant literature that can provide additional context to their responses. Chapter 4 will include the following sections; first, we will discuss the literature examining the prevalence and understanding of racism in Norway; second, we will evaluate the literature on social movements and critical theories, including a Marxist perspective, a Postcolonialist perspective, and an examination of Intersectionality; and lastly, we will discuss theories evaluating the relationship between minority youth and the police, as well as studies on minorities' trust in the police in the Nordic countries. The theories and literature in this chapter have been carefully selected due to their strong relevance to our later discussion and analysis of the data, and will thus provide a framework for the later chapters.

4.1 Racism in Norway

In 2001, Benjamin Hermansen, the son of a Norwegian mother and a Ghanaian father, was the victim of a racially motivated murder in Holmlia at only 15 years old. The killing came as a wave of shock to the Norwegian population and led to a mobilization of Norwegians across the country to protest against racism and in memory of Benjamin. Three neo-Nazis were sentenced to fifteen, sixteen, and three years, respectively, in prison for the murder of Benjamin (Bangstad and Døving, 2015). The killing of Benjamin may not have been the first or the most extreme racially motivated murder in Norway, but it is a murder that clearly demonstrated its deep-rooted history of racist ideologies, as well as it caused a strong and sustained encouragement among Norwegians to fight racism. Although racist ideas and attitudes have existed for years, which is demonstrated in our history, it is not something that is just expressed through genocides or killings of individuals. According to Bangstad and Døving (2015), two of the most prominent researchers in Norway on

racism and discrimination, it can also have a presence in people's everyday lives, which is why we should not limit our understanding of racism as something that, for example, primarily exists in the judicial system. They suggest that racism is a concept that includes ideas, events, and practices that takes place in societies where neither institutions, legislation, nor politics is rooted in racism (ibid.)

With Norway's immigrant population increasing over the last few decades, the topic of racism has become an important aspect of social scientific research nationally. According to Haugsgjerd and Thorbjørnsrud (2021, p. 78), the topic of racism in Norway was much debated in the 1990s, particularly in the Norwegian Journal of Social Research (TfS). In fact, various articles published in TfS in that period demonstrate a divide among scholars, with one group emphasizing the dominant position of the (white) ethnic majority and the historical racial oppression of minorities in Norway, whereas the other group believed that the presence of racist attitudes was too small to truly have an impact on Norwegian society (ibid.). However, it is important to recognize that Norway has almost a 100-year long history of oppression against the Sámi ethnic minority, and later the Kven people of northern Norway. In fact, various policies were implemented with a purpose of assimilating the two native populations with the purpose of unifying them with the majority Norwegian population, thus demonstrating our country's history of structurally oppressing two minority groups (Rudi, 2018). Today, however, there is some disagreement among scholars on how widespread racism and discrimination in Norway is, and even more so on the extent to which there is a presence of structural racism within Norwegian institutions (Elgvin, 2021, p. 99).

4.1.1 Defining Racism

There are different degrees and levels of racism that are dependent on the degree to which racism as an ideology is an integral part of how a society is built and how it functions. In addition to how there are different degrees and levels of racism, there are also different types of racism. In fact, racism can be expressed in a number of different ways, which means that how it develops, who it is aimed at, and how it is justified can look very different when examining the presence of racism in various eras of our history (Fangen, 1997). Nevertheless, racism can be understood as "attitudes

and actions that define individuals with presumed or real affiliation to a particular group (often minorities, and particularly immigrants) as so fundamentally different that they are considered culturally or otherwise inferior to the extent where they should be excluded or discriminated against" (Bangstad and Døving, 2015, p. 13, translated by the authors from Norwegian). However, it is important to highlight that the understanding of racism is not just limited to a person's genetic material in the biological sense, but that it can be used against a person's culture and/or religion. In fact, Fylkesnes (2019) argues that race is not just about perceived biological differences, but is also about a grouping logic which, similar to class, has the effect of dividing groups of people into a supposed social hierarchy. It is always the group that is placed at the top that makes this division. In the Norwegian context, that means that it is those who are ethnically white – 'ethnic Norwegians' – who hold the top position. Fylkesnes' (ibid.) understanding of racism is that it focuses on a white ideology of superiority that is expressed in practice. She argues that this ideology is so internalized in people's heads that it is perceived as normal, ordinary, and everyday. Although it may not be clear, it is the basis of many actions, and the significance of ideological racism of whiteness is that it is expressed as very small, almost invisible, systematic everyday practices.

In order for something to be defined as racism, or as racist ideology, there are three processes that need to be considered, based on Bangstad and Døving's (2015, p. 16) definition of racism:

1. To divide a population into different categories where some are given negative traits.
2. To reduce an individual's identity to the given negative traits of a category.
3. To use the negative traits as an argument for subordination and discrimination.

It can therefore be understood as a generalization by how people are assigned certain traits on the basis of their belonging to a particular group, and by how these traits are defined as so negative that it constitutes an argument for keeping members of the group at a distance; excluding them and, if possible, actively discriminate against them (ibid.) A negative generalization as such, and the subordination of people, is what racism is, regardless of whether it is based on people's skin color, religion, language, or culture.

Discrimination, on the other hand, is a form of systematically different treatment of individuals based on an individual or group's characteristics, such as skin color, gender, age, ethnic or national background, religion and beliefs, sexual orientation, level of function, and so on (ibid.). Bangstad (2017) argues that there is a risk of replacing the concept of racism with discrimination in cases where the use of the former concept can be justified. He says that the choice of concept can contribute to both a denial, as well as a minimization and naturalization of racism as a social and political phenomenon. Social anthropologist, Marianne Gullestad (2002; 2006), pointed out that societal elites, including scholars with greater or lesser degree of awareness, also contributed to the racialization and exclusion of minorities in Norway. On a similar note, Bangstad claims that those who say that "racism does not exist because people no longer talk about race," the ones who believe we have "exceeded race" both at the individual and societal levels, or those who have become "color-blind" or "post-racial," are all in denial (2017, p. 237). The reality is that the expression of racism is dynamic and will change over time, which is why our understanding of it has to adapt accordingly without dismissing it solely because we do not see it in its traditional form. In 2015, Norwegian politicians received a remark from one of the UN experts on the Racial Discrimination Committee in Geneva saying that "there is a lot of racism in Norway, but you call it something else. Why are you 'walking around hot porridge'? Why not use the word 'racism'?" (Døving and Nustad, 2019). Døving and Nustad (ibid.) say that the expert is absolutely right, and that in Norway, there is a tendency to use words such as 'hate speech,' 'intolerance,' 'incitement,' and 'ethnic discrimination,' but that the word 'racism' is rarely used. They suggest that it could be explained by the seriousness of the concept, particularly due to its association with some of the worst abuses in modern history. Yet, it can also be an 'everyday' phenomenon, which is why they support the notion that it is important to discuss the degrees of racism. For example, is racism put in a system as a part of a society's structure, such as the apartheid system? Or are there attitudes among organizations or patterns of everyday racism that minorities are exposed to?

4.1.2 Structural Racism

When discrimination based on an individual's affiliation with a group is woven into institutions, it is called structural racism, which for example can include the police's tendency to stop and search individuals of minority background more frequently than other citizens. Essentially, this is

an understanding of a type of racism that includes the idea of a system of benefits based on race (Bangstad and Døving, 2015). According to sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (1997; 2003), there was a need to understand racism in a new and different way in the US; an understanding that did not look at it as an ideology, but rather as social structures. In his book, *Racism Without Racists* (2003), Bonilla-Silva argued that racism in the US has taken a new form because people of white ethnicity do not necessarily show explicitly racist behavior, but instead mistakenly imagine that skin color does not matter. The year of 2020 was when Norwegian audiences were exposed to heated debates about racism, as well as in various other countries. This caused many to expand their vocabulary on the various terms that can be used to understand the complexities of racism, in which structural racism was among one of them (Brekke, 2021). According to Berglund Steen (2020), structural racism refers to the forms of racism that can easily be measured statistically, which for example can be discrimination in the job market or the housing market. It does not necessarily mean that employers or landlords are racists, or that they intentionally discriminate out of racist conviction, but instead more or less conscious thoughts that you are happy to hire someone you think is similar to yourself. However, regardless of what the motivation is, the result is discrimination.

Dansholm (2021) notes how BLM highlights one group's lived experience as contradictory to what is considered the democratic ideal. In a Norwegian context, she argues that the demonstrations that took place in Oslo showed how younger generations were speaking out against the incidents of racism they had personally experienced or witnessed in other circumstances, such as in school. Midtbøen's piece (2021), for example, questions whether the structurally inclusive welfare state, Norway, can be structurally exclusive of Norwegians with minority backgrounds. He reflects upon the debate's underlying pinnacle of how young Norwegians with "visible" minority background have shared their experiences with discrimination, suspicion, and constant reminders of how they do not *really* fit in in Norway's society. While scholars agree that there is an increased awareness among the public on racial oppression in Norway, some suggest that people are reluctant to use the term structural racism because they associate it with historical oppressions, such as the apartheid regime in South Africa or racial segregation in the US in the 1950s and 60s (Elgvin, 2021, pp. 100-101). Essentially, if there is structural racism in Norway to a greater or lesser degree, it may not be as visible or pervasive as in South Africa or the US, which makes people hesitant to

use the term. When it comes to discriminatory policing, Elgvin (ibid.) argues that Norway does not have enough data to confirm whether and to what extent this is a problem nationally, especially relative to the situation in the US. While he acknowledges that some have suggested that minority youth are subject to racial profiling in Norway, which could be an example of structural racism, he points to the lack of available evidence to confirm this.

If you have a foreign name in Norway, the chance of being called in for a job interview decreases by 25 percent, according to a study conducted by Midtbøen and Rogstad in 2012. Men are more discriminated against than women, and the private sector discriminates more than the public sector. To map out the presence of discrimination in the job market, the researchers wanted to submit fictitious applications for a number of job advertisements; a kind of covert research with employers as unaware participants (Fugelsnes, 2020). Applicants would have exactly the same qualifications, with schooling, higher education and work experience from Norway, and the applications would be written in flawless Norwegian. The ethnic background was the only thing that would distinguish them; Norwegians versus Pakistanis. After interviewing some of the employers who had both discriminated against and treated the applicants equally, it turned out that many of them had stereotypical associations of immigrants, such as poor language skills and negative views of women. However, Midtbøen and Rogstad (2012) did not blame this discrimination on the individuals, but rather the systems that played a decisive role. In an article by Elin Fugelsnes (2020) about the study, Midtbøen and Rogstad say that the ways in which employment processes are regulated define the scope for discrimination. Processes with little transparency, quick decisions, and where the general manager has sole responsibility, seem to result in discrimination far more than in the processes that have a high degree of transparency, where the rationale for decisions is written down, and where the person making the decision is held accountable. They chose to not interpret their findings as a sign of structural racism because the incidents of discriminations were widely varied, where one theory would not have been able to capture the nuances. However, that does not mean that systemic explanations for discrimination are irrelevant, but rather on the contrary, according to Midtbøen (Fugelsnes, 2020). Overall, both Midtbøen (2021) and Orupabo (2021) recognize that people of minority backgrounds in Norway can be exposed to discrimination and racism when applying for a job. However, Orupabo (ibid., p. 119) goes further by saying that

these individuals are aware of the potential outcomes, and subsequently hide or tone down their ethnic minority background; also known as "whitewashing" your CV.

4.2 Social Movements and Critical Theory

4.2.1 Social Movement Theory

Social movements are traditionally described as "the noninstitutionalized and minimally organized nature of collective actions which form around specific grievances (discontent) in order to promote - or resist - social change" (Tremblay et al., 2017). The phenomenon of people coming together to promote or resist change has been present all through history, as people come together about something they do not like, or think is wrong in society. Typically, social movements aim to obtain political, social and/or economic-rights for a group of people in society (Goodwin and Jasper, 2009, p. 3). There is disagreement in the social movement literature about what encourages the emergence and organization of a movement. Until the 1960s, researchers considered the emergence of and participation in social movements as irrational and dangerous, and researchers tended to distance themselves from the movement (ibid. p. 6). However, the civil rights movement in America made more researchers understand that participation in social movements could be rational. The participation was then understood as rational for a person in order to pursue their interest in the best way, challenging the perception of people simply being emotional and overreacting. Resource mobilization theory initiated this view of the emergence of social movements being rational (ibid.). It argued that social movements emerge when people with the same grievances take action and have the resources to do so. Thus, it argues that social movements depend on the people having time, money and skills to make the movement happen, as well as it explains participation in social movements as the best way for people to pursue their political interest if they have the resources to do so (ibid., p. 6).

Two of the most prominent scholars in social movement theory are Goodwin and Jasper, who define social movements as being "conscious, concentrated, and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspects of their society using extra-institutional means" (ibid.). The authors

postulate that social movements can include a broad spectrum of activities, and that they may use legal and peaceful measures to achieve their goal, but may also use violence, illegal activities, and disruption to ensure that they are heard. Some social movements are formally organized while others are informal networks, which means that social movements can include a range of different activities done by different people, and that there might not be agreement among the members in the movement about what strategies to use. According to Goodwin and Jasper (ibid.), participants of a social movement can be extreme in their tactics and their overall goal. In contrast, others may choose to follow more moderate tactics, thus disagreeing on how much needs to be changed. Most social movement theories focus on a single nation state, however, a social movement can also spread across borders and initiate protests across the globe.

Goodwin and Jasper understand social movements as one of the primary sources of political change and conflict (ibid.). They bring issues to the political agenda, potentially forcing authorities to react to it in one way or another, although such reactions can vary, for example violence against or arrest of participants in the movement. Politicians and other authorities may also take up the issue for debate and in some cases redeem the movement's 'asks'. In a working democracy, social movements are typically the ones to raise awareness and articulate new issues and ideas, rather than the political parties and leaders, primarily because politicians tend to use more time on the already existing issues and discussing the solutions to these (ibid., p. 4). Nevertheless, Hooghe (2005) suggests that the significance of social movements in contemporary liberal democracies is that they have the ability to actually affect government policy. In his research on ethnic mobilization in Belgium, the author postulates that in order for ethnic communities to have an established role in multicultural democracies, there needs to be a sense of collectivity because the opposite situation would allow governments to ignore the demands of ethnic minorities (ibid., p. 977-8). Essentially, he explains how the literature on social movements tends to argue that the political system where a social movement occurs needs to allow for opportunities of oppositional activities in order for the social movement to develop and have a role in the political decision-making process.

Another angle examined in social movement research relates to the impact social movements have on the people participating in them and in particular on their politics going forward. DeMartini

(1983) examines the beliefs and behaviors inspired by participation in a social movement to see if it has a short- or long-term impact on people. He finds that social movement participation will likely influence a person's political commitment long after their active participation in the movement. Participants are likely to sustain a long-term commitment to the underlying ideas and beliefs (ibid., p. 216). Indeed, Amenta et al. (2010) suggests that academics generally agree that social movements have an impact on people's social and political life. Social movements are external to formal politics and do not have any ability to directly change policy. Baumgartner and Mahoney (2005), on the other hand, argue that social movements can influence public policy. However, they suggest that it impacts public policy together with other sources of impact, like for example public opinion, the preferences of policy makers, and stochastic shocks.

4.2.2 Marxist Perspective on Social Movements

Questions regarding the politics of social movements have also been addressed by Marxist scholars, with a particular focus on the creation of social movements *from below*, in which a subaltern group refuses to accept the terms of how they are ruled; thus seeking to create an alternative social order (Cox and Nilsen, 2014, pp. 2-3). This notion draws on the works of Antonio Gramsci and his *Prison Notebooks*, which discusses cultural hegemony and the relationship between a subaltern group and the ruling capitalist class of society. Cox and Nilsen (2014) suggest that social movement activism begins from an understanding that the system one lives in is not precisely as it claims, and there is a need for change by altering the power structure.

Another area of active Marxist inquiry relates to work around 'New Social Movements' (NSMs); a term referring to a set of contemporary social movements that have played an important role in the development of Western societies since the 1960s. According to West (2004), the difference between the pre-existing notion of social movements and NSMs is that they relate to issues that go beyond the traditional class-based challenges, and instead include more contemporary issues. This includes environmental movements, LGBTQ+ movements, new waves of feminist movements, and so on. Essentially, the idea of NSMs emerged as a result of the end of World War II in an era where political stability also marked the end of an ideological era, thus moving away from the conflict between capital and labor to issues that included social and cultural aspects

(ibid.). NSMs have a set of characteristics, which Steinmetz argues focus on the goals "autonomy, identity, self-realization," as well as they tend to allow for "little or no negotiation" (1994, p. 178). Furthermore, he suggests that NSMs have an ability to "politicize aspects of everyday life" that have not previously been considered as a political issue (ibid., p. 179). Overall, there are significant elements of Marxist theory that can provide an understanding of how youth of minority background in Norway relate to and identify with the cause and objective of BLM. It explains the need to express their opinions on the matter, as well as to desire a societal change.

Analyses of NSMs often focus on questions of identity, including those of ethnic and racial identity. For example, Jima-González and Paradela-López (2021) use the NSM framework to examine the formation of collective identity in indigenous movements in Peru. They suggest that the emergence of NSMs attempts to move away from the "old-fashioned reductionism of Marxism" in its way of explaining the formation of social movements (ibid., p. 196). Instead, they argue, this new approach considers "the issues of social change and collective identity formations as a mobilizing resource" (ibid.). Although their study focuses on the role of collective identity in indigenous movements, the common denominator and relevance between their study and the BLM protest wave in Norway is that there is a strong focus on racialized and marginalized minority groups. Overall, they suggest that there is a significant correlation between political participation and the aspect of having a strong collective identity that is based on ethnicity. For example, in the past, indigenous movements have demonstrated the presence, not to mention the importance, of an ethnic factor in political mobilization.

The cornerstone of social movements theory is the notion that collective identity can translate into collective action, with the collective identity emerging from participants having shared interests, experiences, and solidarities. According to Jima-González and Paradela-López, this is a crucial aspect to take into consideration in class-based movements because it allows for the understanding of how identity can "foster self-realization and autonomy outside of the established political, social, and economic system" (2021, p. 196). Similarly, McIlwain has suggested that the integration of race in social movement theory focuses on the need to change the ways in which "societies formally or informally institutionalize the social and political relations … between the disparate racialized groups living within a society" (2020, p. 51). In fact, the attempt to achieve a

greater moral consciousness in society when it comes to the treatment of marginalized groups has played an important role in this integration of race in social movements. Overall, a closer look at the foundation of black movements allows for a greater understanding of how these movements emerge and what the motivations for social change are in these movements (Bell, 2016).

Pizzorno (1989) suggests that the recognition of a collective identity can also emerge during collective action. If this is the case, however, he argues that the end goal is not necessarily a specific benefit but rather the acknowledgment of this collective identity. Both Jima-González and Paradela-López (2021) and Pizzorno (1989) claim that a significant aspect of NSM theory is that the creation of collective identities can be a product of movements just as much as it can be a cause of movements. Participants of social movements, they suggest, construct a new collective identity through their collective action, and it is only when their new collective identity is legitimate and expressed that they can achieve further objectives in the future. According to van Bezouw and Kutlaca (2019), one of the key characteristics of social movements is that they enable participants, many of them finding themselves in disadvantaged groups, to challenge the forces that put this group in a disadvantaged position through collective efforts, achieving results that cannot be accomplished individually. Essentially, in order to actually achieve change, there needs to be a mutual set of "beliefs, values, and goals" that participants can identify with, resulting from a perception of shared grievances (ibid., p. 35). This is what is needed in order to have successful mobilization because it allows participants to collectively work together towards a common goal.

When it comes to ethnic identities, this can in many ways be interpreted as a type of collective identity. The objective of having ethnic identities is the preservation and acknowledgement of ethnic traits within a social structure (Jima-González and Paradela-López, 2021). The reaction of such identity is proactive, in which participants search for a recognition that derives from periods of discrimination and exclusion. Jima-González and Paradela-López note how "political rights are achieved precisely through mobilization, protests, and the pressures exerted by social movements" (ibid., p. 198), a claim that is also supported by Dalton (2013). Together, they suggest that participants who find themselves disappointed or neglected by institutions of representative democracies are more likely to engage in demonstrations or different forms of collective action.

van Bezouw and Kutlaca (2019) note that individual action may have an impact on one's own status but will not have a significant impact on the collective group's role in society as a whole.

4.2.3 Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonialism is a school of thought that provides an understanding of how the legacies of colonialism and imperialism have made an impact on the social structures we see today. As a critical academic study, the work of postcolonialism in the fields of International Relations (IR) and Global Development Studies (GDS), has already drawn on other critical approaches, such as Marxism and Feminism. Yet, the significance of the postcolonial critique in comparison to other contributions to critical studies is that it embeds a distinctive voice on race, in addition to class and gender, to the notion of power (Chowdry and Nair, 2002, p. 2). Despite being a fairly new introduction to the studies of IR and GDS, the postcolonial notion has introduced a distinct critique towards the hierarchies of global power and relations. Thus, postcolonialism is, according to postcolonial theorist Robert J. C. Young, "an interrelated set of critical and counterintuitive perspectives, a complex network of paronymous and heterogenous practices that have been developed out of resistance to a global historical trajectory of imperialism and colonialism" (2012, p. 20).

Delanty (1995) argued that the idea of a European collective did not take form until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as there was a stronger appeal towards a world of Christian-majority countries. However, from the mid-fifteenth century and onwards, the European powers' colonial expansion allowed the opposition between Christianity and Islam to be substituted with the idea of a mutual "Western European cultural identity," that was "in contrast to 'oriental' and 'savage' Others" (Haldrup et al., 2006, p. 174). The focus of Eurocentrism in the IR and GDS disciplines is a perception of how everything allegedly begins and ends with Europe. The issue of Eurocentrism is a notion that has been particularly criticized in the context of IR and GDS scholarship, namely because of the initial influence of Eurocentrism on IR and GDS studies. The criticism includes IR's "systematic blindness towards the non-West" – the exclusion of everything

non-Western in the academic debates (Matin, 2011, p. 354). However, postcolonial literature became a response to the presence of Eurocentrism in IR and GDS by challenging the idea of power with the inclusion of race, gender, and cultural differences. These "theoretical blind-spots" that were to be found in IR were supplemented with the stories of anti-colonial struggles, which overall provided a wider understanding of "the dynamics and impact of colonial oppression" (ibid., p. 355, 360). Thus, postcolonial ideas include anti-colonial historical narratives that resisted the "colonial occupation, racial subjugation, enslavement, and genocide" in the beginning of European colonial expansion (Narayan, 2019, p. 1225-1226).

Edward Said, author of *Orientalism* (1978) and one of the founders of the academic field of postcolonial studies, is a scholar that many turns to in order to get an understanding of how the West's perception and portrayal of the Orient is shaped and what the implications of such perception and portrayal are. Said (1993) believes that the past is not something that can be fully detached from the present, because they inform each other, and one co-exists with the other. Thus, his work emphasizes the past and postulates that there is a repetition of the Other in the present. Said suggests that there is a different dichotomy between the Orient (i.e. the East) and the Occident (i.e. the West) and argues that the narratives of history always places the West, in relation with the Orient, as superior (1978, pp. 7, 42). The focus of *Orientalism* is essentially the process of "coming to terms with the Orient" (ibid.). While the term has been used in various contexts by various authors, Said (ibid., p. 3) suggests three particular meanings of Orientalism in his work. First, you have the "most readily accepted designation for Orientalism," in which the academic meaning is how "anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient … either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism." Second is "a more general meaning," emphasizing the East-West divide: "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'." The third meaning is "more historically defined than either of the other two," and says: "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing

it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient." (ibid.). According to Said:

> *"[Orientalism] is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made of two halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of 'interests' which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains it; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world; it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced, and exists in an uneven exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, and values), power moral (as with ideas about what 'we' do and what 'they' cannot do or understand as 'we' do)."* (Said, 1978, pp. 12-13).

