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The Faculty of Landscape and Society (LANDSAM)
Supervisor Dr. Katharina Glaab

**Material manifestations of an evolving state
identity; exploring Norway's relations with the
international passport regime from 1920 to present
day 2019, and 2020 onwards.**

Afshan Bibi

Master of Science in International Relations

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abibi96@yahoo.co.uk

Noragric
Department of International Environment and Development Studies
The Faculty of Landscape and Society (LANDSAM)
P.O. Box 5003
N-1432 Ås
Norway
Tel.: +47 67 23 00 00
Internet: <https://www.nmbu.no/fakultet/landsam/institutt/noragric>

Declaration

I, Afshan Bibi, declare that this thesis is a result of my own research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my 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: A. Bibi

Date: May 14th, 2019

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Abstract

The initial idea for this thesis began with my interest in objects, and in their ability to say more than their primary function might suggest. An object that has intrigued me for a long time is the passport. Many IR studies have referred to the passport in relation to topics such as visa and mobility regimes, citizenship and identity, and securitisation. Several of these studies have used the term “regime” when discussing passports, but fail to go further to explain what the term “regime” means. A number of these studies have also used methods that bypass the very *material nature* of the passport as an object, presenting an inconsistency between the object of study, and the methods used for studying it. This inconsistency forms the point of departure in this thesis. It uses regime theory’s knowledge-based approaches, the concept of identity, and the material culture studies’ methods of object-driven and object-centred analysis, to explore the historical and contemporary development of Norway’s passport regime. The qualitative research methods of semi-structured interviews and archival research supplement a material analysis of Norwegian passports to create an assemblage of knowledge sources. The materiality of the Norwegian passport, in combination with contemporary and historical developments of both the national and international passport regimes, ultimately functions as a material marker of identity differences and similarities between states.

Keywords – passports, materiality, regimes, state identity, Norway and the international.

Material manifestations of an evolving state identity; exploring Norway's relations with the international passport regime from 1920 to present day 2019, and 2020 onwards.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Establishing a context for the research

The movement of people within and across territories has occurred since time immemorial (Lloyd, 2005). In the last two centuries, technological developments in the modes of movement: by air, sea, coach and train, have allowed more people to travel from one place to another with relative ease. One of the key documents that facilitates this movement of people is the passport. Lloyd (2005) describes the passport as the world's most travelled document; its possession is often needed nationally as legitimate proof of identity, and it is mandatory internationally when one wishes to travel abroad. The passport therefore becomes important individually, nationally and internationally because it symbolises who a state considers to be part of the state, and who it permits to enter freely or with limitations (Salter, 2003). The relationship between these different levels of analysis – from the international to the national, and from the national to the individual highlights how the passport can "...[embody] changing modes of governmental power, changing modes of international mobility regimes, and changing social attitudes" (Salter, 2003, p.160).

Governmental power, international mobility regimes and changing social attitudes have formed the central point of inquiry in several of the existing studies on passports (Aygül, 2013; Beaumont & Glaab, 2019; Fleming, 2014; Muller, 2004; O'Byrne, 2001; Salter, 2003). The majority of these studies have theoretical and methodological groundings in the social sciences in disciplines like International Relations (IR). Most of these studies have investigated the passport and related issues like mobility and identity in great and middle power states such as Canada, Western Europe, the United States of America or the United Kingdom (Aygül, 2013; Beaumont & Glaab, 2019; Fleming, 2014; Muller, 2004; O'Byrne, 2001; Salter, 2003). Methodologically, these studies have taken a topic or empirical case, problematized it, analysed it using a particular theory or approach (e.g. feminist methodologies in Beaumont & Glaab, 2019, or securitisation discourses in Muller, 2004), and then communicated the findings using words in accordance with the principles of academic writing (Strunk & White, 2009).

Very few passport-related studies have addressed the development of passports in small states like Norway (de Carvalho & Neumann, 2015), and only a handful of studies conducted on passports have gone so far as to include images of the study object (Fleming, 2014; O'Byrne, 2001). I view this as not only an oversight into what can be studied in IR, but also as an

inconsistency between the object of study, and the *specific* methods that can be utilised to study it. I think that an inquiry into any material, tangible object like the passport, should seek to – at the very least – address its materiality and visual nature, if not make them an equal part of the study. I argue that the materiality of the passport is not just an aside to the research but an essential element of methodology and analysis, and anyone wishing to study material objects should make a conscious effort to present its visual nature. It is this inconsistency that forms a knowledge gap which I aim to address with insights from my thesis.

I use a mixed methods qualitative research approach consisting of: semi-structured interviews (SSIs), archival research, and material culture studies' methods in the form of object-driven and object-centred approaches to analyse physical Norwegian passports. I show that supplementing theory with an integrated analysis of materiality can be incredibly insightful. An approach of this kind literally has the potential to present the other half of the picture in an otherwise theoretically skewed field. I aim to continue and add to IR's recent exploration in to new subjects and objects of study, and in to the alternative methods for studying them (Acuto & Curtis, 2014; Aradau & Huysmans, 2014; Bleiker, 2001; Salter, 2015; 2016).

1.2 Research specifications, objectives and questions

The main objective of this research is to explore the unstudied topic of passports in Norway using methods that remain somewhat unorthodox in the discipline of IR. These unorthodox methods have garnered some attention in more critical, alternative thought circles (Acuto & Curtis, 2014; Aradau & Huysmans, 2014; Salter, 2015; 2016), but a lot more needs to be done if the true value of their application is going to be realised. Since the passport functions on an international, national and individual level, an analysis of the international passport regime forms the starting point of my inquiry and I utilise the United Nations' (UN) and League of Nations' (LoN) archives to find out more about the history of the regime. From here, I wish to document the ways in which the Norwegian state has engaged with the international passport regime and what this has meant for the development of its own passport regime. I shed light on Norway's relations with other states, and with international institutions created for monitoring the specific area of passports. My use of the term "international" has constructivist origins and refers to intersubjective relations between states organised in a wider community of sovereign states (Wendt, 1994). In this international community, states have interacted with each other and

through this interaction, have reached agreement on the purpose of the passport to facilitate international travel.

Inter-state interaction also highlights state identities, which forms another analytical strand in my thesis. I aim to analyse the conceptions of Norwegian state identity that have developed parallel to both its own passport regime, and the international passport regime. My use of the term “identity” refers particularly to Norwegian state identity – to the political, economic, and social traits that have become associated with Norway since its independence in 1814. By collecting Norwegian passports, I want to demonstrate how the materiality of the Norwegian passport has changed between 1920 and present day 2019 in the greater context of the international passport regime, and assess whether or not these changes can tell me anything about changes to Norway’s state identity. I have formulated one main research question and