Postcolonial theory also includes a feminist perspective, commonly referred to as postcolonial feminism. The importance of this perspective is that it fills a scholarly gap in the literature on solely discussing feminist issues from a white perspective, as it seeks to take race into consideration as well. The postcolonial feminists encourage lifting the voices of marginalized groups, recognize the idea of how women cannot be considered to be a homogenous set of individuals, and challenge the misperception of women without agency or an ability to make decisions for themselves (Mohanty, 1988; Chakraborty, 2017). It criticizes the notion of a stereotypical third world woman that are victims of a structure and draws attention to the objectification and victimization of women of color (Mohanty, 1988). The significance of postcolonial feminism also demonstrates the need for an intersectional way of "thinking about the complexities in which feminism resides" (Roy, 2017, p. 258).

The relevance of postcolonialism in discussing the BLM movement, and particularly in the US context, is demonstrated in its ability to shed light on how today's challenges of African-Americans are rooted in racist and colonial legacies. It demonstrates the negative implications of colonialism that the colonized populations exploited by European and Western powers are facing today. Commentators have, for example, suggested that police violence in the US is rooted in the history of colonialism, as well as the country's past of creating a system of subjugation and control against Africans (Olutola, 2020). The power relations between police forces and African-Americans can be seen as a mirror to colonialism that defined the 19th century history of the African continent. Hence, the discrimination that Black people are experiencing today can be connected to the country's racist past and its history with oppressive ideas against black people.

Similar to Marxist theory, postcolonialism includes the role of subaltern groups in its work but has a larger focus on the colonial populations that find themselves in disadvantaged positions in the power hierarchy (Knudsen and Rahbek, 2020, p. 253). The value of using postcolonial theory as a complement to Marxism is that there has been a somewhat strained relationship between the two schools for a number of reasons. The first signs of disconnect came with Edward Said's (1985) perception of Marx as Orientalist, which would later be further elaborated by Dipesh Chakrabarty's (2020) suggestion of the Marxist era as Eurocentric (2000). On the other hand, "Marxists were critical of what they saw as postcolonialism's excessive focus on culture, its complicity with poststructuralism in repudiating capitalism's foundational role in history, and its valorization of the very modes of belonging … that best served the needs of a relentlessly mobile late capitalism" (Rao, 2017, pp. 587-588). These postcolonial notions, in addition to the previously mentioned elements of Marxism and its understanding of social movements, are useful when researching subaltern groups in society because it is a theory that seeks to provide a voice to marginalized groups. There is also a shortcoming within Marxism that neglects the interconnections between culture, discourse, and material, in which we believe postcolonialism can provide useful insight in understanding the subaltern group - the focus of our study.

Intersectionality is a term that was coined and developed by black feminist scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, who argued that it provides "a basis for reconceptualizing race as a coalition between men and women of color" (1991, p. 1299). The concept refers to the intersection of race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age, which allows for an understanding of complex social inequalities. The intersectional framework began as a part of the Black feminist school emerging in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s with an objective to analyze "how intersecting power relations of race, class, gender, and sexuality affected African American women" and its impact on "the social, political, and cultural realities of other groups" (Collins, 2015, p. 9). The underlying notion of intersectionality focuses on the ways in which black women experience a treatment that is both racial and gendered, as well as the need to step away from the either-or framework when considering race and gender and instead intersect the two. Thus, it has been referred to as "one of the greatest gifts of black women's studies to social theory as a whole" through its ability to address the experiences of gendered racism (Belkhir, 2009, p. 303). While the framework initially focused on "antiracist feminist critiques of the claim that women's oppression could be captured through an analysis of gender alone," it has evolved into applying for any group that is subject to intersecting systems of oppression (Carastathis, 2014, p. 204).

4.3 Policing of Minority Youth and Their Trust Towards the Police

Bowling et al. define policing as "an aspect of social control which occurs universally, in all social situations in which there is the potential of conflict, deviance, or disorder," and describes the police institution as "a specialized body of people given primary formal responsibility for legitimate force and intrusive surveillance" (2019, p. 8). Gau and Brunson emphasize the importance of the police ensuring legitimacy in the population and express that "public institutions of social control must discover ways to justify their use of coercive authority to maintain – or impose – order among the populace" (2015, p. 402). The legitimacy of the police is central in a working democracy where

the population is giving the police the right to use physical power for the public good. Tyler describes legitimacy as "the belief that police officers are trustworthy, honest, and concerned about the well-being of the people they deal with. Second, legitimacy involves the belief that police authority ought to be accepted, and people should voluntarily defer to police decisions and directives" (2011, p. 256). In fact, according to Schaap (2020), a substantial amount of research shows that people who trust the police are more likely to be cooperative and compliant, as well as they are more likely to feel secure in their daily life and to report a crime. Thus, trust in the police is beneficial for both the citizens and the police.

4.3.1 Procedural Justice Theory

In a study based in England, Wales, Denmark, and the Netherlands seeking to test three different trust-building strategies, Schaap (ibid.) found that procedural justice strategies have the strongest influence on citizens' trust in the police, while the instrumentalist strategy has the weakest. The instrumental strategy is favored by police in the countries mentioned and the strategy is based on the idea that the police's proven performance in effectively and efficiently fighting crime will make citizens trust the police (ibid.). Based on the work of Tyler (1990), Schaap (2020) defines procedural justice as "correct interaction between citizens and police officers, characterized by fair, ethical, honest, consistent, respectful and ethical behavior by police officers, giving citizens the opportunity to explain their views" (p. 29). There is also substantial evidence of how procedural justice promotes legitimacy in the population and especially among ethnic and racial minorities (Madon et al., 2017: Jackson and Bradford, 2010; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003).

In countries across the globe, there is a long history of a conflicting relationship between the police and ethnic minorities, where ethnic minorities feel like they are being treated differently and have less trust in the police (Schaap and Saarikkomäki, 2022; Madon et al., 2017). Particularly in the US, there is an issue with the lack of police legitimacy and trust in the police among ethnic minorities (Schaap and Saarikkomäki, 2022). Considering the importance of ensuring the legitimacy of the police, many scholars have been concerned with the issue of how to improve the relationship between the police and marginalized groups, thus strengthening the legitimacy of the police. Schaap and Saarikkomäki point to how, after the killing of George Floyd, many scholars

became concerned with the "individual interactions between the police officers and citizens" (ibid., p. 2). Following the murder of Floyd, the existing theoretical perspective, procedural justice theory, became increasingly popular among scholars in the US and globally. It is based on the idea that police must earn the public's trust and deference in order to be perceived as legitimate (Gau and Brunson, 2015).

Procedural justice theory rose from large international quantitative data and has looked at the connection between procedural justice and police legitimacy. It argues that the way people are treated by the police is more important than the outcome of the situation (ibid.). Generally, if people experience being treated unfairly or differently from other citizens, it is seen as procedural injustice and damages the legitimacy of and trust in the police. The procedural justice theory argues that there is procedural justice if a person, in relation to the police, experiences: "respect, voice, trustworthiness, and neutrality" (Madon et al., 2017, p. 638). The reason for this is because citizens' feel like they have their side of the case heard prior to the decision-making of the police, that the police's decision-making is neutral and objective, and that they are treated with respect and dignity (Hinds and Murphy, 2007). Procedural justice theory argues that a person's trust in the police is either influenced by the treatment they experience from the police or stories of the treatment of people from their social group (Madon et al., 2017). A large amount of quantitative research shows that these perceptions of the police are important to consider when examining the police's ability to generate public trust. Thus, the citizens' perception of experiences with the police is important for the legitimacy of the police (Haller et al., 2020). A weakness of procedural justice theory highlighted by Madon et al. (2017) and Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) is that the primary research is built on testing the relationship between procedurally just policing and the police-citizen relationship through quantitative methods. Therefore, Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) emphasize that the theory needs to be renewed and include more diverse empirical data since it is mostly based on statistical measures and correlations between variables.

Many earlier studies have neglected the role of the police when examining elements that shape citizens' trust (Tyler, 2011). Schaap and Saarikkomäki point to how there are certain groups in society that have more contact with the police and also generally consider the police as less legitimate; these "groups include people of low-income urban areas, ethnic minorities, homeless

people, asylum seekers, youths, people with mental health issues and people in isolated rural communities" (2022, p. 9). These groups are under the impression that they receive disproportionate negative attention from the police, and typically feel targeted. Following, Saarikkomäki et al. (2021), Murphy and Mazerolle (2018) and Madon et al. (2017) find in their research that procedural justice policing is especially important for ethnic minorities trust in the police. Additionally, Madon et al. (2017) find that procedural justice also has a significant impact on the trust of minority youth who are disengaged from authority, hence those who avoid all contact with the police. Bradford and Jackson's (2018) study based on the European Social Survey shows that there is a strong link between a person's recent contact with the police and their trust in the police. However, a negative experience with the police has a much greater negative impact on a person's trust in the police than a positive experience (ibid.). Bradford and Jackson also find that different factors influence the extent to which minorities feel that the police are legitimate. The legitimacy is influenced by "contact with officer and group position, as well as demographic factors" (ibid., p. 584-585). Additionally, they find that the legitimacy is influenced by whether a person feels integrated into society, and whether they are socially and economically secure.

According to Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022), a weakness of many procedural justice studies is how processes and outcomes are not clearly defined empirically and conceptually. Procedural justice theory focuses, among other things, on the fair treatment of a person in the interaction with the police; however, it does not ask about the legitimacy of the interaction itself (ibid.). Saarikkomäki et al. (2021) find that some minorities in Nordic countries, where there is generally a high trust towards the police, end up accepting the unfair and discriminatory treatment of being stopped, often without reason, and thus procedural justice theory offers no solution to the discrimination. Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) argue that the sole focus on what happens during the encounter with the police is a weakness of many procedural justice studies. Schaap and Saarikkomäki (ibid.) argue that the role of media in shaping citizens' trust in police is also important to take into account. Therefore, the encounter cannot be seen in isolation because the trust in the police prior to the encounter can influence the experience of fairness during the encounter with the police (ibid.). However, these nuances are easier to detect in qualitative research and supplement the quantitative findings of procedural justice theory. Thus, looking at the whole reality of people's day-to-day experiences and interactions with the police is important (ibid.).

4.3.2 Policing and Trust in the Nordic Countries

A 2021-survey in Norway about the population's trust in the police found that around 80% of the residents in Norway have either a very large or quite large trust towards the police (Kantar Public, 2022). The residents with higher education, women, those who have never had contact with the police, those who have not been exposed to criminal incidents, and residents who perceive the police regularly as visible and accessible indicate that they have the highest confidence in the police (ibid.). Youth have generally less trust in the police and youth of minority background have even less trust in the police (Leirvik and Ellefsen, 2020).

There is little research specifically focusing on minorities and the police in the Norwegian context, and the existing literature is primarily focusing on the Nordic context. The existing international and Nordic studies show that minority youth have less trust in the police than majority youth (e.g. Holmberg and Kyvsgaard 2003; Sharp and Atherton 2007; Pettersson 2013; Feinstein 2015; Flacks 2017; Alberton and Gorey 2018; Keskinen et al. 2018). Haller et al. (2020), Solhjell et al. (2019) and Saarikkomäki et al. (2021) have, in three separate academic articles, analyzed the same qualitative data on minority youths' experiences with the police in Norway through 121 in-depth interviews with 97 male and 24 female participants from five Nordic cities, including Oslo. The general population and minorities' trust in the police in Nordic countries is higher than in the US and UK, and Lie (2011) argues that it is because the Nordic countries have soft policing, which means focusing on social inclusion, prevention, and equality in treatment of the population. There is a general tendency in the UK and US that ethnic minority youth have a negative relationship with the police, a lack of trust, and a feeling of not being protected by the police (Haller et al., 2020).

In the three above-mentioned studies, based on the 121 in-depth interviews with minority youth in Nordic countries, most of them had experienced being approached or stopped, and if they had not been stopped, then their friends or family had (Haller et al., 2020; Solhjell et al., 2019; Saarikkomäki et al., 2021). The participants in the study felt that they were being labeled as criminals by the police because of their ethnic background. These negative experiences made participants feel unfairly treated, and the police were considered as biased and racist, which decreased their trust in the police. The feeling of unfair and discriminatory policing was found in

the study of Saarikkomäki et al. (2021) to impact the minorities' sense of belonging in society. In contrast to American research, Saarikkomäki et al. (ibid.) find that both a positive and negative relationship with the police is describe. Thus, the feeling of not being protected is not something all participants expressed, and some expressed that they experienced "(1) respectful and fair treatment during interventions; (2) relying on the police for help; and (3) the police doing their job well" (ibid., p. 394). However, as stated, Saarikkomäki et al. (ibid.) find that procedural justice theory may have flaws in the Nordic context because there is generally a norm in the population that people have very high trust in the police. Consequently, minorities might accept the unfair treatment and normalize their experiences to adapt to the norm.

Saarikkomäki et al. (2021) find that the relationship is more ambiguous in the Nordic countries than in the US and UK. In the Nordic countries, they find that not all minority youth have a solely negative relationship with the police, like many have in the US and UK. Saarikkomäki et al. (ibid.) find that minority youth feel both protected and suspected by the police and suggest that the perception of the police being suspicious of minority youth comes from the "suspicious police gaze, being approached or stopped for no reason and being labeled as a criminal" (ibid., p. 391). The suspicious police gaze is described as the police keeping an extra eye on them and that it is different from how the police looked at majority youth. It made the participants in the study feel intimidated, targeted, and suspected. When the police approached or stopped the participants for no reason, they felt like they were treated unfairly. Existing research on the Nordic context finds that ethnic minorities are disproportionately policed, which has led to decreased trust towards the police among minorities (e.g. Sollund 2006; Holmberg and Kyvsgaard 2003; Pettersson 2013; Keskinen et al. 2018). According to Haller et al. (2020), the reinforcement of youth's experiences of discrimination and social exclusion through "minor harassments" have a negative impact on minority's trust in the police (p. 6). "Minor harassments" are described as "low-level intimidation and subtle provocations from the police" (ibid., p. 6).

Solhjell et al. (2019) argue that disadvantaged neighborhoods have higher frequency of crime and therefore also police intervention, consequently the discrimination of minority youth can also be explained by structural and socioeconomic challenges. People in disadvantaged neighborhoods are more "likely to experience incidents of procedural injustice" because they have more encounters with the police (Haller et al. 2020). Thus, minorities experience being disproportionately targeted

by the police, partly because many are living in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Brunson, 2007; Gau and Brunson, 2015; White, 2015). Haller et al. (2020) explain how this has created a stereotype of minority youth being a "problem group" by majority society, which is common in many societies. For example, the use of marijuana is a common reason for stop and search in Oslo, however, even if statistics show that it is more used by youth in the western part of the city, there is more police patrolling in the east (Aasgaard and Langford, 2019). Therefore, there is an indication that more patrolling is done in the areas where more ethnic minorities live. Consequently, Thomassen (2017) find that the neighborhood a person lives in is connected to trust in the police; in neighborhoods with many social problems like poverty, crime and so on, people have less trust in the police than the majority population. Reoccurring policing of certain neighborhoods restrict the freedom of minority youth to walk around without being afraid of looking suspicious to the police. Solhjell et al. (2019) describe how youth with intersections of social markers that makes them "suspicious" to the majority restricts how they can behave and move around in the city, which also increases a sense of not belonging to society and the feeling of "us" / "them" (p. 349).

Van Craen and Skogan (2015) point to how the little research available on minorities' trust in the police in Europe is consequently followed by even less research on the variation in experiences with the police among different minority groups. Solhjell et al. (2019) find that intersectionality can be used to better understand the experiences minority youth have with the police. Social markers like for example ethnicity, age, education, class, and neighborhood can impact a person's experiences with the police, and Solhjell et al. argue that it determines if a person is seen by the majority population as "scary," "frightening," or "suspicious" (2019, p. 353). The stereotypes of how a criminal looks can lead to minority youth being stopped by the police for looking suspicious. Typically, young men with minority background experience being stopped or controlled without receiving a good reason (Solhjell et al. 2019; Haller et al. 2020).

4.3.3 Racial and Ethnic profiling

The term 'racial profiling' became known in the US in the 1990s when legal actions were taken against the police for disproportionally stopping black and brown drivers without any evidence of

crime (Harris, 2020, p. 10). Harris define racial profiling as "the law enforcement practice of using race, ethnicity, national origin, or religious appearance as one factor, among others, when police decide which people are suspicious enough to warrant police stops, questioning, frisks, searches, and other routine police practices" (ibid.). He explains that the reason why the definition states that race or ethnic appearance are one of several factors for the encounter, is because the police seldom use only one factor. Mulinari and Keskinen describe racial profiling as a "selective and racializing police practices that (re)produce societal hierarchies by targeting specific groups based on ideas of race, ethnicity, religion or national identity" (2020, p. 3).

In the literature, racial and ethnic profiling is used interchangeably. However, we find that racial profiling typically is used more in the American context, while ethnic profiling is more common to use in the European context, which is why this study will actively use 'ethnic profiling' in the context of Norway. However, more recent studies in European contexts seem to use the term racial profiling more frequently than before. Therefore, if the authors of literature discussed in this thesis use either 'racial' or 'ethnic' profiling, then their respective work will be referred to by using the terms accordingly. M'charek et al. (2014) and Dankertsen and Kristiansen (2021) argue that the academic and public debate about race disappeared after World War II in Western European countries including Norway. Consequently, there are implications when addressing issues of racialization like racial profiling. In the Norwegian context, Dankertsen and Kristiansen point to how race is substituted with "concepts such as "ethnicity," "culture," "multiculturalism," "diversity," or "Muslim," terms that indirectly signify racialization" (2021, p. 2). Similarly, many studies looking at minority youth's relationship and experiences of discrimination with the police do not use the concept of racial or ethnic profiling in the Nordic context.

Mulinari and Keskinen (2020) study looks at racial profiling in the context of the welfare state and use Sweden and Finland as case studies. They point to how the Nordic countries have been a part of the white and economically prosperous west, as well as being a part of the European civilizing mission. Following, the Nordic institutions and the modern welfare state are (re)producing race and racism through a "continuum of white hegemony and mistrust towards ethnic minorities and groups defined as 'others'" (ibid., p. 4). Mulinari and Keskinen (ibid.) argue that this is apparent in police work and point to how populations in stigmatized residential areas are disproportionately

targeted by the police. Thus, even if the Nordic welfare state have color-blind and egalitarian laws and policies, Mulinari and Keskinen (ibid) argue from their study of Sweden and Finland, that the welfare state is organized by lines of racial hierarchies and that racial profiling is part of police work.

In the Norwegian context, there is no data monitoring who gets stopped and searched by the police and little research on this particular issue, thus there is no research that can truly capture the reality minority youth describe with data (Sollund, 2006; Leirvik and Ellefsen, 2020). Norway has a significant gap in the literature, which contrasts the growing literature in countries like the US, UK, and also increasingly in our neighboring countries, like Sweden and Denmark (Aasgaard and Langford, 2019). Following, Norway has been criticized by European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) for the lack of research on racial profiling (ibid.). In 2002, funds for qualitative and quantitative research and a trial receipt scheme were initiated by the Norwegian parliament because of the critique (Regjeringen, 2003). However, after a report made by the Police Directorate addressing the questions in the critiques, there was a majority vote in parliament to reject the trial receipt scheme. Aasgaard and Langford (2019) claim that the state has refused to look into the issue of racial profiling in the Norwegian police, and therefore the extent to which racial profiling occurs in the Norwegian context remains unknown. The UN's Human Rights Council have also criticized the Norwegian police for outright practicing racial profiling in their ID controls (United Nations, 2018). In addition, the stop and search practice has received considerable criticism from minority youth and youth organizations in Norway, and many say they experience these practices as ethnic profiling (Leirvik and Ellefsen, 2020). Following the BLM demonstration in 2020, a new trial project for the receipt scheme in Oslo has been initiated by the government.

5. Research Design and Methodology

This chapter will present the research design and methodology used in this research project in order to ensure a transparent description of the methods used during the research process from the beginning to the end. The collected empirical evidence is qualitative and was gathered through semi-structured interviews with sixteen interviewees. The interviewees consisted of two groups; 1) experts, including researchers and organization representatives; and 2) individual participants who personally took part in the BLM protest wave.

5.1 Research strategy

In this study, we chose to use a qualitative approach to increase the knowledge and understanding of the BLM protest wave and minorities' experiences with racism and discrimination in the Norwegian context, more specifically in Oslo. We chose a qualitative approach because it allows for a more in-depth understanding of the protest wave and the experiences of youth with minority backgrounds in Norway. Berg and Lune define the purpose of research as a way "to discover answers to questions through the application of systematic procedures," and postulate that qualitative research is a method that "properly seeks answers by examining various social settings and the groups or individuals who inhabit these settings" (2012, p. 8). In quantitative research, individuals are reduced to aggregated conclusions, while qualitative research, in contrast, seeks to share "understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives" (ibid., p. 8). The research strategy sought to grasp people's understanding and perceptions by conducting semi-structured interviews, primarily because the emphasis in this kind of interview is on how "the interviewee frames and understands issues and events—that is, what the interviewee views as important in explaining and understanding events, patterns, and forms of behavior" (Bryman, 2012, p. 471).

The starting point of our time frame is set for two weeks prior to the BLM demonstrations in June of 2020 in Norway. Our reasoning for this is because it includes the time in which the killing of

George Floyd occurred in May of 2020, as well as how the demonstrations marked the first widespread public engagement with the BLM protest wave in Norway. The end point of the study time frame is the date of the Norwegian Parliamentary Election in September 2021, since this provides 14 months of possible political activity to monitor, as well as it provides the opportunity to ask the participants the extent to which BLM had an impact on their voting patterns.

5.2 Data Collection

5.2.1 Sampling

The study populations in this research project consist of experts and individual participants. The first population consists of experts on the BLM movement or the Norwegian protest wave, topics related to the BLM movement, as well as minorities' experiences in Norway. They work either as researchers, as representatives in organizations, or with minority-related issues. Our understanding of experts is based on the definition by Döringer, which states that an expert is "considered knowledgeable of a particular subject and is identified by virtue of their specific knowledge, their community position, or their status" (2021, p. 265). The significance of using experts is that they offer a unique set of knowledge and perspectives on the topics related to this study's research questions, such as minority-related issues, racial injustice and discrimination, and the BLM demonstrations in Norway.

Purposive sampling was used to select the experts, which provided a sample that was strongly relevant for the research questions. We chose to use purposive sampling in order to "ensure that there is a good deal of variety in the resulting sample, so that sample members differ from each other in terms of key characteristics relevant to the research question" (Bryman, 2016, p. 418). It allowed us to have a more balanced range of knowledge and perspectives, as well as it ensured that experts were not over- or underrepresented. As a starting point, representatives in organizations and researchers with specific knowledge about BLM and people with immigrant backgrounds in Norway were contacted and invited to participate in an interview. The people who responded to our inquiry but were not able to personally participate in the interview, or people who

ended up participating in an interview after being contacted, were later asked if they had other participants to suggest for the study. Thus, the snowball sampling approach was used to more easily get in contact with relevant people and to get an overview of experts relevant to our topic. Snowball sampling is a sequential approach that starts with "an initial sample and gradually adds to the sample as befits the research questions" (ibid., p. 418). The snowball sampling method was also helpful in the process of not avoiding valuable or highly relevant people, who otherwise could have been overlooked. During snowball sampling, a lot of participants suggested people we had already been in contact with, confirming that we reached out to relevant people. The sample size of eight participants included three researchers, four organization representatives or individuals working on a related topic, and one preventative police officer. The personal characteristics of the experts were not included in the findings due to the characteristics' lack of relevance when selecting them.

There are various benefits of conducting expert interviews. Bogner et al., for example, points to how "expert interviews can serve to shorten time-consuming data gathering processes, particularly if the experts are seen as "crystallization points" for practical insider knowledge and are interviewed as surrogates for a wider circle of players" (2009, p. 2). In addition, experts can provide knowledge about social fields that are difficult to get access to or where limited published research is available, which was particularly the case in our study with reference to the latter point of how there was little research available (ibid.). Interviewing experts was therefore helpful in the research project because of the limited scholarly work available on the BLM protest wave and minority experiences in Norway. The experts were a mix of people with different ethnic backgrounds. However, the reveal of the experts' ethnic background was not relevant to include in this study, because they participated on the basis of their professional work, with many of them being professional activists or generally passionate about minority perspectives.

Expert #	Gender	Profession
1	Female	Organization representative
2	Female	Police expert
3	Male	Researcher
4	Female	Organization representative
5	Male	Researcher
6	Female	Organization representative
8	Female	Researcher
16	Male	Preventative Police Officer

Table 1: Experts' gender and profession

The second population in our study was defined as youth between the age of 18 and 30 with immigrant backgrounds from Asia and Africa. We used an understanding of 'minority background' that included those who were born in Norway with one or both parents being immigrants, and those who had immigrated to Norway themselves, hence first- and second-generation immigrants. The prerequisite for our second study population was that they had either participated in the BLM demonstrations in Oslo or engaged in any sort of way with the BLM discussion that took place in 2020, whether it was on social media, conversations with people, op-eds in newspapers, and so on. The location of the study is limited to individuals living in Oslo, and the restriction of this area was chosen because the most widespread engagement and public debates on BLM took place in Oslo following the demonstrations in June of 2020. In addition, the highest percentage of people with immigrant background in Norway reside in Oslo (Oslo kommune, 2021), which makes this area a natural location to choose. Additionally, we chose Oslo because of the larger socioeconomic differences that can be found there, as well as the large number of people with immigrant backgrounds living in areas that have lower socioeconomic status (Wessel et al., 2018).

Our population is infinite and the exact number of people who fit in our population is unknown. In addition, we struggled to reach out to the population, as there was no shared organization connecting them. We chose to use snowball sampling with the second study population, because it "is particularly suitable when the population of interest is hard to reach and compiling a list of the population poses difficulties for the researcher" (Etikan et al., 2015, p. 1). Snowball sampling starts with a convenience sampling in order to get the initial sample, in which the latter is defined

by Etikan et al. as "a type of nonprobability or nonrandom sampling where members of the target population that meet certain practical criteria, such as easy accessibility, geographical proximity, availability at a given time, or the willingness to participate are included for the purpose of the study" (2016, p. 2). The initial sample was therefore collected through both snowball and convenience sampling.

The significance of using snowball sampling as a method to collect data is the fact that one person will facilitate the access to the next person, which proved to be useful because of the difficulty of approaching individuals that were not in our own personal networks (Bryman, 2016). At the same time, snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling method, which means that the findings are not generalizable to the population (ibid.). Etikan et al. (2015) points to how a potential limitation of using this approach is that a person can facilitate access to a person that could have similar characteristics, thus potentially weakening the variety of the initial sample. A varied initial sample is arguably important to avoid a sample that is "skewed excessively in any one particular direction" (ibid., p. 1). We chose to use snowball sampling by asking organization representatives from the first study population to put us in contact with participants that fit the criteria of our second study populations. Secondly, as a result of the difficulty of getting those we were put in contact with from our initial sample to participate in an interview, we decided to use convenience sampling to increase the initial sample. We did so by posting a text on our LinkedIn profiles asking people in our defined population to participate in the study, as well as we hung up posters at the Oslo Metropolitan University after the lack of response we experienced on LinkedIn and through snowball sampling. Unfortunately, we found snowball sampling to be time-consuming, as the recruitment of one person through another person resulted in slow communication with new potential participants.

Our sample is pragmatic, which means that the intention of the sample collected is not "to achieve any systematic generalizations" (Grønmo, 2020, p. 156). The sample size of the second population included eight individuals from the defined population, and the sample is not representative of the population studied. Six of the participants were female, while two were male as shown in the table below. In addition, all of our participants were in the process of or had already completed their higher education.

Participants	In Number	In Percentage
Gender		
Female	6	75
Male	2	25
Age		
22-24	4	50
25-27	4	50
Immigrant Generation		
First	3	37,5
Second	5	62,5
Parents' Background		
Africa	4	50
Asia	4	50
Level of Education		
Bachelor	3	37,5
Master	5	62,5

Table 2: Participants' demographics

5.2.2 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted for the data collection, where we had an interview guide with a list of topics and questions to be covered. In semi-structured interviews, the researcher is not strictly bound to the questions and can ask follow-up questions based on the respondents' answers (Bryman, 2016). It allows flexibility for the researcher and offers more in-depth data, while a structured interview would have limited the understanding of the perspectives and opinions of the interviewee (ibid.). The flexibility made the interviews more conversation-like and gave off a natural flow to the conversation. We created three different interview guides where the questions were organized in different themes. The first interview guide was for the experts, which included researchers and organization representatives (see appendix 3). The second interview guide for the preventative police officer (see appendix 4). Lastly, the third interview guide was made for the individual participants (see appendix 5).

The interview guides were created with the research questions kept in mind and were phrased and expressed based on the knowledge and experience of the person being interviewed. Prior to data collection, the research proposal and interviewee guides were approved by Norwegian Centre for

Research Data (NSD), which ensured that the data, in which the research project was based on, was "collected, stored and shared, both safely and legally" (NSD, n.d.). The interviewees who were able to sign online or scan their signature returned the consent form prior to the scheduled interview. However, as a result of how the COVID-19 pandemic caused many of the interviewees to work from their homes, it was difficult for some of them to provide a written consent without the necessary equipment to do so. Therefore, we allowed them to provide their consent orally or via email after receiving and reading through the consent form. The form included detailed information about the project and explained what the purpose and objective of the study was, as well as what their participation in the project would entail and which rights the interviewees had prior, during, and following the scheduled interview. According to Bryman (2016), informed consent is important because the interviewee needs to be aware of what kind of study they are agreeing to participate in.

The selected interviewees were primarily contacted via email. The email addresses were found online, received from other interviewees after the potential new interviewee had confirmed that we could get in touch with them, or received through the contact form calling on participants to take part in our study, as was mentioned above. The data collection process began when there were COVID-19 restrictions in Oslo, thus, the interviews were conducted online in real-time via the video communication tool, Zoom. A limitation of conducting video interviews in comparison to face-to-face interviews, is that it only provides a headshot of the participant, which might impact the observation of body language (Janghorban et al., 2014). We conducted half of the interviews each, and during the interview the person who was not asking the question would take notes and observe the interviewees' body language, hesitations, and so on. This allowed the interviewer to focus more on the actual responses of the interviewee and make thorough follow-up questions on the spot. The COVID-19 restrictions were lifted in the period of data collection, however, the interviews continued to be conducted online because we aimed to have consistency in the way we had conducted them. Yet, in order to provide flexibility to the interviewees, they were given the opportunity to complete the interview in-person if they desired. However, all interviewees were comfortable with the online format and preferred this option. Our impression is that the interviewees had become more comfortable and acquainted with online technologies during the pandemic, and we were under the impression that people demonstrated a greater willingness to

take part in our study due to the feasibility of doing interviews online. A benefit of online interviews is that the online format removes travel time and makes it easier for people to fit the interviews into their personal schedules. Another benefit we found was that it allowed us to have the interview guides in front of us and take notes without disturbing or distracting the interviewees when they were responding to our questions, which overall made the process run more smoothly.

As mentioned, the interviews were conducted with one interviewer and one observer that took notes. At the end of the interview the observer had the option to ask follow-up questions, in case anything was unclear or forgotten by the researcher leading the interview. Additionally, the observer would often notice a few things that the main interviewer had missed, which allowed them to ask sufficient follow-up questions. The observer would also transcribe the interviews, which included field notes and word-for-word transcripts. All interviews were audio recorded, which enabled us to get more accurate and in-depth notes from the interview, improving the accuracy and deepening the insight. The audio recording was safely stored, and the interviews were transcribed immediately after it was conducted, which subsequently allowed us to delete the audio recording shortly after. The interviews lasted approximately an hour and were conducted in the language that the participants preferred. The transcription was conducted in the language spoken in the interview to reduce the risk of misinterpreting. Thirteen of the participants preferred to have the interview in Norwegian, while the other three preferred English. However, some interviewees mixed the languages depending on the topic, primarily because they considered some issues as easier to talk about in one or the other languages. We did not see any noticeable difference or challenges by conducting the interviews in different languages, and our impression is that, if anything, it allowed the participants to speak more freely rather than letting language barriers come in the way.

5.3 Data analysis

The purpose of qualitative data analysis, according to Grønmo, is to obtain "a comprehensive understanding of specific circumstances or to develop theories and hypotheses about specific social contexts" (2020, p. 300). Our data analysis started after the first interview and was done

continuously while the rest of the interviews were conducted. Reflections around impressions and thoughts about the interviewees' responses were discussed and written down following each interview to retain the impression. We quickly realized that there were many benefits of being two researchers, one of them being the ability to reflect, agree and disagree with each other's impressions, and discuss together, thus ensuring our thoughts to be reflected by both researchers. Secondly, it allowed us to identify the different impressions we had made during and immediately after the interviews, as well as it provided us with more perspectives in the data analysis process due to our different academic backgrounds; one from the international relations discipline, and the other from global development studies. These disciplines are both interdisciplinary, which means that different academic disciplines are used in one research project. Sumner and Tribe point to how "different disciplines have different ways of problematizing issues and they use different languages" (2008, p. 54). Our academic backgrounds influence how we understand "the nature of reality itself (ontology) and the nature of knowledge itself (epistemology)" (ibid., p. 55). The ontology of knowledge looks at the assumptions made of what is, thus what we assume exists, while epistemology looks at the choices taken regarding theoretical/conceptual frameworks and how this impacts our methodology and methods (ibid.).

Coding in qualitative analysis has less clearly defined rules than quantitative analysis, and a thematic analysis is often used (Bryman, 2016). Grønmo describes coding data as an important procedure in qualitative research for "creating an overview by simplifying and summarizing the content of the text" (2020, p. 301). In contrast to quantitative coding, coding of the qualitative data may be part of the analysis and the codes are expressed as text instead of numbers (ibid.). The codes produced in this research project are interpretive codes, meaning that they are our interpretation and understanding of the content in the data. We used a thematic analysis approach to guide the analyses of the data, where core themes were first identified, followed by the identification of sub-themes. Braun and Clarke describe thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (2008, p. 79). A theme refers to a category recognized by researchers in the transcripts and is relevant for the research focus, as well as it can contribute theoretically to existing literature (Bryman, 2016). In thematic analysis, the themes are found through reading and re-reading the transcripts (ibid.). An advantage of using a thematic analysis approach is that it provides a rich and detailed description of complex data

(Vaismoradi et al., 2013). In our research area, where much is unknown, thematic analysis is well-suited because it is a flexible tool and allows us to discover unknown themes. The transcripts of the interviews were color coded with the themes that had emerged during data collection and by reading through transcripts, and then all the data were divided into various color codes. We were able to form new questions based on some of the answers we got from participants that were asked in the later interviews, since transcribing and analyzing occurred simultaneously with the data collection.

Color coding was beneficial because we had an overwhelming amount of data, and it allowed us to organize the data in a sufficient way that gave us a better overview of the themes. A large mind map was then drawn up with the existing themes and all the data was re-read in these codes, as well as new or improved sub-themes emerged. Mind mapping is a technique that helps "to deconstruct complex topics by creating a graphical representation of constituent subtopics and related themes (Kernan et al., 2018, p. 101). When the themes were recognized, the data in each theme was reduced through a condensation approach. Using a condensation approach means to shorten down interviewees formulations (Kvale, 2007). Some quotes were kept in full length, however, many of the interviewees' responses were expressed through long stories and reasoning. Since the interviews were semi-structured, a condensation approach could sometimes be used during the interview by asking the interviewee to clarify their point. However, to ensure a flow in the conversation, it was only used when something was unclear. Both of the researchers read through everything the other person had done to ensure consistency. This means that both read through each other's transcriptions, analyzed the content together, and read each other's condensed version, thus ensuring the consistency of interpretations and understandings of the data. Impressions and thoughts from both researchers about the collected data were pointed out throughout the process, and the translation of statements were done carefully and precisely to avoid distortions of statements.

5.4 Reliability and Validity

Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 107) describe findings in social sciences as "created through the interactions of inquirer and phenomenon (which, in the social sciences, is usually people)," instead of being created through objective observations, as in natural sciences. Reliability and validity are immensely important criteria in quantitative research, however, the relevance of these criteria in qualitative research is under discussion (Bryman, 2016). The criteria have their origins from quantitative research, however, Lincoln and Guba (1985; 1994) have created specific terms to assess the quality of qualitative research. Reliability and validity, which in quantitative research roughly examines the degree to which the study is replicable and the extent to which it is generalizable to the population, is altered to regard the trustworthiness of the research in a qualitative study (ibid.). The trustworthiness criteria refer to the "credibility (paralleling internal validity), transferability (paralleling external validity), dependability (paralleling reliability), and confirmability (paralleling objectivity)" of the qualitative study (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 114). Guba and Lincoln (ibid.) point to trustworthiness and authenticity as the two main criteria in assessing the quality of qualitative research. The authenticity of the study on the other hand looks to "raise a wider set of issues concerning the wider political impact of research." (Bryman, 2016, p. 393). However, the criteria have not been influential in social research, unless it is "action research" where there is an emphasis on practical outcomes (ibid.). Thus, authenticity is less relevant to this study and will not be considered.

Credibility of the data means ensuring that the researcher correctly understood the social reality that was studied (ibid.). The large size of the data material and the time limitation hindered our use of triangulation in this study. Triangulation entails that the study involves "more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena" (ibid., p. 392). The credibility of data in this study was enhanced by having two researchers' interpretations, which allowed for thorough discussions in instances where the researchers disagreed. In addition, direct quotes were included to let the reader see how the data had been interpreted.

Transferability of the study emphasizes the generalizability of the results to other settings or contexts (Krefting, 1990). However, Krefting (ibid.) points to how generalization of the findings to the larger population is not a goal in qualitative research, as the goal is to describe what we are studying. The sample in this study is small and purposively selected and can therefore not be generalized to the populations. However, it might be transferable to other contexts or used as comparison. The inclusion of quotes and the thick description of the data enhance the transferability of the study as it gives a better understanding of the data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Dependability is the alteration of reliability and consistency of quantitative studies, which entails the ability of a study to get the same results if it is repeated (Krefting, 1990). However, consistency and repeatability is not possible or desired in a qualitative study as it is in a quantitative study (ibid.). This is because, in the qualitative field, what is studied is often changing and based on a human situation where there is a variation of experiences instead of identical repetition (ibid.). Yet, the dependability is strengthened by the ability to back-trace the process because full transcripts and interview guides are available. The interview guides are included in the appendix, however, the transcripts are not public and an external researcher would have to request these documents. To adopt an "auditing" approach means that the transcripts are checked against the interpretation by an external researcher during the research project, and the approach is very demanding timewise and is seldom used (Bryman, 2016). According to Krefting (1990), having a colleague to check the research process, including the plan and implementation, is a strategy for ensuring dependability. Additionally, our supervisor checked our research plan and implementation, as well as we were lucky enough to be two researchers in this study cooperatively creating the research plan, implementing the research, and reading through all the data and analysis. The recording of the data was also done carefully and with attention to detail, ensuring accurate transcriptions of the recorded interviews, and the coding was done systematically (ibid.). Nevertheless, if an external researcher replicates the study, the same findings might not be found because the findings are based on the time and place of the interview that might form the subjective experiences of the interviewee. In addition, our thorough description of the research process strengthens dependability (Krefting, 1990).

Confirmability is a criterion that looks at the objectivity of the study, thus how the researchers have not let theoretical inclinations or personal values influence the findings in the study (Bryman, 2016). Bryman (ibid.) also points out how it is important to recognize that it is impossible to be completely objective in social research, however, confirmability relates to the degree to which the research would be confirmed by an external researcher. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that confirmability audit, triangulation and reflexivity are criteria for ensuring confirmability. Confirmability audit is a strategy where an external researcher goes through the whole research process, however, the strategy is very time consuming (ibid.). During the research process we questioned each other's reactions and understandings to help discover any biases and to strengthen the neutrality of the study. In addition, quotes from interviewees have been included to let the reader judge the way quotes are interpreted by the researchers. In social research, the concern of social desirability bias is present in data collection. Social desirability bias is when the interviewee responds to the questions in a way they think will please the researcher (Bryman, 2016). To reduce the chance of this error, the researchers kept their opinion secret and were supportive regardless of what the answers were.

5.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical consideration is very important and central in social research. Bryman categorizes ethical considerations in social research into; "Whether there is harm to participants; Whether there is a lack of informed consent; Whether there is an invasion of privacy; Whether deception is involved" (ibid., p. 125). Thus, he refers to the importance of ensuring that a person does not face any negative consequence by participating in the research. Avoiding any harm to participants is strictly necessary, and harm can take different forms; it can be "physical harm; harm to participants' development; loss of self-esteem; stress; and 'inducing subjects to perform reprehensible acts'" (ibid., p. 136). This research project focuses on individuals experiences of racism, discrimination, political engagement, and in contact with law enforcement. The topic is therefore one of high sensitivity, as it is personal and can be emotional for participants to talk about. Sharing these experiences may be painful for research participants, thus, it is important to make the interviewee feel comfortable and safe prior, during, and after the interview. Prior to the interview, the

interviewees were informed about the topics that would be touched upon and reassured that they did not have to respond to all questions. To ensure the well-being of interviewees, we sent a follow-up email after the interview, thus allowing interviewees to reach out if they had any questions or concerns.

Prior to the interview, the participants received a consent form that was pre-approved by the NSD. The consent form included information about the participants' rights, about privacy, and the scope of the research project. Signing the consent form is important to preserve the integrity and privacy of participants (Bryman, 2016). The interview involved personal questions about political participation and about personal experiences with racism, discrimination, and in contact with the police; thus, informed consent and privacy considerations are especially important because of the sensitivity of the topics. Grønmo points to how one of the main ethical principles in social research is that "individuals who participate in a study will be anonymous, and information about individuals will be treated confidentially by the researchers" (2020, p. 59). Consequently, the participants in this study were anonymized and the information was treated confidentially. Through the consent form, participants were informed of their right to refuse answering any question, to stop the interview at any point, and to withdraw from the study at any point. Janghorban et al. (2014) points to how the online format also makes it easier for the participants to withdraw from the interview process by clicking a button if they feel uncomfortable. However, they also point to how it can increase the likelihood of participants being absent and the need for rescheduling. This weakness was noticed in our process as two of the interviews had to be rescheduled because the participant did not show up at the agreed time.

In addition, ensuring the confidentiality of the interviewee is especially important because of the sensitivity of the topic. The data could cause harm to the interviewees if it fell into the wrong hands because the topic is sensitive and personal. The confidentiality of interviews is ensured through good data management practices, as the NSD's guidelines for privacy of sensitive information were followed to ensure privacy. The interviews were anonymized, thus the interviews conducted are untraceable to the participant to avoid any type of harm (Bryman, 2016). However, we included age, gender, ethnicity, whether they were first- or second-generation immigrants, and their level of education for the individual participants, where it is relevant for the research. Experts were

distinguished from the individual participants because the latter group spoke about their own experiences. At the same time, the profession of experts was included to give context of how they had developed their knowledge on the topic and why they had been selected to participate in this study. The name of the participant was not connected to the transcription, and traceable information about participants were not included in the research paper. There is some resentment and hostility expressed towards participants of the BLM movement and demonstrations, as well as immigrants in Norway, thus the confidentiality and anonymity of participants is especially important in this research project. The anonymity of the preventative police officer was also particularly important because the interview could, if identified as belonging to the respective officer, influence the police officer's work. The anonymity of the interviewees essentially allows them to feel more comfortable and able to speak more freely and openly, which was emphasized directly by some organization representatives.

6. Findings and Discussion

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the ways in which the Black Lives Matter movement has made an impact on the conversation around race and racial injustice in Norway, to identify the protest wave's impact on minority youth's role in Norwegian society, and lastly, to outline the participants' perception of the role of the police in Norway. Therefore, this chapter seeks to present, analyze, and discuss the main findings of the study, with an aim to provide answers to the study's research questions. The previous chapter examined the research project's methodology by explaining the ways in which our data had been transcribed, coded, and divided into various themes and sub-themes. The purpose of doing so was to present our findings in a systematic and organized manner that would directly address the research questions, thus resulting in our findings being divided into three main themes. Additionally, various sub-themes were provided, which relate to and support the main themes of the findings. The first theme will discuss the notion of racism in Norway, including an examination of how minority youth perceive their role in society, as well as experiences of what it is like to be a minority in Norway. The second theme will specifically focus on the BLM protest wave's impact on minority youth's role in Norwegian society, including an analysis of who the participants of the protest wave were, what comparisons the interviewees made between the US movement and the Norwegian protest wave, and lastly what the outcomes of the movement were with respect to minorities' role in Norway. The last theme will focus on policing in Norway, specifically examining the relationship between minority youth and the police, and the newly introduced receipt scheme in Oslo. All the themes and sub-themes will be discussed in connection with supporting literature, as introduced in chapters 3 and 4.

6.1 Racism in Norway

6.1.1 The Feeling of Being Different

There is a perception among the interviewees of how being a minority in Norway includes a feeling of otherness and a sense of not truly belonging in society because of being different from the

majority population. Individual participant 15 says that despite "ever being scared for my life or scared for my existence being threatened, there is still a constant feeling of otherness," and together with individual participant 12, both participants having Indian heritage, they did not truly realize what it meant to be a minority in Norway until they moved out of the country to cities with more diversity where they were never questioned about where they came from. According to the postcolonial critique, there is a relationship of dominance between a majority and minority population, in which a significant power and dominance is held over the Oriental (Lau, 2009). This feeling of being misplaced and detached from society can be interpreted as a cause of Eurocentrism; the emphasis and centrality of the European identity (Matin, 2011). Essentially, if every aspect of society focuses on the concerns of the majority population, the result is a perceived neglect of the minority populations' concern. Evidently, this can cause minorities to feel like their concerns are less important and leads to a detachment to Norwegian society.

Individual participant 14, who is a male of Turkish descent, considers being a minority in Norway as "an emotional burden" and finds it very frustrating because he feels like he is investing himself in a system that "is theirs and not ours." In fact, he elaborates by saying:

> *"It was my own experiences that led me to get frustrated; get angry; get annoyed. I was not as invested in the systems and structures that we talk about valuing so highly, such as our democracy. Because if it is not ours, but theirs, and I am allowed to … (pause) I have the privilege of being allowed to exist here without being chased, then, in a way … it [the system] is not mine."*

In Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), a part of the postcolonial critique is the separation of 'us' versus 'them'. The idea of a hierarchy where "the West, Western culture, and [white] Western people are imagined to be superior to all others who are dehumanized through generalizations about them as naturally deficient, backward, and uncivilized" demonstrates the attitudes that majority populations can hold towards those who are perceived as the 'other' or as different (Moosavi, 2020, p. 3). Based on the responses of the interviewees on how the realization of being different in Norway really hit them once they moved to cities abroad with more diversity also indicates that the more diversity and representation you have in society, the less likely it is for

minorities to feel like they are on the outside of society. Furthermore, the categories of "East and West, or 'Orient' and 'Occident'," as the postcolonial school identifies, resonates with the interviewees' suggestion that the feeling of otherness causes people of minority background to struggle with finding their place in society. This is a particularly interesting notion because it demonstrates the separation between 'us' and 'them,' and strengthens Said's idea of how there is "a collective notion identifying 'us' Europeans against all 'those' non-Europeans … the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures" (1978, pp. 7-8). While the context of Said's argument primarily focuses on the Occident in the West's perception of the Orient in the East, individual participant 14's opinion on this matter indicates that it might even be more difficult to be the 'other' living in a Western country, particularly when it is often the only country one knows or has a relationship to. This is primarily because by being the other in a Western country where you are the minority, you are constantly reminded of the things that make you different from the rest, in comparison to living in a country where you are a part of the majority population.

Another potential cause for this feeling of otherness can be connected to the fact that several interviewees believe there is little representation and diversity in Norwegian society. Researcher 5, for example, points to how "there are only a few people of minority background among the most powerful actors in Norwegian society," and says that many minorities have lower socioeconomic status that prevents them from attaining a more powerful role in society, as well as having the resources to be politically engaged. Researcher 5 is under the impression that minorities are underrepresented in political parties and that they therefore have less power to influence the political scenery. Thus, because they find themselves in a cycle of having a lower socioeconomic status in society that is difficult to break out from, it prevents them from attaining powerful positions in society that can lead to change. According to American sociologist, Herbert Hyman (1953), the social class one belongs to defines one's ability for social mobility. Hyman argued that those individuals who belong to a lower class "doesn't want as much success as his middle or upper-class counterpart, [because] he knows he couldn't get it even if he wanted to and doesn't want what might help him get success" (ibid., p. 427). This notion is further elaborated in Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' (1977) *The Marxian Theory of Value and Hetero-Geneous Labour,* who argued that lower-class individuals are compelled to remain in the same class, and that they

are taught to stay in a submissive position in society without questioning this position. These traits, according to Bowles and Gintis, are then transferred to the next generation. Additionally, the scholars postulate that if you belong to a higher social class, then you are more concerned about keeping your superior position (ibid.). While various organizations and institutions attempt to respond to this lack of representation in society by having quotas and encouraging underrepresented groups to be more represented, individual participant 13 and organization representative 6 raise a possible concern about this active attempt to have more representation in society. They say that the flipside of this attempt is that minorities can feel like they are being selected to a large extent on the basis of their ethnicity. Organization representative 6, for example, says that "a person is picked out to fill the spot of a black person, and not just as a person," and connects the issue to how it feels to be the "quota person or the anti-racism representative," without ever asking to have this role.

6.1.2 Reluctance from the Majority Population

The interviewees suggest that a part of the challenge of being a minority in Norway is facing reluctance from the majority population to address the issue, as well as the impression that racism only exists elsewhere in the world and not in Norway. In fact, a third of the interviewees were surprised about the low level of knowledge on the existence of racism in Norway before BLM, in which individual participant 13 thinks a reason for this could be the impression "that we are such a small country and that everyone is kind to one another," whereas individual participant 15 believes it could be because "we do not see police officers killing innocent people very often," and makes a comparison to the US case. From the perspective of the majority population, Said postulates that "the fundamental problem is … how to reconcile one's identity and actualities of one's own culture, society and history to the reality of other identities, cultures, peoples" (1978, p. 94). This recognition of the reality of minorities seems to be somewhat lacking in Norway. While this indicates that there is neglect among the majority population in acknowledging the issue of racism among ethnic minorities in Norway because it may not be the violent or extreme form that can be seen in the US, the interviewees are nonetheless certain that racism exists in Norway.

Organization representative 4, however, believes that there is a visible pattern of how the majority population "refuses to put in the work" that is needed to have equality between ethnicities. She says that:

> *"Structures … contribute to people having less rights, and this is something that provokes me; that the majority population refuses to put in the work. The way I see it, it costs little [for the majority population] to clean up in their own prejudices compared to what it costs for the minority population having to go through racism and discrimination."*

As mentioned, organization representative 4 says that they need "to clean up in their own prejudices." This reluctance of wanting to "deal with it [their own prejudices]" is something organization representative 6 agrees with, who says it creates tension in society. As mentioned, the interviewees suggest that there is a lack of recognition towards the existence of racism in Norway, and researcher 5 suggests that a possible reason for this is because being a racist in Norway is considered as something illegitimate and politically incorrect, and therefore, there is a perception that it does not exist. He says that "there is clearly a lot of racism in Norway even if it is not socially acceptable to be a racist." Researcher 5 makes an example of how being an Islamophobia is generally considered to be more legitimate than racism, as some people may consider it more acceptable to say, "I do not hate Muslims, but I hate Islam," while with racism, it is more difficult to make legitimate arguments that justify racist behavior or language. Thus, he thinks it is easier to oppose a person's religion than to oppose a person's skin color. Similarly, organization representative 6 suggests that because we do not often see the extreme forms of racism, such as violence and hate speech, there is a perception that structural disadvantages, subtle racism, and microaggression is not considered as racism. However, the process of enabling the majority population to recognize the reality of minorities and their challenges poses the difficulty of determining whose authority it is to identify the problem. In fact, Said is concerned about the West's ability to be the actor, making "the Orient a passive reactor" (Said, 2003, p. 109). Therefore, while the aim would be for the majority population to recognize the challenges of minorities in Norway, it is important to keep in mind the Western history of continuing to define the world, particularly "the perpetual problems of the Other," and the West's "self-entitlement to declare

ownership over these matters [the perpetual problems] and the solutions to them" (Moosavi, 2020, p. 8).

6.1.3 Lack of Space for Minority Voices

Organization representative 6 and individual participant 11 both agree that there is generally little space for minority voices in the public debate on racism in Norway. Individual participant 11, who is a female born in Rwanda, suggests that although it is important for minorities to share their stories, it is equally as important to tell these stories in "places where you know that they are being heard," she says. On a different note, organization representative 6 suggests that the reason why there is little space for minority voices is that our society is shaped by a media that is steered by "the things that sell," and postulates that "the minority perspective is not something that sells to the majority." According to Diez-Gracia and Sánchez-García when it comes to the media's agenda to inform the public, they suggest that the media has an intention in "telling the public what to think," while also sustaining "its influence when suggesting what issues the audience should think about" (2022, p. 64). By influencing the public sphere and public opinion, the authors argue that media can be subject to framing stories that may have a different intention than solely to inform its audience. This framing can therefore be, as organization representative 6 suggests, to tell stories that they think may get them increased attention from the public, even if it is at the expense of the framing of minorities.

Another trend organization representative 6 observes in the media is how there is a noteworthy pattern of the media providing contrasting perspectives when it comes to stories about immigrants that have done something good versus stories about immigrants that have done something bad. In her opinion, "if they [the immigrants] have done something wrong, then the media will say where they are originally from," in contrast to how they will not specify this if the story is about an immigrant who has done something good. The topic of immigration and minorities' role in society is already considered to be a much-discussed and perhaps controversial topic, so when the media produces more content on this subject, they have the ability to stir up this debate. However, the challenge of seeking to frame stories that sell is that it is often at the expense of minorities and therefore has a negative impact on how they are perceived by the media's audience and the

majority population. This is a pattern that has also been analyzed and critiqued by postcolonial theorists. Essentially, there are "Orientalist generalizations about [Orientals]" that are "very detailed when it comes to itemizing [Oriental] characteristics critically, far less so when it comes to analyzing [Oriental] strengths" (Said, 2003, p. 310). This indicates that there is a stronger incentive to underline to less praiseworthy and perhaps stereotypical characteristics of minorities, rather than highlighting the positive things that minorities are involved with.

The lack of space for minority voices to be heard in public implies that their voices may not be welcomed, thus creating a fear of actually speaking up about racism and discrimination. In fact, several of the interviewees feel like they have to either restrict themselves when talking publicly about racism due to the fear of "putting yourself out there," as organization representative 6 suggests, or generally feel isolated from the debate and therefore repress some of the things they otherwise would have wanted to say if their voices had been more wanted in the conversation. Essentially, the dominance of the majority population to take significant space in the public room leaves little room for minorities to feel like their voices are welcomed. The failure to provide a safe space for minorities to speak up can also be connected to what Nasar Meer claims to be the depiction of the Orient and the norm of expressing "colonial ideas and values" in Western societies (Meer, 2014, p. 507). In his opinion, the question that should be raised and the main problem that comes from examining the power balance between the Orient and the Occident is what space that has been given to the Other to express themselves and to voice their concerns (ibid.).

Individual participant 11 emphasizes the negative backlash one can experience by being perceived as ungrateful if talking about the difficulties of being a minority in Norway, while organization representatives 4 and 6 highlight the danger of being exposed to that amount of resentment, hate speech, and threats. This perception among minorities that they have to feel grateful for living in a privileged country like Norway prevents them from speaking their truth. Organization representative 6, for example, says she has to be "very careful about what I say because of white fragility," as well as the fear of being canceled. Another notion within the postcolonial school is how the West "identifies the inadequacies of the Other" by "[positioning] themselves as having the authority and attributes to diagnose and rectify the supposed deficiencies of the Other" (Moosavi, 2020, p. 8). For example, according to Said, "the West is the spectator, the judge and

jury, of every facet of Oriental behavior" (2003, p. 109). What this indicates is that the dominant position of the majority population gives them the ability to define how the Orient ought to behave, causing minorities to feel either obliged to say or do what the majority expects of them or prevents them from saying or doing what they truly feel like. White fragility is a term that was coined by Robin DiAngelo (2011) as a defensiveness that white people have when their perception of race and racism is challenged, as well as an overall feeling of discomfort when discussing racial inequality and injustice. What organization representative 6 argues when it comes to limiting oneself due to white fragility can be seen as a way for the ethnic white majority to define the reality of minorities, and to essentially "affix their gaze on the Orient in a way that Orientals would never be permitted to do in return," much due to this white fragility (Moosavi, 2020, p. 8). It therefore gives the majority population the freedom to speak and act as they would like, while the minority population either feel like there is no space for their voices in the public room or that they need to act or say the things that satisfy the majority.

6.1.4 Microaggression

Some of the interviewees find it difficult to deduce what can be considered as racism, such as microaggression, and what can be considered to stem from pure curiosity. Individual participant 15, a 24-year-old woman of Indian heritage, says she has experienced microaggression but considered it important to highlight that she does not think such slurs "comes down to cruelty, but rather because people are not used to the diverse range of backgrounds." In fact, she is certain that when people ask her, for example, where she is *really* from, despite being born and raised in Norway, "people's intention is about curiosity and not hostility." Her feelings might be affected by white fragility because of how one may make excuses for the majority population's behavior and is therefore hesitant towards speaking up against them. However, there is legitimacy in what she is saying, together with other interviewees, in that it can be difficult to deduce how serious microaggression can be when the intention may not come from a place of hostility. However, in contrast, individual participant 13, who is a Muslim female born in Somalia, says that despite considering questions like "Can I see your hair?" or "Do you even have hair under there?" when wearing the hijab to be questions of curiosity very often, she did not realize that it was

microaggression until her black friends told her why it could be insulting and not okay to ask those types of questions.

Individual participant 11, who posted a social media post about her experiences with microaggression says that her intention of posting the post was to have people:

> *"... read it and think 'Oh, shit, this is everyday racism that (interviewee's name) has experienced, someone I personally know, and to think that she has gone through this not just once, but on the bus, at parties, and on various different occasions, and yet felt like she could not say anything about it.' However, it was important to me to not only be like 'Oh, I feel attacked, period,' but to also say that I have deliberately been one of those people who have joked about things and deliberately allowed myself to be the blame for this, because I did not want anything to come as a surprise. ... I kind of repressed it a bit, so whenever things would happen, I was just like 'Oh my God, it's fine.' A lot of my friends have said things that they perhaps should not have said, and that they certainly would not have said now, but in those moments, it was much easier for me to just laugh it off than to call it out when it happened. Because it happened a lot, and the problem in Norway is that you might think it comes from an old lady, or a drunk, and you do not really want to call it out because it will put people in a bad mood. But all those little moments make an impact in the long-run, and the consequences of it can be bad."*

Individual participant 11, who was born in Rwanda, says that by brushing it off as something unimportant, with the intention of ensuring those around her that she was okay, she also invalidated her own feelings. Additionally, she did not want to be perceived as if she could not take a joke. Racial microaggression is defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273). While this habit of brushing things off and not fully acknowledging that microaggressive slurs are offensive and insulting can be connected to the fear among minorities to speak up, there is also an explanation for why there is a tendency to feel this way according to the postcolonial critique. Moosavi suggests that the Other is often "depicted in an inferior manner compared to its

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Western equivalent," but suggests that in contrast to its Western equivalent, "the Oriental is potentially viewed as emotional and primitive and the Westerner as objective and rational" (2020, p. 6). The problem with microaggression, and particularly in the context of recognizing and speaking up against microaggression is that when minorities do choose to speak up against it, they can be perceived as overly emotional and unreasonable. This not only reduces minorities' freedom to feel the things they feel when they are exposed to microaggression, but it overall undermines their feelings. Subsequently, there seems to be a genuine concern of not wanting to be perceived as someone who is too serious to take a joke or be stamped as overly emotional and irrational for dismissing microaggressive behavior. However, in the context of social movements and mobilization, emotions do not make participants more irrational, but can instead be interpreted as a motivation for engagement (Goodwin and Jasper, 2009; Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022).

6.1.5 Oversimplified Perceptions of Minorities

The interviewees find it crucial to emphasize the fact that minorities are not a homogenous group of individuals. Individual participant 12 says that she is often put in the same category as Muslim women because of her Indian heritage, where people will assume that she is oppressed because of the way that she looks. This is not only a stereotype of Muslim women being oppressed or silenced, but also an assumption that individual participant 12, based on her looks and the color of her skin, belongs to a certain ethnic group, thus reproducing the idea of brown women as a homogenous group. Immigrant groups are often depicted as a homogenous entity, which can result in the reproduction of stereotypes that create a shared local knowledge of certain ethnic groups (Mallinson and Brewster, 2005). These stereotypes can lead to discrimination or the continuation of a discrimination that already exists in society, as well as one is "making sweeping generalizations about diverse groups of people" (Moosavi, 2020, p. 5). In *Orientalism*, Said strongly disagreed with the "notion that there are geographical spaces with indigenous, radically 'different' inhabitants who can be defined on the basis of some religion, culture, or racial essence proper to that geographical space" (1978, p. 322). Instead, postcolonial scholars deem it important to accept "the Otherness of the Other," and recognize the complexity of "the specific ways in which this Other [is] actually different" (Susser, 2018, p. 250-251). Therefore, the stereotype that

individual participant 12 experiences is an example of failing to recognize the complexities of the minority identity and instead categorizes all brown women as having the same identity.

Individual participants 12 and 13 explain that they have observed or been exposed to the stereotype of the "angry black girl" or black girls as "mad or to have an attitude." Ghavami and Peplau (2012, p. 113) argue that stereotypes can offer some information about members of an ethnic group that gives an indication of what they are like and how they might behave, but that they at the same time can produce biased expectations of these groups, enhance prejudices attitudes, and sometimes lead to discrimination. The existence of such stereotypes can be an issue because they can "influence majority group members' discriminatory actions towards minority groups," particularly in multicultural societies, which underlines the importance of understanding how they emerge and how majority populations approach ethnic groups that are different from the one they belong to (Kil et al., 2019, p. 104-5). Research on the production of stereotypes has often focused on explicit social identities, rather than the intersection of multiple identities. However, "there is no universal woman or man - each person has a race; [and] there is no universal Black or White person - each has a gender," which is why both ethnicity and gender need to be accounted for (Ghavami and Peplau, 2012, p. 114). Solely attempting to understand the experiences of "the most privileged members of the subordinate groups," would neglect the experiences of those who have multiple social identities. Intersectionality is therefore a useful framework to use when analyzing stereotypes that address multiple identities that a person can hold. Overall, when it comes to multicultural societies where you have a variety of ethnicities coexisting together, "stereotypes must be better understood with regards to how they guide the ethnic majority to receive ethnic newcomers and envision their acculturation into mainstream society" (Kil et al., 2019, p. 105).

When asked about the experience of being a minority in Norway, the participants say that there is not one shared experience of being a minority and point to intersectionality as a helpful way of understanding the complexities of being a minority. Organization representative 4, for example, says that "being a minority in Norway is like having a curse over you, because no matter what you do, you will always be categorized as a group." The American academic Patricia Hill Collins is among the most prominent scholars specializing in the intersection of race, gender, and class. Her idea that men and women are exposed to various intersecting oppressions in society that consists

of many layers that do not operate as "unitary, mutually exclusive entities" explains the complexities that the interviewees refer to (Collins, 2008; 2015, p. 2). The complex social inequalities that minorities, and particularly women, are subject to suggest what the contours of their subordination are, as well as it indicates that a comprehensive way to understand the experiences of minorities is to recognize the different types of oppressions they are exposed to (Collins et al., 2020). Therefore, when examining the different experiences of oppression that minorities have to go through, it would be wrong to categorize them as either 'racial' oppression or 'gender' oppression because it "distorts their simultaneous operation in the lives of people who experience both" (Carastathis, 2014, p. 305).

As mentioned above, individual participant 12 suggests that there is a misperception of women of color as oppressed and silenced Muslim women. Although this is an assumption of how individual participant 12 is a Muslim woman because of her Indian heritage, it is also a prejudice against Muslim women of how they are victims of structures and institutions. According to postcolonial feminists, there is a highly misleading misperception of women with heritage from the Global South as women without agency that depicts them in an Orientalist way as a homogenous group, that is also sometimes exotified (Mohanty, 1988). This one-dimensional way of seeing women of minority background in Norwegian society is not only a contrast to the idea of ethnic white women as liberated and empowered, but also deepens the "us" versus "them" divide. While women in Norway that have minority backgrounds will have different experiences as colored women compared to men of minority backgrounds and ethnic white women, the postcolonial feminist critique seeks to draw attention to the diversity of experiences and issues faced by women of all ethnicities, while at the same time criticizing the wrong presentations, perceptions, and representations of non-western women (Chakraborty, 2017).

This introduces the idea that there are variations of being a minority in Norwegian society, and that their experiences differ accordingly. Thus, the experiences of oppression would differ based on whether one is a man or a woman, old or young, an Arab or an Asian, a Christian or a Muslim, gay or straight, upper class or working class, and whether one has a disability or not. Therefore, if you identify with multiple of the above-mentioned features, then that adds another layer to your experience with oppression and demonstrates the intersecting attributes that need to be accounted

for in order to thoroughly understand the experiences. Although the interviewees, many of them having a minority background, may see this more clearly because they find themselves as subjects to it, they are not convinced that this is as clear for the majority population. This demonstrates why there was a need to reconceptualize the study of race before intersectionality was introduced and suggests that oppression of minorities can not only be explained by the study of race. Instead, there is a need to use other disciplines, such as studies focusing on the role of religion, socioeconomic status and class, or social anthropology as well, which is a discussion that interviewees feel can sometimes be neglected by the majority population in Norway.

The majority of the interviewees agreed that minorities have different experiences with racism based on their race, color of skin, gender, religion, appearance, and other factors that can have an impact on how one is perceived by others. They raise the multiple layers of being a minority, suggesting the usefulness of having more nuances in the debate on racism because it would allow for a better understanding of how there can be a "hierarchy in how people experience racism" and that racism can be "experienced in different ways," as pointed out by individual participant 12. The intersecting systems of oppression, as postulated by feminist scholar, Anna Carastathis (2014), indicates that there is a hierarchy of exposure to racism. The idea of a racial hierarchy is a notion that has been discussed by scholars for years, where the argument is that black people have always been inferior to whites. In fact, "in all aspects of their lives - economically, politically, and socially - whites were indisputably at the top, black people at the bottom and the 'colored' population comprised a formal intermediate category" (Song, 2004, p. 860). A European discrimination survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in 2017 found that Roma was the ethnic group that experienced the most discrimination in European countries, followed by individuals from North Africa as the second most discriminated group, and people from Sub-Saharan Africa on the third (FRA, 2017, p 21). Researcher 5 uses this example to say that these are the most discriminated groups in Europe, but that this is also a discussion in which intersectionality plays an important role because "Somali women wearing the hijab could be on top, for example."

6.1.6 Conversations about BLM and Racism

There is a general assumption based on the interviewees' responses that it is common for youth of minority background to have conversations about BLM and/or racism quite frequently with their close ones, such as friends and family. It is also clear that the majority of the interviewees find it easier to have more open and honest conversations about these topics in private spheres rather than in public discussions. Researcher 3 is certain that a part of the reason why it feels easier to have conversations about racism with friends and family is because "in the private sphere, people's networks usually consist of individuals with similar backgrounds," he says. Subsequently, it is more natural to have these conversations more often with people who might share similar experiences with racism or discrimination, as well as it would require more from a person of minority background emotionally to share these thoughts with a wider audience. However, this reluctance of speaking publicly about BLM and/or racism can also cause legitimate sources of information that would be valuable perspectives to have in the public discussion to be ignored. In fact, studies on African-Americans discussing issues concerning race and ethnicity have demonstrated that there is a significant sensitivity to the topic of race due to the interpersonal tensions that exist between African-Americans and whites (Davis, 1997). Although in a different context than the discussion that takes place in Norway, Davis postulates that this restraint of openly talking about race creates "perceived constraints on the freedom of expression" among marginalized groups (ibid., p. 309).

There are some nuances to these conversations. Individual participant 9, for example, who is a female 22-year-old with Algerian heritage, will talk more unfiltered to friends and family, but could also express the same opinions publicly if she thought more carefully about how she would like to express them. With regards to speaking publicly about topics she cares about, she says:

> *"I actually believe I should be very careful about what I write, because it is not so nice to put yourself out there, and at least not in a debate like that. I have written pieces about school strikes and climate change, and I got some weird comments but … (pause) I don't know, it was not so much about identity, which perhaps is why it didn't get to me. It was kind of more like 'you stupid little girl who thinks this or that.' … However, with racism*

and integration, I think it can be much worse, primarily because writing about racism is a more personal issue, therefore, the negative responses also feel more personal.”

Her view corresponds with individual participant 7's approach, who is of Sri Lankan heritage and who says that if it is a political opinion related to racism that she feels very passionate about, she will express them publicly, but seek affirmation from friends and family before sharing on public platforms, such as social media. The importance of creating a safe space for minorities to have open conversations about racism without the fear of receiving negative backlash is connected to the need for marginalized groups' experiences to be represented. According to Cederberg, this safe space can allow for "alternative knowledge" on the identities of minorities, as well their experiences can be a "critique of the homogenizing construction of identities" that is often the perception among majority populations (2014, p. 134). Therefore, it not only becomes a production of knowledge as a valuable contribution to the public conversation on racism and discrimination, but it also allows for a wider understanding of narratives and the ability to provide space for minorities to share their own stories. Additionally, the majority of the interviewees say that they believe these conversations are held much more frequently with friends and family after BLM.

Although most of the interviewees find it easier to have conversations about racism with their friends and family, there are some exceptions. Individual participant 15, for example, says that she would not approach the topic any differently in public because "those are fundamental truths we need to accept," and that it is "not just an opinion, it is a human right." On the other hand, individual participant 13, the Muslim female born in Somalia, says she finds it easy to talk about racism with friends, although she avoids these conversations with those who are not close friends, and still finds it difficult to talk about it with family members, which can be connected to the difficulty of talking about sensitive and personal topics like race, as suggested by Davis (1997), even with loved ones. This is why some of the interviewees find it easier to talk about racism as a more general and broader theme rather than to share personal experiences as it can be tough for those around you to hear about one's difficult experiences. Cederberg (2014), however, underlines that it is specifically the personal experiences and viewpoints that are important to include in public conversations because it gives insight into how minorities feel and express their personal situations and experiences. Yet, these conversations can be personally tiring and draining to have, as

organization representative 1 suggests, precisely because they are so personal, yet difficult topics to discuss.

6.1.7 Structural Racism

The interviewees are further asked about what their perceptions of structural racism are in the Norwegian context. The majority of the interviewees are quick to say that there is a specific understanding of structural racism that is better suited to the American context, and that this notion of structural racism does not exist in Norway to the same extent as it does in the US. Yet, individual participant 12 suggests that to say whether or not there is structural racism in Norway depends on the ways in which one defines it. There is a distinction between whether the idea of structural racism is *intended* racism or if there are structures that are disadvantageous for minorities. Elgvin (2021, p. 99), for example, postulates that racism can be structural in three ways; 1) when society has laws that discriminate on the basis of skin, color, ethnicity, or religious background; 2) when intentional racism, such as if a significant number of people that hold important roles in societal institutions express racism or discriminatory tendencies, in sum causes an institution to function as structurally racist even if the law is meant to be the same for everyone; and 3) when an institution systematically benefits people from the majority population more than it benefits people belonging to minority groups, and the bias contributes to a continuation of this practice even if the individuals of structurally racist social institutions may not necessarily be racists themselves. Nevertheless, there is a dispute among the interviewees about whether one can say with certainty that there is structural racism in Norway, and if so, how widespread it is.

On the one hand, you have those interviewees who claim that racial minorities are much more disadvantaged in certain sectors, as opposed to the majority population. Individual participant 11, the female born in Rwanda, for example, says the following:

> *"The reason why I worked so hard [in school] is because I am not going to get that job. Therefore, I overcompensate with my studies so that they can't … (pause) so that, at least, they can't use **that** as a reason not to hire me."*

In fact, similar to what individual participant 11 suggests, discrimination in the job market is used as the most frequent example by the interviewees when they discuss examples of structural racism or talk about their own experiences with what they perceive as structural racism. Individual participant 9, who has Algerian heritage, for example, raises the issue of how there is something wrong when the CEO of a company chooses to not hire young Norwegians who speak "Kebab-Norwegian," a Norwegian multiethnolect that is most commonly spoken by minority youth in East Oslo. She refers to the incident from 2020, where former CEO, Hans Geelmuyden, said that "... it is not [necessarily] a drawback to be named Ahmed, but you need to know how to speak Norwegian. A lot of people with ethnic minority backgrounds are not good enough in Norwegian, and we live in a written culture. 'Kebab-Norwegian' is not good enough [to work] in GK" (quoted in Tahir, 2020, translated by the authors from Norwegian). While Geelmuyden not only makes a generalization about the language skills of people with minority background, he is also making an assumption about minority youth based on the way they look and the background they have. As such, individual participant 9 believes his way of justifying the removal of a pile of CVs solely based on his own personal assumptions, is an example of structural racism. Minorities are also exposed to stereotypes in the job market, and individual participant 13, for example, experienced a significant difference in the process of job application when she would include a photo of herself on her CV, hence visibly showing her African descent and Islamic background by wearing the hijab, versus when she would not include any photo. She says that when she included a photo, she would usually not get any response from the workplace, whereas if she excluded a photo, she could sometimes receive a response about how they had given the job to someone else. Individual participant 13's way of toning down her ethnic minority background can essentially be connected to Orupabo's (2021) idea of 'whitewashing' one's CV in order to reduce the visibility of one's minority background to increase the likelihood of getting a callback or a job offer.

What the interviewees are postulating about discrimination in the job market can be interpreted as being a part of a system of benefits that is based on ethnicity, where certain ethnicities have more favorable outcomes than others (Bangstad and Døving, 2015). The challenge, however, is to deduce whether the sum of these experiences allows one to say that there is, in fact, structural racism in Norway or not, or perhaps if there are structures in our society that allows certain groups to be more discriminated against, although the intention may not be such. As Steen (2020)

suggests, even if some minorities are discriminated in the job market, it does not directly mean that employers are racists, although the result - regardless of motivation - is discrimination against certain minorities. Although Midtbøen and Rogstad (2012) conducted a study that suggested how people with foreign names in Norway have a 25 percent smaller chance of being called in for a job interview compared to their ethnic white counterparts, there is still too little research on this matter. However, as individual participant 12 suggests, when "a lot of people who look like me are experiencing the same thing, it is not just a random pattern." Therefore, when a significant amount of people shares similar experiences like this, there is usually some validity in such a claim or an indication that the system may not be exactly as desired, although the extent of it remains unknown without solid data that can evidence this.

On the other hand, you have those interviewees who are more hesitant to say that there is structural racism in Norway. A key reason for this is primarily connected to the fact that there is very little data and research available on the prevalence of structural racism in a Norwegian context, which makes, particularly the researchers, hesitant to say this with certainty. This is similar to what organization representative 6 thinks, who suggests that although there is a need for more research on structural racism in Norway, it is equally as important to not perpetuate "biased" research, and that research needs to be done on the premises of minorities. She says that "academic research is often built on earlier work," which is why it is important to not sustain biased narratives, since "scholars have the power to decide what is being studied." Moreover, there is also a perception among the interviewees that structural racism is associated with apartheid regimes or countries who have gone through a more visible racial segregation, similar to what Elgvin (2021) postulates in his article on structural racism as a reason to why some people may be more hesitant to use the term 'structural racism.' However, individual participant 15, who is of Indian heritage and has never experienced any type of structural racism, thinks it depends on the context. In her opinion, she does not think Norwegian society has allowed structural racism to have a strong presence and is under the impression that there is a stronger presence of subtle everyday racism, rather than structural. Similarly, individual participant 12 does not think that there necessarily is racism in institutions or the legal framework, but that it is more about people's attitudes.

6.2 Black Lives Matter

6.2.1 Participants of the BLM Demonstrations in Norway

The majority of the interviewees agree that the participants of the BLM demonstrations were primarily young individuals, around the age of 15 to 30 years old, perhaps with the exception of representatives from anti-racist organizations, who could have been of a slightly higher age. There was also the impression that the participants were of all ethnicities, but that there was a larger representation of youth with minority background from Africa. In fact, many of the interviewees highlighted how the width and range of participants was one of the things that really stood out to them, which made organization representative 4 realize that "this is no longer a minority issue; it is an issue that engages more and more of the majority population." They claim that the cause engaged those who were already strongly committed to anti-racism work, those who were politically engaged at the general level, and those who had never engaged with politics before BLM. In fact, according to Ellefsen and Sandberg (2022), emotions can sometimes play a decisive role for people who have previously found themselves to be uninterested in politics, as it can transform their engagement in a way that motivates them to participate. Youth's motivation to use social movements and demonstrations as a way for political change, and particularly in countries of the Global North, is an attempt to express dissatisfaction towards politicians and the traditional political system (Honwana, 2019). Their perception of existing in a political system that neglects their concern allows them to use social movements as a way to get their concerns on the political agenda, pressuring those in power to react to their frustrations (Goodwin and Jasper, 2009). The interviewees describe the presence of like-minded youth as a way for them to not feel "completely hopeless yet," as suggested by individual participant 15. The perception among the interviewees is that there is a significant drive in them, a hope for the future, and the shared idea that political change is, in fact, possible. This group may perceive a political marginalization and exclusion that causes them to take matters into their own hands, rather than taking the traditional route in politics to see a change in their society.

Several of the interviewees suggest that there is a significant contrast in how previous generations have approached racism and discrimination in Norway in comparison to today's generation. Many of them experienced growing up with parents or grandparents that had a "keep your head down" type of approach and "a stronger feeling of gratitude towards the country that took them in and became their new home," as emphasized by individual participants 13 and 15, respectively. There is an impression among the interviewees of how previous generations of immigrants and minorities may have anticipated some of the racism and discrimination they were exposed to when they came to Norway, in comparison to youth. Many of the interviewees are either born in Norway or came to Norway at an early age, and it is therefore the only country they truly know. This notion is perhaps an explanation for why the movement appealed more to younger generations because they would consider the country to be theirs just as much as it belongs to an ethnic white Norwegian, yet they feel like they are treated differently and sometimes more unfairly by the system. It is also the reason why participants of the demonstrations thought of themselves as much more confrontational towards issues of injustice in comparison to their parents and grandparents' generations, as well as more invested and motivated towards the cause.

Scholars of social movements have suggested that there is a need for participants to have a collective identity in order to effectively challenge the established. Hooghe (2005), for example, suggests that ethnic communities often share a sense of collectivity, which is the reason why they are able to truly establish their role in societies. A collective identity among participants of social movements can often be formed in the early stages of the movement, for example at demonstrations, where the realization of a shared cause can bring participants together (Jima-González and Paradela-López, 2021). Thus, their mutual identity as minorities in Norway that often have different experiences than the majority population because of their ethnicity creates a collective identity. The significance of this collective identity is, subsequently, collective action, which is what was seen during the BLM demonstrations in Norway. Essentially, their collective identity was what brought them together because it gave them a realization of how there is a disparity among ethnic groups' position in Norwegian society.

A social movement is more likely to succeed if there is a mutual understanding and interpretation of what the cause is, what the vision for the cause is, and how the cause ought to be achieved

(Tremblay et al., 2017). From a Marxist perspective, this is often the case when a subaltern group recognizes the position they have in society and experiences an awakening that motivates them to challenge those who rule over them. When this awakening allows them to realize that their perception of the system they live in is different from what the democratic ideal is, they are persuaded to challenge this structure of power (Cox and Nilsen, 2014; Dansholm, 2021). The perception that the system may not be exactly as it claims to be can also be connected to the ways in which there was a reluctance among the majority population to recognize the experiences that minorities have in Norway. It suggests that there was an assumption that racism did not have a strong presence and therefore was not a problem in Norway, which was what many of the interviewees came to realize during the protest wave. That included the process of politicizing aspects of everyday life that participants may not have considered as politicized before, such as microaggression or structural forces that prevented them from having the same opportunities as the majority population (Steinmetz, 1994). As a New Social Movement (NSM) that includes contemporary challenges, the motivation among Norwegians to participate in the BLM demonstrations align with the idea that the aim is to have a sense of autonomy in society and strengthen the identity of minorities (ibid.).

6.2.2 Comparison of the BLM Movement in the US and the Protest Wave in Norway

There is a mutual agreement among the participants that although the BLM movement in the US and the protest wave in Norway have different contexts and histories, they nonetheless share the same foundation when it comes to the initial purpose of the movement; to end discrimination and violence against black people and minorities. People of minority background in Norway have experiences with racism and discrimination, similar to how people of minority background in the US have. As individual participant 13 says, "although my family and I are from Somalia and not from the US, we live in a predominantly white country and therefore face a lot of the same obstacles as colored people in the US." Similarly, individual participant 12, who is a 27-year-old female with parents born in India, says that BLM has a relevance in the Norwegian context because its purpose is not just to support black people in the US but also to shed light on related issues in Norway. As Bailey and Leonard (2015) postulate, the objective of the movement is to challenge the status quo, hence those who have the power to change inequality among racial minorities. At

the same time, there is also an aim to widen the understanding of what it means to be a person of color in a predominantly white society, and to rethink the perception of black identities (Langford and Speight, 2015). While it may come as obvious that the movements in the US and Norway have the same foundation due to its origin in the US, the interviewees highlight the significant differences between the two countries and the different challenges minorities face in the respective countries.

Although the movement has had its presence in the US for almost a decade, the protest wave in Norway was less organized and much shorter lived in comparison to the US, according to the participants. The movement in the US had a BLM organization with a clear leadership (Clayton, 2018); a structure that organization representatives consider to be the biggest difference between the movement and the protest wave in Norway. Having a clear organization not only makes the movement more structured, but it also prevents it from becoming "much more spread out," as organization representative 1 says. In fact, organization representative 4 says that she is unsure whether one can even say that there is a "Norwegian BLM movement," precisely because of its lack of structure and organization. Goodwin and Jasper (2009) argue that movements can often consist of informal networks rather than having an organized structure. The sum of informal networks carrying out activities they deem necessary in order to achieve the end goal can also result in disagreements on which direction the movement should take. This was mentioned by some of the interviewees, who said participants of the movement had varying opinions on what, as well as how much, needed to be changed, as well as what tactics that were to be used. Some would consider the issue to be urgent, while others would understand it as less serious than what they witnessed in the US, and therefore did not think the same measures would be needed in the Norwegian context. However, without an organized movement, it causes participants to do much of the work themselves, making it more difficult to see the work translating into real political change. The comparison can be seen in the BLM organization's work in the US, which has the ability to outline more policy-based goals because of its structure (Clayton, 2018).

Many of the interviewees claim that their participation in the demonstration was primarily on their own initiative and with little resources, which can therefore be an additional explanation for the difficulty of sustaining the movement. Organization representative 6, for example, says that she is

frustrated over the lack of resources that is allocated to anti-racism work. "I do not need help, I need a salary that allows me to continue what I am doing," she says. Scholars have argued that the emergence, development, and sustainability of a movement is dependent on the available resources' participants have. Goodwin and Jasper, for example, suggest that it often comes down to having the time, money, and skills to sustain a movement (2009, p. 6). Yet, the participants of the demonstrations in Norway were primarily young people, many of them only in secondary school or students, some coming from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and some from other marginalized groups in Norway.

The interviewees point to how racism in the US is structurally much deeper than in Norway, much because of the former country's history with slavery. Some of the interviewees, however, say that despite having different histories and context, it is important to recognize Norway's history of having a role in Danish slave trade or the oppression of Sami and Kven people. Overall, they agreed that racism has a much stronger presence at the structural level in the US in comparison to Norway, and that black people in the US are much more exposed to and at risk of more severe racism because of police brutality. Organization representative 4, for example, says that there is a legitimate fear of getting killed on the hands of police officers in the US, which is a different type of focus than what they are fighting for in Norway. She says that it "is a matter of life and death" in the US, and that although minorities in Norway may be subject to racial profiling in Norway, "it is not at the same level." Essentially, the interviewees agree that the racism in the US is very constant and extreme, particularly when examining African-Americans' experience with the police, whereas racism is considered to be more diffuse in Norway.

There is an agreement among the interviewees that the discussion on the prevalence of racism and discrimination in Norway is much more premature in comparison to the US. That is essentially why the focus of the protest wave has been "on raising awareness and talking about the racism that exists [in Norway]," according to researcher 5, which is different from what the primary focus in the US is. Overall, the majority of the interviewees agree that the discussions that took place in Norway during the protest wave had a larger emphasis on racism in general, instead of police brutality, although some of them highlight that showing solidarity towards George Floyd and African-Americans were also a key part of it.

There is an assumption among many of the interviewees that there is a risk of strictly copying the BLM movement to the Norwegian context, when the countries have fairly different experiences with racism and different histories. This is a concern that Norwegian scholars have raised as well because there are challenges connected to the way of solely transferring an American understanding of racism to Norway (Erdal, 2021; Orupabo, 2021; Wig, 2021). According to researcher 3, the BLM movement was "something that came from the outside and resonated with people in Norway because it was about racism in general, which many people in Norway have experienced." Additionally, the interviewees agree that there are some parallels between the experiences that minorities in the US face and those that Norwegians face. However, the concern of transferring an American problem to the Norwegian context was an issue that was raised by commentators during the demonstrations, which some of the interviewees felt took the focus away from what the core of the problem was.

Individual participant 7, with Sri Lankan heritage, says that "although it is not the same history or context, there are a lot of racist and discriminating situations that people of minority backgrounds are exposed to, which overall made us reflect on the same type of challenges in a Norwegian context." One of the things senior lecturer at the University of Oslo, Louisa Olufsen Layne (2020), found frustrating during the BLM wave in Norway was to observe the discussion on whether one was for or against critical race theory, in the context of BLM. She saw that much of the content and literature on BLM was rooted in American sources, and that the Norwegian discussions included warnings against "importing American conditions" in connection with an increased focus on anti-racism in Norwegian academia (ibid., p. 107). Yet, Layne questions whether the fear of America has now become the fear of black America. "Last time I checked," she says, "Socrates, Kant, Hegel, Smith, Marx, Keynes, Hayek, Beauvoir, Friedan, Rawls, Huntington, and Peterson were not Norwegian" (ibid.). Thus, she suggests that the warning against importing foreign perspectives is much stronger when black American thinkers are introduced to Norwegian audiences.

Overall, there are some conflicting views among the interviewees when it comes to whether BLM is an Americanized concept that has simply been transferred to a Norwegian context without being

properly adapted. While researcher 8 believes making a comparative case between the US and Norway can take the attention away from the latter's contextualization by overshadowing the different types of racism that exists in Norway, many of the other participants and organization representatives find it frustrating that people consider it to solely be an American concept because it creates a perception of how racism and discrimination is "their problem" and not a problem that exists in Norway. In fact, according to Ellefsen and Sandberg, who conducted a study on the role of emotions in political engagement during the BLM protest wave in Norway, "participation was closely linked to a 'translation' of the core issues of the US-based BLM movement to the local context" (2022, p. 7). This not only demonstrates that participants took this concern of directly applying the US-version of BLM into consideration, but also that it was important for them to translate it into the Norwegian context. Most of the interviewees agree that the purpose of BLM should be thoroughly adapted and adjusted towards the Norwegian context but think people should generally be careful to immediately dismiss BLM in Norway because they consider it an American concept, as "the structural power in history is still similar," according to police expert 2. Although organization representative 4 agrees that there is a legitimate concern in copying movements directly from the US, she believes the underlying important aspect to consider is how "we can adopt the methods, the techniques, and the ways to talk about, but still customize it to the Norwegian context and society in order for it to really have an impact," she says.

When it comes to the ability to distinguish between the different contexts, organization representative 4 says that she knows of youth that are unable to distinguish between the fear of living in Norway and the fear of living in the US. She says there is a genuine concern about getting killed by police in Norway, which she says is a threat that is not as real as it is in the US. This is a notion that preventative police officer 16 is also concerned with. He says, for example, that during the BLM demonstrations in Norway, the police noticed a change in perception among the public that seemed to draw the Norwegian police closer to the American police. He says that there was a concern of how Norwegian police would act in the same way as American police, which subsequently highlights the need to distinguish the different contexts. However, the reality is that as of September 2021, there have been 39 incidents in Norway where people have been shot at by the police since 2005, in which 8 of them have been fatal (Fange, 2021). In comparison, the yearly

toll in the US reached a new high in 2020, the year in which George Floyd was killed, and had a total of 1021 fatal shootings by on-duty police officers (Berman et al., 2022).

<u>6.2.3 Outcomes of BLM</u>

Personal Impact

The participants emphasize the ways in which the BLM demonstrations and their engagement in the protest wave had a significant personal impact on them. There was a general agreement that the movement, overall, brought many emotions and feelings that perhaps had been previously suppressed. Some of the interviewees said their participation also has immense physical and mental implications for them. Individual participant 10, for example, who is a male born in the Congo, says that although "you no longer have to put lots of effort into convincing people that racism is real and exists in our society," it nonetheless has an impact on people's mental health. Yet, there was a sense of relief among the participants after realizing they had allies. Individual participant 10 also reflects on how the exposure to images of police brutality in the US against people who look like himself caused him to feel less worthy. He says that when a group of people is suffering and constantly reminded of their lesser worth or how they are not being treated in the same way as the majority population in a system they are trying to be part of, it has a very traumatizing impact. In fact, several of the interviewees said that participants of BLM are often the same group that has experienced violence or trauma in previous parts of their lives. Emotions are a key part of participants' engagement in social movements, many of which can include strong negative feelings towards the perceived enemy one is challenging (Jasper, 1998). One of Ellefsen and Sandberg's findings was how participants of the Norwegian protest wave in 2020 "felt a surge in their motivation to engage" when "they realized that the wave of mobilization was coming closer" (2022, p. 6). However, participation in social movements can sometimes be a way of showing political action based on emotional triggers from the past (Gould, 2009). Therefore, if one has experiences of racism and discrimination, or other traumatizing events, from the past, these incidents can become a reminder during the mobilization phase, which then has a decisive role in people's decision to participate in a demonstration or not.

As mentioned earlier, many of the interviewees highlighted the fact that many participants had experienced a sense of not belonging in Norwegian society. However, they say that BLM gave them a sense of belonging and a feeling of not being alone in the racist experiences they have had in the past. Individual participants 12 and 15, for example, who are both females with Indian heritage, say that BLM made them feel like their feelings, opinions, and experiences were being validated for the first time. Ellefsen and Sandberg argue that "BLM created affective bonds, collective identities and hence emotional energy by connecting personal experiences of racism with those of a much larger social movement" (2022, p. 8). Therefore, participants felt more empowered and confident with their identity, particularly when they saw the amount of people that shared the same motivation to fight against racism and discrimination in Norway.

Half of the interviewees emphasize how minority youth felt a reduced fear of speaking up about their experiences with racism after the protest wave. As researcher 5 says, "BLM has given boldness to people," which essentially allows them to speak more openly and freely about their feelings and experiences. The interviewees say that participants' self-esteem has grown, and that it has become easier for them to share their stories. Although some participants say it motivated them enough to speak publicly about these issues, others say they considered themselves to be fairly outspoken from before and did not feel like their participation in the BLM movement had had any significant impact on that matter.

Interest Towards Anti-Racism Work

The interviewees that were experts in their field are asked whether they had noticed a significant increase in interest towards their work after BLM. The majority of them say that they have seen a noteworthy increase in the number of inquiries they receive, as well as what kind of inquiries and from whom. Organization representative 1, for example, says that although BLM had been something her organization worked quite closely on, it quickly became one of the main things they were working on. "We experienced getting a lot of inquiries from schools and others who wanted input, lectures, and workshops," she says and highlights the importance of having the majority population's interest in their work despite being an organization primarily for minorities because it indicates their willingness to listen. Organization representative 4 says her organization saw "a

much wider range of people and institutions who want to get involved." Organization representative 6, however, shares a concern of how the engagement from the majority population is "a part of a trend" because she has seen little long-term commitment.

After the protest wave in Norway, there were "no major legal or other institutional changes … [and] the movement soon disappeared from the mass media and public debate," indicating that wave was indeed short-lived and did not lead to any real institutional change (Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022, p. 3). As mentioned earlier, participants in social movements often have a collective identity that partly defines what the purpose of the movement is, as well as it is connected to what they seek to get out of the movement. Although many of the interviewees are unsure of what exactly the outcomes of the protest wave are, partly because it was rather short lived and did not have time to develop to the extent where it could leave strong mark, Pizzorno (1989) suggest that some movements do not always have definite goals other than a recognition of their collective identity. Since the movement did not have a clear organization or specific goals that were outlined, it could be argued that perhaps the aim was to seek an acknowledgement of their position in society and their shared struggle. Once the collective identity is formed and minorities in Norway's experiences with racism and discrimination is recognized, they have the potential to further develop a collective force that challenges those who initially put them in a disadvantaged position (van Bezouw and Kutlaca, 2019). Nonetheless, the emotions that youth felt during their participation in the movement also play a significant role in shaping the goals they pursue and have the potential to create a pathway for action (Jasper, 1998).

Knowledge of Racism

Almost all of the interviewees underline more openness and awareness as the most noteworthy outcome of BLM. Many of them had claimed that they saw little or no room for conversations about racism and discrimination before BLM but consider the protest wave in 2020 to have been a catalyst for that debate. The interviewees experienced an increase in people opening up and sharing their experiences, which they think triggered the debate to take place and evolve. They thought the conversation focused on the experiences with racism people of color had in different aspects of society and agree that the general knowledge level of racism and discrimination has

increased among the Norwegian population. This also demonstrates what Langford and Speight (2015) argued five years prior to the 2020-demonstrations; that the BLM movement had the potential to influence white consciousness and the understanding of racial identities.

The high majority of the interviewees not only agree that the protest wave has led to more awareness about the dynamics of racialized experiences, but they also highlight that there is now a significant recognition of how racism exists in Norwegian society. For example, organization representative 4 says that there is a clear shift in society "where we no longer have to discuss whether or not we have racism in Norway, but rather what we can do to address the issue of racism in Norway," which she thinks is a significant step ahead from where the conversation was before. The interviewees agree that a part of this increased awareness in society is because the majority population is paying attention to the debate and taking part in it. Yet, despite the importance of including the majority population in the conversation, they consider it vital to allow the minority population to set the premises of a discussion that has traditionally been steered by the majority.

Several of the interviewees found it difficult to precisely confirm the extent to which BLM had a societal impact in Norway, but do not doubt that it has increased the overall consciousness of racism and discrimination in the general population. Researcher 3 calls it "an awakening" that allowed participants of the demonstrations and the general population alike to better understand the experiences of racism and to recognize experiences as racist. They also highlighted how there is generally a better understanding of some of the things that are not okay to say, where researcher 5 uses the TV-show "Farmen Kjendis" as an example. In the show's 6th season that was shot in 2021, there was an incident where a contestant was called out for using the N-word, thus implying that the reaction would probably have been different if this occurred a few years ago. This realization in society makes individual participant 14, a 25-year-old male, say that "the movement has been educating" because of its ability to spread knowledge.

Several of the interviewees emphasize the ways in which BLM has given more space to minority voices in the public debate on racism. They felt like their role in the public conversation was more visible after BLM, which allowed them to present their own identity and not have the majority population define their role in society. There is some disagreement among the interviewees on

whether BLM made minorities want to speak up more or if minorities have always wanted to speak up but were never given the room to do so. Researcher 8, for example, says that minority youth in Norway was given "the opportunity to engage" in 2020 and thinks it might appear as if minority youth have become more engaged, while in reality, they were just never given the space to engage. Organization representatives 4 and 6, on the other hand, stress the vital role the media had during BLM and suggest that the movement has had a more significant impact on what the press has put into print. The former says that "editors were more interested in including new voices," which resonates with the latter's opinion by how "it was not BLM that made people want to talk about the racism they experienced, instead, it was the press that became interested in hearing the voices of people experiencing racism because of BLM."

Another aspect that was frequently raised by the interviewees was how BLM has increased the knowledge of how complex racism can be, the different types that exist, and overall how there is not one shared experience of racism but many different perspectives to consider. In individual participant 11's opinion, the female who was born in Rwanda, there has been an impression that only the extreme form of racism, such as racially motivated violence, is the only type of racism that can be considered as such. Yet, several of the interviewees feel that BLM has widened the definition and public understanding of racism. For example, individual participant 15 underlines the "subtle racism that can be felt on an everyday basis," while researcher 8 suggests that BLM made "the hidden aspects of racism that are not so easy to detect through statistics" more visible. The interviewees are convinced that the protest wave allows participants and the general public, alike, to better understand how racism and discrimination works in society, as well as the different kind of ways it can be expressed. Subsequently, it enabled them to relate to each other's stories and experiences with racism, which also allowed them to feel less ashamed about their own experiences when realizing that others had gone through similar things.

Political Engagement

Finally, the interviewees are asked if they think BLM has had any noteworthy impact on participants' political engagement, and particularly on voting patterns during the general election the following year. Based on the interviewees' responses, there are two dominating perspectives

that their answers can be divided into. This is similar to what Ellefsen and Sandberg found in their study, where some participants experienced their engagement to fade after the protest wave and after being disappointed with the lack of results that came from the demonstrations, while others continued to feel motivated and empowered, which caused a continuation of engagement with BLM and other similar political issues (2022, p. 12). Overall, while there was certainly engagement among the participants during the demonstrations, there is nonetheless some uncertainty with regard to whether this was a long-lasting engagement.

On the one hand, you have those who believe that BLM did not have any significant impact on participants' political engagement, because the majority of those who participated were already politically active to varying degrees. In fact, among the interviewees that had personally participated in the movement, the majority of them expressed that their participation neither made them more or less politically active because they considered themselves to be engaged already. Yet, they said that their participation had made an impact on their knowledge of black people's struggles. Organization representative 4, for example, thinks the video of George Floyd's killing "hit people hard" and that "it was almost like you could not avoid … having an opinion on it," demonstrating how many of the participants felt a sense of obligation to participate in the demonstrations because of how important and personal the cause was for them (Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022).

On the other hand, you have the interviewees that believe many participants experienced BLM as their first or one of their first experiences of political activism, and therefore consider BLM to have been "a gateway for many to enter politics," as organization representative 1 suggests. Similarly, individual participant 14, the male who had Turkish background, believes it became "a catalyst for political engagement," which aligns with the idea of how causes that are of emotional importance to participants, can engage those who have previously been uninterested in politics (Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022). Therefore, the significance of BLM was its ability to engage those who otherwise were not involved in politics, not to mention "take advantage of the mobilizing power," as individual participant 14 says. This is a stance that resonates with what many of the interviewees said about how it sparked something in them, which motivated them to take action. This was also the case for those who said that, although participation in political demonstrations was outside

their comfort zone, there was no doubt on whether they were to participate or not, yet again demonstrating their sense of obligation to participate.

A third experience that is told by a few of the interviewees was how participation in BLM made them less motivated to engage with politics following the demonstrations. Although the demonstration made individual participant 13, born in Somalia, realize that "perhaps the world is not such a bad place after all" by how it made her hopeful for the future, she says that the lack of participation from politicians and their willingness to bring change made her lose hope. An explanation for this decrease in motivation to engage with politics could be the fact that many participants may have forgotten about the movement or moved on already, according to researcher 3. He says he is unsure whether one can say that there is a definite increased political engagement among minority youth who participated in the movement in general, but that his impression is that most of those who participated "had a very powerful and positive experience," as well as it allowed them to find a new network.

Voting Patterns and Party Affiliation

Next, the interviewees are asked about the extent to which BLM had an impact on participants' voting patterns and party affiliation. The majority of the interviewees say they do not believe BLM had any significant impact on whether participants would vote in the general election of 2021 or not. The primary reason for this, as mentioned earlier, is that many of the participants were already politically active and fairly steady in their political opinions. "I do not necessarily think they woke up one day and was like 'wow, this is really important to me right now'," individual participant 15 says and insinuates that although BLM in Norway might have happened suddenly, it did not come completely out of the blue for those who had reflected on these issues before.

In contrast to a lot of those who were already politically active, individual participant 13's reason to not take BLM into consideration when deciding which party to vote for was because "none of the political parties really talked about it in the moment," she says. Researcher 3 elaborates on this notion and says BLM could have the opposite effect on engagement with party politics because of "the growing mistrust to government institutions by how they are not doing enough to tackle

racism." Although there is an impression that BLM did not have much focus during the campaigning for the election, organization representative 1 finds it difficult to not believe that there is no correlation between BLM-related concerns and its influence on voting patterns. She says:

> *"When you see an issue in your society that you may feel and experience in your everyday life and realize that this is a political matter or something that can be influenced by politics, then my assumption is that these things will directly or indirectly affect the way some people vote."*

It agrees with other interviewees' suggestion that BLM could have had an indirect or unconscious effect on voting patterns, because the ways in which politicians choose to address a problem can affect whether people would vote for them or not, as individual participant 9 postulates. Overall, it may be too difficult to deduce whether BLM actually had any significant impact on how the participants voted in the general election, and other issues, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, could also have an effect on voter turnout. This is also the view that researcher 5 and organization representative 6 share.

Social Media Impact

When it comes to the role of social media in the BLM movement, all the participants are in agreement that the movement played a decisive role for the spread of the movement, both locally and internationally. Individual participant 10, the male who was born in the Congo, says that he considers BLM to be a product of social media, particularly because it was initially created through the use of a hashtag and eventually grew into becoming a global movement. This is emphasized by organization representative 1 as well, who says that it was on social media that the video of George Floyd spread, and that a lot of the movement's growth happened on social media platforms like Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. She highlights the hashtag #BlackOutTuesday as a vital turning point in the Norwegian context, because it was an event that allowed the movement to gain much attention locally in Norway. This is also what observers of the movement have highlighted as a unique aspect of the movement; the visualization of George Floyd's death and the rapid spread

of the video footage that manifested his death (The Economist, 2020). Additionally, a reason why social media platforms have become an appealing way of doing political activism in the context of BLM can be explained by how the primary group of participants are within the age range of the most active social media users (Honwana, 2019). The interviewees are also in agreement that BLM would not have received the attention it did, had it not been for the power of social media and its ability to add more nuance and understanding to the struggles that minorities, and particularly black people, face.

Nevertheless, individual participant 11, the 26-year-old female born in Rwanda, said that when it came to sharing personal experiences with racism and discrimination, it made more sense to her to share it on her social media profiles rather than sending it to traditional media outlets:

> *"I felt that by posting something personal and serious, I also broke what people expected of me. It was almost unimaginary for me to post it because it felt so personal and public … (pause) it was not just something I shared in confidence to my closest circle of friends. I got a lot of positive responses, and a lot of people shared my post on their own profiles, which was perhaps the most important outcome of it; that it reached almost everyone in my inner circle, their friends, and everyone I went to high school with, which was very special. … To me, [social media] has been a way to find voices that give me the energy and inspiration to speak out, especially because I work at a very 'white' place and almost all my friends are white."*

Organization representative 4 underlines that "although there have been numerous organizations in Norway for the past 20, 30, and 40 years that had worked on enhancing the rights of minorities in Norway," social media allowed this cause to be significantly more visible to a wider audience, and made it feel like the world was much more united. Additionally, she thinks social media allowed people to use it as a tool to mobilize themselves, participate in demonstrations, events, and other gatherings that would mark the need to end discrimination against minorities. Hsiao (2021) agrees with this notion of social media allowing participants of movements to mobilize support for their cause, not to mention how it can shape the direction of the conversation. It

essentially allows people who share the same struggles to express their support to the cause, as well as create a sense of unity among this group (Wilkins et al., 2019).

The interviewees are asked about their personal relationship to social media activism and their use of the platforms. Of those who engaged with social media to either share their personal experiences with racism or to seek knowledge about the topic, there is a significant overweight of participants using Instagram as their primary tool. However, some of the participants, such as individual participants 10, 12, and 14, also used Facebook as a way to share information, as well as to find information about BLM gatherings and demonstrations. On the other hand, a few of the interviewees expressed that they had a fairly small presence on social media and did not use it in the same way as the more active participants on social media. All the interviewees who had expressed opinions or shared experiences on social media said that their intention was to spread information, enlighten their audience on content that they felt their followers should read, shift the conversation towards the topic of racism and discrimination, to get engaged, and to educate themselves.

Two of the interviewees were also aware of the potential backlash of social media engagement. Individual participant 7, for example, argued that she did not think it was effective to solely sit on Instagram and share things, although she recognizes its ability to increase people's knowledge. Similarly, individual participant 12 was under the impression that social media engagement could often become an "echo chamber" where networks tend to agree with each other. However, after she witnessed social media's unique way of spreading information that not everyone has access to or is exposed to, she became more positive towards the idea of social media activism. This is an issue that Langford and Speight (2015) have raised in the context of social media activism. In fact, this is an aspect of the BLM movement that the authors criticize in a similar manner as individual participants 7 and 12, primarily because it can cause challenges in producing effective proposals for change when much of the movement is based on social media presence. Essentially, while the 'hype' around BLM causes the movement to receive much immediate attention, social media engagement may not create plans for the future of the movement (Bailey and Leonard, 2015).

6.3 Policing in Norway

6.3.1 Minority Youth's Relationship to the Police

The relationship between minority youth and the police is described in different ways by the interviewees. However, the main concern among them is that many minority youths feel a lack of trust towards the police. The interviewees come with various suggestions as to what the police can do in order to improve the relations between minority youth and the police. Preventative police officer 16, who is the only police officer among the interviewees and works specifically with preventative efforts in the police, highlights some of the preventative measures the police are doing today. He says that there is a preventative section in the police that works operatively in the field, where they wear uniforms and "work in the normal patrol service where the objective is to seek out youth, youth clubs, and so on." The significance of having a preventative section is that "you are not just a police officer; you are a social worker, you might be someone they look up to, and that is why it is so important that you, as the one standing on the other side representing the police, is the professional actor," he says. In the Norwegian police's strategy for preventative work for 2021 to 2025, prevention work is described as "everything done by the police, alone or in cooperation with others, to reduce crime and other unwanted incidents, to reduce harmful effects, and prevent recurrence" (National Police Directorate, 2020). One of the most distinguishing factors between regular police and preventative police is that many have knowledge of those working in preventative police because they might have already been in contact with them before.

Preventive police 16 say that "we are very lucky to live in a country like Norway where people generally have a lot of trust in the police's ability to fulfill their mission in society and to be there for everyone. And that means we are dependent on people's trust," which suggests that the general population of Norway may have a strong trust towards the police, which may not apply for minority youth according to the impression of the other interviewees. Generally, the interviewees in our study have the impression of there being a lack of trust between minority youth and the police in Norway. Organization representative 6, for example, says that "for minority youth, the police are not someone to call for help." Research in the Nordic countries shows that ethnic

minorities feel disproportionately targeted by the police and have a more negative relationship with the police than majority youth (Saarikkomäki et al., 2021; Holmberg and Kyvsgaard, 2003; Sollund, 2007; Pettersson, 2013; Kääriäinen and Niemi, 2014; Keskinen et al., 2018; Solhjell et al., 2019; Haller et al. 2020). However, some interviewees expressed that they do not have any bad experiences with the police, and they express that they, therefore, trust the Norwegian police. Similarly, a study by Saarikkomäki's et al. (2021) showed that there are both positive and negative relationships with the police. Individual participants 9, 12, and 15, who all said that they consider their relationship with the police to be good or neutral, expressed that they think it is because they have never been in contact with the police.

However, the interviewees emphasize that many minority youth feel like they are subject to stereotypes of people who look like them, and that they are being targeted or made suspicious by the police because of it. The interviewees emphasize that their negative relationship with the police comes from the feeling of being suspected. Individual participant 10, the 27-year-old male born in the Congo, for example, shares an experience he had with the police two years ago where he felt like he was being treated significantly different from his ethnically white counterpart. Individual participant 10 and a white male of similar age tried to deescalate a fight between three teenagers, two black and one white, on the tram. Consequently, the police were called and put the teenagers in handcuffs, however, when the police went back to the tram to get more information about the incident, individual participant 10 says the following:

> *"One of the policemen came and automatically turned to the white man. I was standing nearby, and suddenly, I felt that someone was pulling me by the arm and trying to put me down. I'm not that big, but I can be a little strong when I need to. I refused to be dragged down, so I kept holding on to a pole, trying not to get dragged down. The policeman then started saying 'You must come with me,' but I told him that I wasn't going anywhere. Luckily, some older ladies on the tram who witnessed the whole incident started saying 'No, no, it wasn't him,' (...) but I had already been dragged by my clothes and I was almost on the ground. I was totally in shock, but luckily, I refused to be put down, I refused to be dragged down, and I insisted on not going down. I did not have words, it happened so fast."*

He felt like the police had automatically assumed that he was a part of the violent incident because of the color of his skin, and that the different treatment the white man and himself received became very clear, as they had had the exact same roles in the situation but received different treatment from the police. However, he did make it clear that the police officer who had tried to put him on the ground came over to him afterwards and apologized for his behavior. But the whole situation left him speechless and shocked, and there were a lot of emotions involved that were difficult to process. He felt like he had heard about prejudice among police officers, but that it became very clear after this incident. He described this feeling as very unpleasant and that he felt like a criminal without doing anything to be perceived this way. Similarly, many interviewees explain the lack of trust as something that is caused by the feeling of being treated differently by the police, the feeling of being suspected or put into stereotypes, and either hearing about or personally experiencing discrimination from police. Solhjell et al. (2019) and Haller et al. (2020) state that minority youth are disproportionately seen as a "problem group" (ibid., p. 5) within Norwegian society and that Norwegian society portrays the stereotype of minority youth as a threat to the majority population. Procedural justice theory suggests that the feeling of being treated unfairly by the police decreases citizens' trust in the police.

In the case of individual participant 10, the first negative experience became a confirmation of what he had heard from friends and family about the police, which were the secondary experiences. Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) explain it as a shared and collective portrayal of the police that is based on first and secondary experiences that overall reduces the trust in the police. These experiences with the police made individual participant 10 feel that the police were discriminatory against people who look like him. Thus, his trust in the police was weakened in the first instance of the encounter when he was perceived as a criminal, and the respect and apologies from the police in the aftermath were therefore not of much help. According to the study by Solhjell et al. (2019), there is a general feeling of being seen as suspicious or seen as a threat to the police among youth of minority background in Oslo.

Although the preventative police officer 16 says that a part of his work includes "being available for everyone that needs it, ensuring the safety of everyone, and ensuring the democracy we live

in" by "ensuring the safety of everyone and everything," there is some dispute on whether the police actually gets this message across to minority youth. Many interviewees either talk about how they feel targeted by the police themselves or that their friends and family members feel targeted. A few participants explain it as a feeling of the police being there to control the minorities and to protect the majority. This feeling is also confirmed by the study of Saarikkomäki et al. (2021), who point to how minority youth often feel targeted because they feel like they are being treated differently from the majority population, for example by how they receive a suspicious gaze, or are approached or stopped by the police for no clear reason. Individual participant 10, who is a male born in the Congo, says there is still a need to "remind ourselves what the purpose of the police is, who they are meant to serve, and who they are meant to protect," suggesting that minorities' need for protection may be forgotten sometimes. Schaap (2020) finds that the lack of trust can weaken minority youth's feeling of security in everyday life and prevent them from reporting crime.

Organization representative 4 is concerned about the ways in which many minority youth do not feel like the police are there to protect them and finds it frustrating because "some kids, who for various reasons have ended up in gangs and do crime in order to survive and have some money, these kids are also the ones who live in some of the most dangerous communities and are in need of the police's protection the most." Preventative police 16 emphasize that a key part of his work is police empowerment conversations with youth involved in unwanted and concerning behavior. The conversation is a preventive measure, and not part of the criminal proceedings (Refvik, 2011). The purpose of these conversations, according to preventative police 16, is to "get information and map out the issue; find out what the causes are, while at the same time examining whether the police need to report it to child protection services." When asked whether the police have any success with the police empowerment conversations, preventative police officer 16 says that he "would argue that the conversations help for the youth who wish to talk. It helps for those who have trust in the police," raising the question of whether they have any real success among those who do not have trust in the police. Jackson et al. (2021) suggest that procedural justice theory should incorporate the aspect of protection because they find in the US, similarly to what organization representative 4 claim in Norway, that black communities express concern of being over-policed and under-protected. Jackson et al. (2021) argue that the well-documented over-

policing in black communities overlap with the lack of protection where they are anticipated as being a threat rather than a victim. Gau and Brunson explain it is because they feel that the police do not take "real" crime in their neighborhood seriously (2015, p. 135).

Preventative police officer 16 thinks that the media is part of the reason why there might be less trust between minorities and police. He says that it is much easier to highlight the negative things about the police and says that "everyone wants to hear and write about the negative things, because it is very easy and readable." As a result, he says that the police "gets a lot of criticism for those things rather than being recognized for the good things they do." He suggests that the media plays a big role in this, and that the headlines that get the most clicks are often more tempting to write about, which often happens to be the negative experiences, such as "the police have stopped 10 minority youth and they were being racists." According to Diez-Gracia and Sánchez-García, digital media has created an emergence of demand based journalism where "media analyze the preferences of its audience in order to launch contents that will catch their attention; or clickbait, an economic strategy that persuades the audience by modifying the headline in such a premeditated way as to attract the consumer" (2022, p. 67). Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) similarly emphasis that the media's portrayal of the police could influence minority youth's trust in the police.

However, individual participants 10 and 11, with backgrounds from the Congo and Rwanda, respectively, say that they are missing a police force that is willing to listen to the concerns of the minority population. Individual participant 10 says that "a part of the problem is that when minority youth choose to speak up about their negative experiences, they do not feel like they are being listened to, taken seriously, or legitimized in their claims against the police." He says that although there is a lot of criticism towards the police, the police need to actually try to understand this criticism, and "not sweep it under the rug simply because the issue does not involve or concern the majority population." Organization representative 6 expresses that many minority youth feel like they are experiencing injustice and that they are not believed. She says that it makes them feel "powerless, frustrated, [causes] a lack of trust, and an alienation ... You become a second-class citizen in a way. When you and your buddy, and pretty much everyone you know, have been stopped by the police at least once in their lives, and the police say they are not doing ethnic

profiling, it creates a deep mistrust." Similarly, Solhjell et al. (2019) describe how minority youth feel a sense of not belonging to society and a feeling of "us" versus "them" because of encounters with the police. Haller et al. (2020) also describe how many youth of minority background feel anxiety, humiliation, frustration, and fear as a result of feeling discriminated against by the police and not being believed. This idea can also be explained by Said (1978), who describes the western style as dominating and having authority over the Orient; that it is us versus them. Thus, the feeling of being second-class citizens can be compared to a feeling of being the Orient in Norwegian society.

Preventative police officer 16 says that one of the key differences between regular police and preventative police is that the relations you get with people last much longer in preventative police, as well as it has a bigger personal demand of you as an officer, such as showing empathy. "The whole point is for us to see the whole person," he says. Similarly, to Thomassen (2017), preventative police 16 highlights the importance of explaining to kids why they have stopped, as well as to build strong relations with the kids. In his opinion, people may feel like they are being suspected by the police without them actually doing so, perhaps because they have heard "this or that" about the police. However, he acknowledges that "police officers have not done a good enough job at taking the time to explain to people exactly why they are stopped." Based on a study of trust in the police in Norway, Thomassen (2017) found that procedural justice is especially important in police-initiated contact with citizens. He also points to how this makes minority youth feel treated unjustly, as well as it reduces the trust in the police. Being stopped by the police can in itself be experienced as unjust and offensive, and thus being treated in a procedural just manner is crucial for minorities' trust in the police (Thomassen, 2017).

The interviewees emphasize that intersectionality is important to take into consideration when looking at experiences with the police. Many participants have highlighted how the intersection between race, class, gender, and age influence a person's experience with and trust towards the police. These social markers are found in many studies to impact a person's trust towards the police (e.g. Bradford et al., 2009; Bradford and Jackson, 2009; Haller et al. 2020; Solhjell et al. 2019; Saarikkomäki et al. 2021). The interviewees point to how young men of minority background have more negative experiences with the police than the majority. Young men are in general seen as a

larger threat than young women, and men of minority background have another social marker that makes them portrayed more as a threat by the police (Solhjell et al., 2019). Organization representative 4 thinks the unfair treatment and the feeling of being suspected is one of the reasons for the mistrust and says "it is how the police have handled youth with minority background, where they assume that you are automatically a part of a gang or that you hang on the streets selling drugs." In her opinion, these assumptions by the police contribute to the negative perception that youth have towards the police. Police expert 2 and individual participant 12 also emphasize that friends and family who are young men of minority background are often approached by the police when they are together in groups. Individual participant 12, who is of Indian heritage, says that the police, for example, will ask family members of hers questions like, "Are you okay?", with a purpose of marking themselves. Similarly, a young man from Oslo in the study by Solhjell et al. (2019) thinks that the police do not want them to hang out in public spaces because people will be scared of them due to the perception of them belonging to criminal gangs. This young man feels like the police are after them because the way that they look is often associated with criminals, according to the police. Organization representative 4 expresses that one of the prejudices she thinks needs to be challenged is the idea that young boys and men with minority backgrounds are troublemakers, that they are all part of gangs, and that they are criminals. She says it is a stereotype that needs to be reversed or unlearned by the police. This is a similar notion postulated by Haller et al. (2020), who point to how minorities, and especially young boys, are portrayed as a problem group and that they feel particularly targeted because of this stereotype.

From our literature review we found that there is limited research on the experiences of minority youth with the police in Norway and that the research largely focuses on the experiences of men. Some interviewees say there is a missing focus on the experiences young women of minority background have with the police. Individual participant 11 is under the impression that men and women are experiencing different types of racism in relation to the police. Both individual participant 12 and organization representative 6 say that they found it surprising how the media has started to portray girls with minority backgrounds as more violent in the last 5-10 years. Organization representative 6 says that this has led to the worsening of experiences with the police for minority girls and suggests that there is now less difference between the gendered experiences with the police. However, there is a disagreement among the participants on this issue. Police

expert 2 expresses that the general view is that "there is an expectation about minority boys not behaving, while minority girls are being controlled at home." The research from 2019 on minority-police relationship emphasizes that gender is a factor and that men have more negative experiences with the police (Solhjell et al, 2019). Similarly, some interviewees argue that it is only the boys that have directly bad experiences with the police. However, individual participant 13, the Muslim female born in Somalia, says that she is terrified of the police, even if she has never had a specifically bad experience with the police. The increasing Islamophobia in western societies have portrayed Muslims as potential threats to security (Haller et al., 2020), and individual participant 13 experience a feeling of being discriminated against because she is black, a woman and a Muslim. In these scenarios, intersectionality is useful to explain the reality of discrimination as influenced by the intersection of the power relations of race, religion, ethnicity and gender (Collins, 2015).

Twelve of the sixteen interviewees in our study emphasize how the area of which a person lives influences the feeling of trust towards the police. Many participants emphasize the difference between policing in the east vs. the west side of Oslo. Police expert 2, organization representative 6, and individual participant 9, the latter having Algerian heritage, express that the experiences of youth are divided depending on if you live on the east or west side of Oslo. They point to how minority youth in the east side of the city have less trust in the police because of heavy patrolling there. Similarly, individual participants 10 and 11, a male born in the Congo and a female born in Rwanda, respectively, explain the reason for the mistrust in the police on the east side of Oslo among minority youth as caused by the unpleasant experiences with the police. The majority of interviewees express that themselves or their friends/family that live in the east side of Oslo have had bad experiences with the police. International, Nordic, and Norwegian studies similarly find that the area you live is related to a person's trust in the police (Saarikkomäki et al., 2021; Thomassen, 2017; Bradford and Jackson, 2018; Solhjell et al., 2019; Haller et al., 2020). The studies find that living in disadvantaged neighborhoods with high police intervention and high frequency of crime generally have a negative impact on people's trust in the police.

The east side of Oslo suffers from more social and economic problems (Wessel et al., 2018), therefore, the interviewees' explanation aligns with Haller et al. (2020) findings of there being a

higher likelihood of experiencing procedural injustice when living in disadvantaged areas. Police expert 2 tells us that from meeting youth through her work, she finds that there is a tendency that boys with minority background from the west side of Oslo have better experiences with the police than the ones who live on the east side. Yet, researcher 5 thinks there is a lack of good research on the ways in which minorities are treated by the police. However, he says the research that exists gives the impression that minorities experience discrimination and that minority populated areas are more patrolled than others. Some of the interviewees say that when they know of several people who have had bad experiences with the police in the east side of the city, it influences their relationship with the police. The interviewees explain the lack of trust as caused by the feeling of being treated differently, and postulate that it is partly due to large police presence in minority areas. Preventative police officer 16 say that a challenge in disadvantaged neighborhoods is that these kids often live in more cramped places, and thus need to go out in the streets to meet their friends. He says that "when youth are walking around outside, and these places often include soccer fields, kindergartens, or various street corners, and sometimes they'll be naughty and damage or break things, and if neighbors see and report this, then the police have a responsibility to act on it, which often causes youth to say police are doing it because they are racists." However, Solhjell (2019) states that many minority youth in Nordic cities live in disadvantaged neighborhoods characterized by social-economic problems, which are associated with higher crime frequency of crime and police intervention. Consequently, the more frequent encounters with the police can lead to a feeling of being over-policed and discriminated against.

Individual participant 13, the 22-year-old Muslim female born in Somalia, tells us about an experience she had, which explains how it is not necessarily the behavior of the police in the encounter that is discriminating, but the feeling of being overpoliced and discriminated against:

> *"One day I was at the library in Stovner [a library located in East Oslo] with my friend and we were studying for an exam. Suddenly, two police officers, a man and a woman, came up to talk to us and they sat next to us and started talking. And in my head, I'm like 'Oh my God, oh my God, what did I do'? And they were acting really nice and talking to us, like 'Oh, what are you studying and what are your future plans,' just making normal conversation. And I'm, like, trying to keep my cool. I'm, like, answering them, although my*

friend is taking the lead and having conversations with them. After they left, she was just,
like, 'That is definitely weird, you would never see a police man at the library in the city
or near our school at Blindern [the main campus of University of Oslo located in West
Oslo].' And it was true, actually, I have never seen them at any other library except
Furuseth and Stovner [both located in East Oslo]."

Individual participant 13 said she avoids using the library at the east side of the city after this experience with the police. The presence of the police and the fear of being approached scared her away, and she says she felt like they were suspicious of her for no particular reason and interpreted it as them being prejudiced towards her. She says that, "the reason why they are there is because they have this … (pause) They already think that the kids who hang out at those libraries are either involved in some kind of crime or will become criminals. They must have a preconception of what those kids are or will do in the future, and that is why they are there; to prevent it." She points to how she believes they are not doing the same things to other kids at other libraries in the city, or on the other side of Oslo, and therefore thinks it is wrong and discriminating. Thus, even if the meeting with the police was friendly and respectful, she emphasizes that she was treated differently and as a potential threat, which corresponds with what Thomassen (2017) argues. This can also be connected to the young man with minority background described in the study by Solhjell et al. (2019), who is from a disadvantaged area in Oslo and describes how he feels like his neighborhood is not his home because of the large police presence, and that he does not want to live there because of it.

6.3.2 Diversity in the Police

Organization representative 4 points to how she thinks there is a lack of diversity in the police, and that this impacts the lack of trust between police and minority youth. She says it causes the police to be little representative of the general population in Norway. Subsequently, when minority youth consider the police to consist of predominantly white males, it creates a larger distance between the two groups. Preventative police officer 16 say that in the past few years, there has been a stronger incentive in the police to increase the focus on having diversity in the police. He says that efforts have been made in increasing the proportion of officers with minority backgrounds, as well

as having more female police officers, in comparison to what it was 10 to 15 years ago. When asked whether preventative police officer 16 thinks they have achieved a reflection of society, he says "I think they do it as well as they can." Yet, he says that one of the challenges is the tough entry requirements to be admitted to the Norwegian Police University College. The police in Norway got a diversity plan in 2008 and the Norwegian Police University College has made a considerable effort to increase the number of students enrolled with minority background (Leirvik and Ellefsen, 2020). However, according to Andersen et al. (2017), the police is still dominated by white males and the work on gender equality and diversity is still ongoing. A central problem that gender equality faces is representation of women in leading positions, and Andersen et al. (2017) points to the importance of also including the gender perspective in the diversity focus. However, they emphasize that it is important that the representation is not only a facade and that the representation gives the police wider knowledge because women are different, and people of minority backgrounds are different. Following, representation in the police includes many different categories.

Preventative police 16 emphasizes the police's mission in having police departments that actually reflect the population. In many countries, to recruit a diverse police force that reflects the population has been important to improve the police's legitimacy in the population (Todak et al., 2018; Petersson, 2014; Wieslander, 2019; Leirvik and Ellefsen, 2020). However, Leirvik and Ellefsen (2020) argue that a police officer cannot be expected to represent all minorities and might not have the understanding and skills that are needed to effectively grasp the nuances of youth with minority background. It is important to understand how the police have specific cultural norms and to understand the assessment that police get through socialization with colleagues. Thus, having police officers with minority backgrounds may not lead to any difference in police work. In addition, even when ethnicity is seen as a resource it is not always used or recognized in the police (ibid.). However, a police force that reflects the population will make people feel that the police are more legitimate and improve the trust in the police (ibid.).

6.3.3 Ethnic Profiling

Similar to the UN's Human Right Council conclusion (United Nations, 2018), the interviewees have the impression that ethnic profiling by the police occurs in the Norwegian context. Organization representatives 4 and 6 tell us that many of the youth they work with experience being stopped by the police regularly. Solhjell et al. (2019), Haller et al. (2020), Saarikkomäki et al. (2021) and Sollund (2006) also found similar experiences described by minority youth in Oslo in their studies. However, researchers are hesitant to call it ethnic profiling because research showing the full picture of the relationship between the police and minority youth is lacking (Lervik and Ellefsen, 2020). However, Lervik and Ellefsen (ibid.) express that the relationship between minority youth and the police are conflictual which align with the findings in this study. Individual participant 9, the 22-year-old female with Algerian background, says that in her friend groups, where many have minority backgrounds, approximately every other person has been stopped by the police, while in her white friend group, none of them have been stopped.

The study conducted by Solhjell et al. (2019) found from interviewees with minority youth from disadvantaged neighborhoods in Oslo and four other Nordic cities that ethnicity, clothing, hanging out in groups, age, gender, and neighborhoods are reasons they describe as causing the stops by the police. Mulinari and Keskinen (2020) point to how research is lacking and that research on ethnic profiling in the Nordic needs to be initiated. M'charek et al. (2014) and Dankertsen and Kristiansen (2021) point to how the academic debate about race disappeared following the second world war, and that it has made implications for issues of racialization. However, if this is the case with the research about ethnic profiling in the Norwegian context is unknown.

Representative police 16 says that "if you meet me and you have already made up your mind that I am a racist, then everything I will say to you will be racism." He argues that feelings and emotions are often a big part of why youth may feel like they were stopped for discriminatory reasons, and therefore take it more personally than what might have been the intention. He discusses an incident where he was called a racist for stopping youth of color. He says that if a group of people are sitting on a corner and drinking, and they stand up and start walking away from the police, it can sometimes be an indication that they are doing something they should not be doing, such as selling

drugs on the corner, drinking in public, and so on. He says that these people often react in a negative way and start calling them racists, and that these incidents demonstrate the importance of explaining what they did to get the police's attention. Sometimes, these people will admit that they got nervous when they saw the police and intentionally started to walk away to avoid them. The most decisive factor in this type of situation, he says, is taking the time to explain why they were stopped.

Police expert 2 says that many consider the police as scary because of their appearance with uniforms, police cars, and that they can have an attitude. Individual participants 11 and 13, both females of African descent, say that they think the police are scary because of their authoritative attitude. Police expert 2 is under the impression that some police officers find it exciting to work in Oslo, because they believe that it is where things are happening. She thinks this attitude is problematic because the police should not be looking for excitement. Leirvik and Ellefsen's (2020) study of Norwegian police suggest that there are some police officers that may be motivated by the excitement of the work, while others are motivated by a wish to help. The majority of informants in their study emphasize the importance of communication, patience, and respect. However, the more masculine achievements and willingness to use large power is still seen as symbolic capital in the police field (ibid.). Individual participant 10 and researcher 8 think the police do not listen to youth's critique, while researcher 8 expresses that "police authorities and the Justice Department is hesitant towards acknowledging and validating the viewpoint of youth." However, she also points out that the police have recently put more effort into having a dialogue with organized youth. Some police officers in the study by Leirvik and Ellefsen (2020), however, say that there is evidence of some police officers being more authoritarian and dominating, who do not use the time to explain why a person is stopped.

6.3.2 The Receipt Scheme

The Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud, the organization against public discrimination (OMOD) and civil society organizations have for a long time requested a receipt scheme in Norway (Stortinget, 2022). In 2002, the Norwegian parliament decided to ask the government to submit a proposal for a receipt scheme (Regjeringen, 2003), however, the Progress Party (FRP),

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withdrew their support after an evaluation by the police of the potential scheme (Stortinget, 2004). Thus, the debate about the receipt scheme in Norway has been going on for thirty years. However, in 2021, the budget with a parliamentary majority passed a trial project in Oslo for the receipt scheme. In the budget settlement, the government and the Socialist Left Party came to an agreement, where the purpose of the scheme was "securing notoriety for personal checks that the police carry out if the person being checked wants to register," in addition to how "the scheme shall mean that the person who is stopped can receive a confirmation of the inspection" (Stortinget, 2021, translated by the authors from Norwegian). While it has taken some time for the receipt scheme to be implemented in Oslo, which organization representative 6 thinks is because of the lack of structure and systematic approach to the issue of policing, the push for policies that tackle this challenge is in many ways one of the more indirect results of the BLM protest wave in Norway. Researcher 3 says the scheme was emphasized during the movement, and all the interviewees are fairly positive towards the scheme, for various reasons. In fact, during the BLM demonstrations in 2020, 29 000 people signed ARISE's appeal for the receipt scheme (Volden, 2021).

Many of the interviewees emphasize the ways in which the receipt scheme will require police officers to provide an explanation for why a person is stopped, which will have a significant and positive impact for people of minority background. Police expert 2, for example, says that this group, and particularly young men and boys who have a visible minority background, are often unaware of why they are being stopped. Thus, the scheme will allow people to "receive a justification or explanation for why you were stopped by the police, and can be used as documentation," organization representative 4 says. Preventative police officer 16 says that the positive aspects of the receipt scheme is that there will be a better overview of who is being stopped and how often they get stopped. He thinks that the scheme is a good response to the backlash that the police experience from stopping youth of minority background and getting accused of being racists. Personally, he is very positive towards the scheme and thinks "it might be time for the police to adapt themselves to something that may be a bit different from what they are used to."

Another outcome of the receipt scheme that is raised by the interviewees is how there will be some accountability for racial bias in the police. Individual participant 14, the male with Turkish heritage, says that the receipt scheme "can help those who exercise power to restrict themselves

because they know that there is accountability, that you are held accountable for your actions in a way." The police are given the power to exercise force and intrusive surveillance for the common good of the population, and following accountability is important to ensure that the power is exercised just (Gau and Brunson, 2015). Therefore, a receipt scheme can promote a more procedural just encounter with the police as it compels police officers to give an explanation for the stop and promotes accountability. The outcome individual participant 14 hopes will happen is what preventative police officer 16 explains to be the reason for some of his colleagues' concerns about the scheme. The officer suggests that some of his colleagues are skeptical and negative towards the receipt scheme because they think it will make police officers more hesitant to stop people and that they therefore would miss important information.

Next, the interviewees are clear in saying that another outcome, and perhaps the most important outcome due to the lack of it so far, is how the receipt scheme will provide data, as well as proof to the experiences that people of minority background share about racial profiling. As police expert 2 says, there is a need for "specific numbers of how often and where people get stopped," which is something she thinks the scheme will provide. This connects to what organization representative 6 says by how one has a much stronger claim in saying that there is racial profiling in the police if there is data that can support and document the claim. Leirvik and Ellefsen (2020) point to the lack of research on ethnic profiling and the experiences of minority youth in Norway. Individual participant 9 is also positive towards the scheme because she thinks it will allow for more openness about the problem. She says that it might have been easy to brush off the problem as something that mostly just occurs at the individual level but believes that the scheme will be able to map out the problem and demonstrate how "in the big picture, it is not an individual problem when we see that there is a lot of bias."

Although all respondents are positive towards the receipt scheme, there are also a couple of concerns in connection with its implementation. Preventative police officer 16 says that the scheme has been a much-debated topic among his colleagues in the police. While some of his colleagues are supportive of the scheme, others are against it because they find it obvious that the police do not stop youth without having a reason to do so. In fact, he says that "they do not stop the same people over and over again." According to the preventative police officer, the police are trained to

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only stop people whom they have a reason to stop. However, "sometimes we can stop youth as a preventative measure and to build relations," he says, which includes "going to a soccer game, see the kids at youth clubs play, or even play with the kids." He thinks it might have a negative impact on the police's ability to build relations with minority youth. While the police's intention is to build relations, some interviewees say they feel like they are made suspicious and seen as a potential threat. In addition, preventative police think many in the police are skeptical because "the criminals will only use this against us by having the police not talking to them." However, generally interviewees believed that the receipt scheme would have a positive result for the relationship between minority youth and the police, through proving or not proving the conduction of ethnic profiling in Norway.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

The Black Lives Matter movement rose as a force against the oppression and systematic violence of black people in the US but spread to become a worldwide movement with local adaptations. The killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 26 sparked a renewed anger and frustration among people around the world, including Norway. In the summer of 2020, Norway experienced a protest wave, which particularly attracted and engaged youth of minority background to participate. Although the focus of the BLM movement in the US was similar, yet not identical, to the Norwegian protest wave, it resonated with social justice-minded youth of Norway. Thus, the concerns that were raised during the protest wave in Norway were predominantly issues related to racism, minorities' experiences with racial injustice, and the treatment of ethnic minorities by the police in Norway. Following, this study has aimed to investigate the extent to which the BLM movement has had an impact on the current discussion about race and racial injustice in Norway by examining the role of minority youth in Norwegian society. The objective of the study has been to deepen the understanding of racialized experiences by lifting the voices of people who have experienced racism or racial injustice, as well as to demonstrate whether BLM has had any value on the ongoing conversation about racism in Norway.

The findings of this study were divided into three main themes. The first theme focused on the experience of being a minority in Norway, what obstacles minority youth face, and what kind of role they have in the public conversation on racism in Norway. Based on the interviewees' responses, we found that there is a strong feeling among minority youth of how they perceive themselves as different from the majority population, thus causing them to feel like they do not really fit in in Norwegian society. This notion was connected to the postcolonial idea of how there is a separation between the majority and minority populations, and also suggested that little representation and diversity in Norwegian society causes minority youth to feel excluded from a system that individual participant 14, for example, referred to as "theirs and not ours." The study also found that the interviewees' felt a reluctance from the majority population to acknowledge the experience of being a minority in Norway, which limits their ability to also find solutions to the challenges that minorities face. The participants postulated that there is a perception of how

racism exists elsewhere in the world, and that the lack of recognition towards racist experiences dismisses the realities of people with minority backgrounds. Prior to the BLM protest wave, this evidently caused minority youth to also feel like there was little space for their voices in the public conversation about racism in Norway, subsequently resulting in a fear to speak up against racist experiences among some of the participants. The first theme also included experiences with microaggression, where the interviewees reflected on incidents that they might have brushed off as something of little importance, while in reality, the sum of such incidents had significant emotional impact. Next, this study found that many minority youth are subject to oversimplified perceptions and stereotypes. This created a notion of how minorities are one and the same group, thus ignoring the nuances of various ethnic groups. In essence, the interviewees agreed that minorities do not have one shared experience, and suggested intersectionality as an effective way to understand these nuances. Lastly, this study found that minority youth have conversations about racism and BLM-related topics quite frequently with their closed ones, and that most of the participants felt like their voices were more welcome in private spheres rather than public arenas, particularly before the BLM protest wave.

The second theme focused specifically on the BLM movement, and included an examination of who the participants are, a comparison between the US movement and the Norwegian protest wave, and what the outcomes of the protest wave were. We found that there was an agreement among the interviewees that participants of the BLM demonstrations were predominantly young individuals, around the age of 15 to 30 years old, and that people of all ethnicities were present, although there was a heavier emphasis on the presence of participants with minority background from Africa. The presence of youth at political demonstrations was connected to the literature suggesting that youth, particularly those of countries in the Global North, use social movements as a way to express political dissatisfaction, and are affected by a feeling of not being "completely hopeless yet," as suggested by individual participant 15. Next, the study found that the interviewees' considered it important to distinguish between the BLM movement in the US and the protest wave in Norway. They argued that, although the Norwegian protest wave stemmed from the US movement and they both had a similar foundation, they found the protest wave in Norway to be less organized and shorter lived, as well as they found racism to be a much more structurally deep issue in the US. Next, the interviewees suggested that the discussion on racism

and discrimination in Norway is much more premature, and that the histories and context of the US movement and the Norwegian protest waves are different. However, we found some differing views among the interviewees when examining whether the idea of BLM as an Americanized concept had been directly transferred to the Norwegian context without adaptation. Generally, however, it seemed like adaptation to local contexts was taken into considerations by the participants, which was also suggested by Ellefsen and Sandberg (2022).

The last section of the second theme focused on the outcomes of BLM and found that the interviewees experienced the protest wave to have a deep personal impact on them. A reason for this was because of the difficulty of constantly seeing people who look like you being systematically oppressed in the US. However, we also found many positive aspects about the personal impact it had on them, such as how participants felt a sense of belonging that had been lacking before the protest wave and how they experienced a reduced fear of speaking up against racist experiences. Additionally, the experts among the interviewees saw an increased interest in their work on BLM-related topics. Next, and perhaps one of the most important outcomes of the protest wave, was the extent to which BLM caused an increased level of knowledge on racism among the Norwegian public. The study found that participants of the protest wave believed that BLM had caused greater openness and awareness after the demonstrations, a wider understanding of racialized experiences, as well as the nuances and complexities of being an ethnic minority in Norway. Overall, participants saw an increased consciousness about racism and discrimination. We also found that participants experienced their voices to be more welcome in public arena's. However, the findings demonstrated that the presence of structural racism remains uncertain, although many of the interviewees were under the impression that minorities are discriminated against in certain aspects of society. The impact on voting patterns and party affiliation after BLM also remains undetermined due to the difficulty of deducing this with certainty, although some interviewees were under the impression that it could have had an indirect impact. Lastly, the study found that there was an agreement among the interviewees on how social media played a significant role in the spread of the movement, although their level of activity on social media platforms differed somewhat.

The third theme focused on minority youth's relationship with the police in Norway, emphasizing their trust towards law enforcement, their perception of the police, and their personal experiences with the police. This study found that minority youth's relationship with the police is fairly negative, as the interviewees' suggested that there was a lack of trust in the police and a feeling of not being protected by them. In fact, several of the interviewees explained the lack of trust as a result of either having or hearing of negative experiences with the police, thus shaping their perception of law enforcement. However, some pointed to the media as playing a role in influencing minorities' trust in the police. Next, the study found that minority youth feel more policed and targeted than the majority population, thus causing a feeling of being made suspicious due to their ethnicity. We also found that the area that minorities live in impacts their trust in the police, with the interviewees emphasizing how minority youth living on the east side of Oslo have more frequent negative experiences with the police. We found that many of the participants pointed to the ways in which gender is a vital factor that determines what kind of experiences one may have with the police, with minority boys often being more criminalized than minority girls. Yet, some of the interviewees pointed to the lack of research on women's experiences with the police and suggested that they are increasingly being portrayed as more violent and aggressive by the media, which could have future implications for their treatment by the police. Overall, our study found that there is limited research on ethnic profiling in Norway, although existing literature demonstrates how minority youth often feel more targeted and experience being stopped more frequently. In fact, our study found that this feeling of being stopped more frequently and being disproportionately targeted, seemed to be for no apparent or legitimate reason from the police's side. Lastly, our study found that there was a general agreement among the interviewees of how the receipt scheme has the potential to have a positive impact on minority youth's relationship with the police, although pointing to various different reasons.

In conclusion and based on the above-mentioned findings, our study suggests that the BLM protest wave had a significant impact on the conversation around race and racial injustice in Norway, particularly by how it introduced a wider understanding and nuances to the comprehension of racialized experienced, as well as it increased the overall knowledge among the general population of what it is like to be a minority in Norway. Further, it had a noteworthy impact on minority youth's role in Norwegian society because they experienced having more space in the public room

to share their experiences and perspectives, and a reduced fear of voicing their opinions. Lastly, our study demonstrates that there is a considerable lack of trust among minority youth towards the police, primarily because they feel targeted and unfairly treated by law enforcement, based on first or secondary negative experiences with the police. Although this study is a small contribution to the growing literature on BLM and related topics, we believe Norwegian minorities' experiences with racism and law enforcement are topics that need substantially more research and data.

7.1 Recommendations

As a result of how the interviewees introduced various suggestions and recommendations on the things they considered to be in need of improvement, we have decided to summarize these recommendations due to their enlightening and valuable perspectives. The purpose of this is to keep it in mind for future research and policy-making.

Some of the interviewees postulated that the presence of racism in Norway to a certain degree can be understood as an issue that goes back to the history class in schools and how it is taught. Organization representative 6, for example, argues that youth needs to be exposed to and aware of our history with discrimination against ethnic minorities. Two of the individual participants, 13 and 15, agree that the complexity of being a minority should be better included in school curriculums, as well as they think teachers should be better trained to handle racist experiences that occur in schools. They believe that conversations about racism in the classroom and discussions on the nuances of racism could be useful for youth to learn about at an early age, as it would allow for a better understanding of what sort of presence racism has in our society and what can be done to prevent it, rather than sweeping it under the rug and reinforcing the ignorance. On a somewhat different note, when it comes to the issue of structural racism and discrimination in the job market, the study of Midtbøen and Rogstad (2012) suggests that proesses of having a high degree of transparency, where the rationale for decisions is written down, and where the person making the decision is held accountable can result in less discrimination in the recruitment process. Overall, however, the experts among the interviewees emphasize that there is a lot more research about racism, BLM, and social movements in the US and internationally than it is in Norway. In

Norway, there is little research and academic writing on these topics, and the interviewees all agree that there is a need for more substantial research on topics like racism and discrimination in Norway.

On the challenge of improving the level of trust between minority youth and the police in Norway, the interviewees have suggested that there is a need to raise the competence level within the police, to increase the level of knowledge when it comes to working with minority youth, implement better training, and to conduct more research that allows for the police education to be more nuanced and include more viewpoints. They recommend a better understanding of why there are prejudices against certain groups in society and why youth of minority background experience feeling more discriminated against compared to the ethnic white majority. Organization representative 1 believes the creation of mutual meeting places for police and youth to build stronger relations could be a good idea to improve the trust between them, while researcher 5 and individual participant 13 believe the police needs to reevaluate the ways in which they patrol and how they choose to present themselves in local communities. Researcher 5, for example, suggests that a police force that has stronger ties to the local community could be a potential solution to improve the relations. Thus, he is not saying that there is a need to remove the police or decrease their presence, but rather to have local police and local offices in the communities, instead of having police cars responding to situations in certain areas that they have no ties to, which he thinks is simply just the wrong approach to have. Another suggestion by researcher 5 is to remove police cars driving in the area, and rather have biking police officers that can talk to youth and get to know people in the areas they work. Overall, he does not have much faith in preventative police efforts when it comes from "strangers" that are standing outside their police cars talking to youth.

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9. Appendix

9.1 Appendix 1: Information and Consent Form for Experts

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet
"Black Lives Matter bevegelsens innvirkning på politisk engasjement og mobilisering blant unge med innvandrerbakgrunn i Norge"

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å få en dypere forståelse av hvordan unge i Norge opplever rasisme og hvordan den sosiale bevegelsen Black Lives Matter har påvirket dem i 2020 til 2021. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål
Målet med vår studie er en dypere forståelse av erfaringer knyttet til rasisme og politisk mobilisering og engasjement rundt Black Lives Matter bevegelsen i Norge. Dette skal vi oppnå gjennom å synliggjøre stemmen til mennesker som kan ha opplevd rasisme, vise verdien av Black Lives Matter-bevegelsen og sette fokus på spørsmålet om rasisme i det norske samfunnet. Studien vil forhåpentligvis øke forståelsen og bevisstheten rundt hverdagen til fargede mennesker og deres virkelighet i Norge. Studien kan også bidra til en dypere forståelse av personer med innvandrerbakgrunn sin politiske deltakelse.

I studien vil vi intervjue unge med innvandrerbakgrunn. I tillegg vil vi intervjue representanter for organisasjoner som driver med Black Lives Matter aktivisme og experter på BLM i Norge.

I vår studie ønsker vi å få svar på hvordan har Black Lives Matter-bevegelsen i Norge påvirket politisk mobilisering og engasjement blant unge mellom 18 og 30 med innvandrerbakgrunn fra afrikanske og asiatiske land.

Vi skal se på forskningsspørsmålene:
- Hvilke handlinger av politisk engasjement har unge i Norge gjort for å holde seg involvert i BLM-bevegelsen?
- Hvilken innvirkning har BLM-demonstrasjonene hatt på samtalen om rase og raseurettferdighet i Norge?
- Hvilken innvirkning har BLM hatt på fargede personers stemme i den offentlige debatten i Norge etter demonstrasjonen i 2020?

Forskningsprosjektet er utført av to studenter som skal bruke informasjonen i en masteroppgave.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?
- Vi ønsker å intervjue personer som har kunnskap om BLM og minoritetsspørsmål i Norge.
- Vi ønsker å intervjue personer med forskningsbakgrunn eller organisasjonrepresentanter.

Vi vil gjerne intervjue rundt 10 personer som tilfredsstiller utvalgskriteriene over. Dine kontaktopplysning har vi fått gjennom enten organisasjoner som driver med Black Lives Matter aktivisme eller experter på BLM i Norge.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det at du deltar på et intervju online over zoom eller i person om du heller ønsker det. Det vil ta deg ca. 45 minutter. Intervjuet vil omfatte spørsmål om din relasjon til Black Lives Matter bevegelsen, din oppfattelse av rasisme og rasisme i Norge og om din deltagelse i Black Lives Matter bevegelsen.

Om vi får tillatelse av deg som deltar i prosjektet vil vi ta lydopptak av intervjuet. Opptaket vil kun bli brukt til å ta notater elektronisk av intervjuet for bruk i masteroppgaven. Lydopptaket vil slettes kort tid etter intervjuet.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.
- Det vil kun være de to studentene Tyra Bernardshaw og Ingrid Solberg Bechmann som skriver masteroppgaven som vil ha tilgang til dine opplysninger.
- Ditt navn og kontaktopplysninger vil vi erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Datamaterialet vil være lagret på en forskningsserver som er innelåst/kryptert.
- Dataen vil ikke publiseres slik at deltakerne kan gjenkjennes.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes/oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er Prosjektet slutter i mai. Alle personopplysninger og opptak vil bli slettet ved prosjektslutt.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Norges Miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:
- innsyn i hvilke opplysninger vi behandler om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene
- å få rettet opplysninger om deg som er feil eller misvisende
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å vite mer om eller benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:
- Norges Miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet ved Ingrid Nyborg, telefon: +4767231325 og e-post: ingrid.nyborg@nmbu.no.
- Kontaktinformasjon til masterstudentene: Ingrid Solberg Bechmann, ingrid.solberg.bechmann@nmbu.no, +4798896707 og Tyra Ashwini Bernardshaw, tyra.ashwini.bernardshaw@nmbu.no
- Vårt personvernombud: Jan Olav Aarflot, jan.olav.aarflot@nmbu.no, +4767230250

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til NSD sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller på telefon: 53 21 15 00.

Med vennlig hilsen

Ingrid Nyborg	Melanie Sommerville	Tyra A. Bernardshaw	Ingrid S. Bechmann
(Veileder)	(Veileder)	(Student)	(Student)

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet Black Lives Matter bevegelsens innvirkning på politisk engasjement og mobilisering blant unge med innvandrerbakgrunn i Norge, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

☐ å delta i intervju
☐ at opplysninger om meg publiseres slik at jeg kan gjenkjennes

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

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(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet
"Black Lives Matter bevegelsens innvirkning på politisk engasjement og mobilisering blant unge med innvandrerbakgrunn i Norge"

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å få en dypere forståelse av hvordan unge i Norge opplever rasisme og hvordan den sosiale bevegelsen Black Lives Matter har påvirket dem i 2020 til 2021. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål
Målet med vår studie er en dypere forståelse av erfaringer knyttet til rasisme og politisk mobilisering og engasjement rundt Black Lives Matter bevegelsen i Norge. Dette skal vi oppnå gjennom å synliggjøre stemmen til mennesker som kan ha opplevd rasisme, vise verdien av Black Lives Matter-bevegelsen og sette fokus på spørsmålet om rasisme i det norske samfunnet. Studien vil forhåpentligvis øke forståelsen og bevisstheten rundt hverdagen til fargede mennesker og deres virkelighet i Norge. Studien kan også bidra til en dypere forståelse av personer med innvandrerbakgrunn sin politiske deltakelse.

I studien vil vi intervjue unge med innvandrerbakgrunn. I tillegg vil vi intervjue representanter for organisasjoner som driver med Black Lives Matter aktivisme og experter på BLM i Norge.

I vår studie ønsker vi å få svar på hvordan har Black Lives Matter-bevegelsen i Norge påvirket politisk mobilisering og engasjement blant unge mellom 18 og 30 med innvandrerbakgrunn fra afrikanske og asiatiske land.

Vi skal se på forskningsspørsmålene:
- Hvilke handlinger av politisk engasjement har unge i Norge gjort for å holde seg involvert i BLM-bevegelsen?
- Hvilken innvirkning har BLM-demonstrasjonene hatt på samtalen om rase og raseurettferdighet i Norge?
- Hvilken innvirkning har BLM hatt på fargede personers stemme i den offentlige debatten i Norge etter demonstrasjonen i 2020?

Forskningsprosjektet er utført av to studenter som skal bruke informasjonen i en masteroppgave.
Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?
Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

- Vi ønsker å intervjue personer som har deltatt i BLM bevegelsen i Norge enten ved deltakelse i demonstrasjon, sosiale medier eller annen aktivisme.
- Vi ønsker vi å intervjue personer med innvandringsbakgrunn fra Asia eller Afrika. Dette inkluderer både første- og andregenerasjons innvandrere.
- Vi ønsker å intervjue unge i alderen 18 til 30.
- Vi ønsker å intervjue personer som bor i Oslo

Vi vil gjerne intervjue rundt tjue personer som tilfredsstiller utvalgskriteriene over. Dine kontaktopplysning har vi fått gjennom enten organisasjoner som driver med Black Lives Matter aktivisme eller experter på BLM i Norge.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?
Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det at du deltar på et intervju online over zoom eller i person om du heller ønsker det. Det vil ta deg ca. 45 minutter. Intervjuet vil omfatte spørsmål om din relasjon til Black Lives Matter bevegelsen, din oppfattelse av rasisme og rasisme i Norge og om din deltagelse i Black Lives Matter bevegelsen.

Om vi får tillatelse av deg som deltar i prosjektet vil vi ta lydopptak av intervjuet. Opptaket vil kun bli brukt til å ta notater elektronisk av intervjuet for bruk i masteroppgaven. Lydopptaket vil slettes kort tid etter intervjuet.

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Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes/oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er Prosjektet slutter i mai. Alle personopplysninger og opptak vil bli slettet ved prosjektslutt.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?
Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Norges Miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

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- Vårt personvernombud: Jan Olav Aarflot, jan.olav.aarflot@nmbu.no, +4767230250

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Med vennlig hilsen

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(Veileder)	(Veileder)	(Student)	(Student)

Samtykkeerklæring

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☐ at opplysninger om meg publiseres slik at jeg kan gjenkjennes

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

9.2 Appendix 3: Interview Guide for Experts

Intervjuspørsmål eksperter

Hoved RQ:
Hvordan har Black Lives Matter-bevegelsen i 2020 påvirket politisk mobilisering og engasjement blant unge voksne i Norge med innvandrerbakgrunn fra afrikanske og asiatiske land?

Sub RQ:
● How do participants in the Norwegian BLM Movement understand the intersection between the movement and contemporary politics?
● What, if any, types of political activities have participants engaged in through, following or alongside their participation in the movement?
● What, if any, impacts have the BLM Movement had on the conversation around race and racial injustice in Norway?

Informasjon til deltaker før intervju:
● Vår definisjon av vårt utvalg av unge med minoritetsbakgrunn er avgrenset til personer med innvandrerbakgrunn (en selv eller minst en forelder) fra Asia og Afrika i alderen 18 til 30 år.

Synspunkter på og nivå av politisk engasjement

1. Hvilken organisasjon er du frivillig/ansatt for? / Hvilket universitet er du ansatt på?

2. Hvordan er ditt arbeid/frivillighet knyttet til BLM-bevegelsen?

3. Hva ser du på som politisk engasjement?

4. Hvilke aktiviteter anser du som politiske?

5. Hva mener du er de beste måtene å påvirke politikk på?

Betydning av og engasjement i BLM

6. Hvordan vil du beskrive BLM-bevegelsen?
   ● Hva med BLM-bevegelsen i Norge?
   ● Ser du noen likheter eller ulikheter?

7. Hva tror du budskapet bak BLM er?

8. Hvordan vil du beskrive deltakerne i BLM i Norge?

9. Hvordan tror du BLM-bevegelsen i Norge har påvirket unge med innvandrerbakgrunn fra Asia og Afrika?

BLM og politisk engasjement

10. Tror du BLM har påvirket konvensjonelle former for politikk blant unge med minoritetsbakgrunn, som for eksempel deltakelse i politiske partier? I så fall, hvordan?

11. Ser du på BLM som en politisk aktivitet i seg selv?
    - Hvorfor eller hvorfor ikke?

12. Hva tror du de som har deltatt i BLM har til felles?
    - Tror du det er en enighet innad i bevegelsen om dens politiske retning? (evt. verdisyn)
    - F.eks. er politikken i BLM "avgjort" eller "stabil" eller er det noen uenigheter? Kan du gi noen eksempler?

13. Tror du deltakelse i bevegelsen påvirker unge med minoritetsbakgrunn politiske engasjement generelt? Og i så fall, hvordan?
    - Hvilke nye typer aktiviteter har det ført til, eller hva har det oppmuntret dem til å gjøre mer av?
    - Tror du BLM bevegelsen kan ha redusert deltakeres politiske engasjement? Hvorfor eller hvorfor ikke?

14. Tror du BLM hadde noen påvirkning på stemme deltakelse blant unge med minoritetsbakgrunn ved stortingsvalget i 2021?

15. Tror du BLM har hatt noen innvirkning på hvordan unge med minoritetsbakgrunn har samtaler med venner og familie om BLM og rasisme?
    - Er det forskjell mellom hvordan denne gruppen snakker om disse temaene i private sammenhenger kontra offentlig (f.eks. på sosiale medieplattformer)?
    - Hvorfor er det annerledes? (Er det for eksempel fordi det er et sensitivt emne? Motreaksjoner eller kritikk hvis du er frittalende om emnet? Ulike svar fra familie/venner kontra offentlig?)

16. Har unge med minoritetsbakgrunns deltagelse i BLM-arrangementer hatt noen innvirkning på deres rolle i den offentlige debatten?

17. (Kun til organisasjoner) Har unges engasjement i BLM hatt noen påvirkning på interessen for å bli medlem i deres organisasjon?
    - Har dere fått flere medlemmer eller har medlemmer meldt seg ut?

Rasisme og politiets rolle

18. Hva tenker du om debatten om rasisme i Norge?

19. Tror du BLM bevegelsen i Norge har hatt noen innflytelse på denne debatten? Isåfall, hva slags innflytelse?

20. Hvordan tror du unge med minoritetsbakgrunn i Oslo opplever politiets rolle i samfunnet?
    - Hvilken relasjon er det mellom minoritetsungdom og politiet?
    - (Kun til organisasjoner) Har deres organisasjon gjort noe arbeid på dette temaet eller hatt kontakt med politiet angående rasisme? I så fall, hva slags kontakt? Hvorfor eller hvorfor ikke?

21. Media har skrevet om hvordan minoritetsungdom opplever at de blir oftere stoppet av politiet enn andre. Hva tror du er årsaken til at minoriteter opplever at de blir oftere stoppet?
    - Hva tror du kan gjøres for å forbedre forholdet mellom minoritetsungdom og politiet?

Engasjement gjennom sosiale medier

22. Hvilken rolle har sosiale medier hatt i BLM-bevegelsen i Norge? Og hvilken rolle har instagram hatt?

23. Har engasjementet gjennom instagram hatt noen innvirkning på andre typer engasjement i BLM i Norge?

24. Hva tror du de som har vært aktiv på sosiale medier ville oppnå ved å legge ut BLM-innhold på instagram?

9.4 Appendix 4: Interview Guide for Police Officer

Intervjuspørsmål til forebyggende politi

Hoved RQ:
Hvordan har Black Lives Matter-bevegelsen i 2020 påvirket politisk mobilisering og engasjement blant unge voksne i Norge med innvandrerbakgrunn fra afrikanske og asiatiske land?

Sub RQ:
- How do participants in the Norwegian BLM Movement understand the intersection between the movement and contemporary politics?
- What, if any, types of political activities have participants engaged in through, following, or alongside their participation in the movement?
- What, if any, impacts have the BLM Movement had on the conversation around race and racial injustice in Norway?

Informasjon til deltaker før intervju:
- Vår definisjon av vårt utvalg av unge med minoritetsbakgrunn er avgrenset til personer med innvandrerbakgrunn (en selv eller minst en forelder) fra Asia og Afrika i alderen 18 til 30 år.

Politiets rolle i samfunnet

1. Kan dere fortelle litt om dere selv og hva slags type arbeid dere driver med, samt hvordan en typisk arbeidsdag ser ut for dere?

2. Hva var motivasjonen til at dere ønsker å jobbe i politiet?

3. Hvilket politidistrikt jobber du i?

4. Hva er formålet med forebyggende politi og hva er deres samfunnsoppdrag?
   - Hvordan er samfunnsoppdraget til forebyggende politi annerledes enn samfunnsoppdraget til vanlig politi?

5. Hva gjør politiet for å gjennomføre deres samfunnsoppdrag?

6. Hva er forebyggende politi sin rolle i områder med høy minoritetsbefolkning?
   - Hva slags aktiviteter innebærer deres arbeid i disse områdene?

7. Hva er politiets opplevelser av patruljering i disse områdene?
   - Finnes det ulike måter dette gjøres på?

8. Hvordan tror du politiets patruljering i disse områdene blir oppfattet av minoritetsungdom?
   - Hvorfor tror du det blir oppfattet på denne måten?

9. Hvilken rolle tenker du at politiet har i forhold til å adressere problemet rundt rasisme i Norge?
   - Til hvilken grad anser du kampen mot rasisme som en del av forebyggende politi sitt mandat? Både kampen innad i politiet og i samfunnet generelt.

10. Hvordan jobber forebyggende politi for å trygge minoritetsungdom mot rasistiske trusler?
    - Hva er koblingen mellom forebyggende politi sitt syn på minoritetsungdom og arbeidet for å trygge sikkerheten deres?

11. Hvordan er tilliten mellom minoritetsungdom og politiet?
    - Hva gjør politiet eventuelt for å bygge opp denne tilliten?

12. Media har skrevet om hvordan minoritetsungdom opplever at de blir oftere stoppet av politiet enn andre. Hva tror du er årsaken til at minoriteter opplever at de blir oftere stoppet?
    - Er du enig i måten politiet blir fremstilt av media og opplevelsene minoritetsungdom har av politiets arbeid?
    - Dersom du er uenig, hvorfor tror du mange med minoritetsbakgrunn har denne oppfatningen av politiet?

13. Er det andre aktører eller aspekter ved samfunnet som har bidratt til denne oppfatningen av politiets arbeid i områder med høy minoritetsbefolkning?

14. Hva mener du skal til for at folk med minoritetsbakgrunn eventuelt kan endre sin oppfatning av politiets arbeid?
    - Både hva politiet kan gjøre men også andre aktører i samfunnet, som for eksempel politikere og folkevalgte.
    - Er det noen pågående eller planlagte tiltak?

9.3 Appendix 5: Interview Guide for Individual Participants

Intervjuspørsmål individuelle deltakere

Hoved RQ:
Hvordan har Black Lives Matter-bevegelsen i 2020 påvirket politisk mobilisering og engasjement blant unge voksne i Norge med innvandrerbakgrunn fra afrikanske og asiatiske land?

Sub RQ:
- How do participants in the Norwegian BLM Movement understand the intersection between the movement and contemporary politics?
- What, if any, types of political activities have participants engaged in through, following or alongside their participation in the movement?
- What, if any, impacts have the BLM Movement had on the conversation around race and racial injustice in Norway?

Bakgrunnsspørsmål til deltagere (før intervju):

1. Hvor gammel er du?

2. Hvilket kjønn identifiserer du deg som?

3. Er du eller en av foreldrene dine født i et annet land enn Norge?

4. Hvilket land er du eller foreldrene dine født i?

5. (Hvis deltageren er født i et annet land) Hvor lenge har du vært i Norge?

6. Hvilket utdanningsnivå har du?

7. Er du ansatt noe sted, i så fall hvor?

8. Har du på noen som helst måte deltatt eller engasjert deg i Black Lives Matter bevegelsen i   Norge?

Synspunkter på og nivå av politisk engasjement

9. Hva betyr politisk engasjement for deg?

10. Hva mener du anses som en politisk aktivitet?
    ● Hvilke aktiviteter regner du som politiske?

11. Hva mener du er de beste måtene å påvirke politikk på?

12. Er det noen konvensjonelle metoder (for eksempel å stemme ved valg) for politikk du mener er mer eller mindre effektive?
    ● Hvorvidt tror du å stemme er en effektiv måte å påvirke politikk?
        ○ Hvorfor eller hvorfor ikke?
    ● Og hva med å delta i et politisk parti? Er slik deltagelse en effektiv måte å påvirke politikk?

13. Har du stemt i et stortings- eller kommunevalg?
    ● Er det noen valg du ikke stemte i?
    ● Var det en grunn til at du ikke stemte?
        ● Hva var viktig for deg da du skulle velge hvem du skulle stemme på?
        ● Var det andre faktorer enn valg av parti som påvirket hvordan du stemte (f.eks. BLM)?
        ● Tror du BLM har fått flere til å stemme?

14. Har du noen gang vært medlem av et politisk parti?
    ● Når ble du medlem av det politiske partiet?
    ● Hvorfor ble du medlem av partiet?

15. Har du vært et aktivt medlem av det politiske partiet?
    ● Eller har du bare vært et betalende medlem?
    ● Dersom du vokste opp i et annet land, var du politisk aktiv i hjemlandet ditt? Hvorfor eller hvorfor ikke?

Betydningen av og engasjementet i BLM

16. Hva betyr Black Lives Matter for deg?

17. Hva tror du er budskapet bak Black Lives Matter, og synes du det er viktig?
   ● Hvis ja, hvorfor synes du det er viktig?

18. Har du engasjert deg i BLM-bevegelsen? Hvis ja, hvordan har du engasjert deg?
   ● Deltok du på demonstrasjonene?
   ● Har du deltatt på en demonstrasjon tidligere?
   ● Hvilke andre måter har du engasjert deg på?
   ● Er du medlem av noen organisasjon?

19. Har du engasjert deg i BLM bevegelsen på sosiale medier siden George Floyd ble drept i slutten av mai 2020?
   ● Hva ville du oppnå ved å legge ut BLM-innhold på sosiale medier?

20. Har du deltatt i noen offentlige BLM arrangementer?
   ● Hva har gjort at du har blitt aktiv i samfunnsdebatten?

21. Hva motiverte deg til å engasjere deg i bevegelsen?

22. Alt i alt, hvordan har BLM-bevegelsen påvirket deg?

23. Føler du at din deltagelse i BLM-bevegelsen har påvirket ditt behov for å ytre deg, politisk eller generelt?

BLM og politisk engasjement

24. Ser du på Black Lives Matter bevegelsen som en politisk aktivitet i seg selv? Hvis ja, på hvilken måte?

25. Hva tror du de som har deltatt i BLM har til felles?
   ● Tror du at det er en enighet innad i bevegelsen om dens politiske retning? (evt. verdisyn)
   ● F.eks. er politikken i BLM "avgjort" eller "stabil" eller er det noen uenigheter? Kan du gi noen eksempler?

26. Hvordan har deltakelse i BLM påvirket deg politisk? Har du blitt mer eller mindre politisk?
   ● I så fall, hvordan og hvorfor?
   ● Hvilke nye typer aktiviteter har det ført til, eller hva har det oppmuntret deg til å gjøre mer av?
   ● Hva er det med BLM bevegelsen som har gjort at du har blitt mer politisk aktiv?

27. Er BLM/rasisme et samtaleemne blant venner og familie?
   ● Hvordan diskuterer du dette emnet med venner og familie?
   ● Er det annerledes enn hvordan du snakker om det offentlig (f.eks. på sosiale medieplattformer)?

- Hvorfor er det annerledes? (Er det for eksempel fordi det er et sensitivt emne? Motreaksjoner eller kritikk hvis du er frittalende om emnet? Ulike svar fra familie/venner kontra offentlig?)

Rasisme og politiets rolle

28. Hva er dine tanker om rasisme i Norge?

29. Hva synes du om bevisstheten i samfunnet rundt rasisme i Norge?
    - Hvordan tror du man kan adressere problemet rundt rasisme i Norge?
        - Hva slags typer politiske aktiviteter eller tiltak kan innføres for å adressere dette?

30. Hvilken relasjon har du til politiet i Norge?

31. Har du noen gang blitt stoppet av politiet? Hvis ja, hvordan opplevde du dette?
    - Hva tror du var årsaken til at du ble stoppet?
    - Hvordan fikk det deg til å føle?

32. Kjenner du noen andre som har blitt stoppet av politiet?
    - Har dette påvirket ditt eget syn av politiet?

33. Det er forskning som viser at det er et noe anstrengt forhold mellom personer med minoritetsbakgrunn og politiet. Hvordan tror du forholdet til politiet kan forbedres?
    - Hvordan kan man oppnå gjensidig tillit mellom disse?

Engasjement gjennom sosiale medier

34. Har du en Instagram profil?

35. Er du aktiv på andre sosiale medier plattformer?

36. Har du lagt ut BLM-innhold på Instagram-profilen din før 2020?

37. Har du lagt ut BLM-innhold på Instagram-profilen din etter BLM demonstrasjonene i 2020?

38. Når var siste gang du la ut BLM-innhold på Instagram-profilen din?
    - Forrige uke, forrige måned, siste 6 måneder, et år siden eller bare rett etter BLM-demonstrasjonene

39. Hva ville du oppnå ved å legge ut BLM-innhold på instagram?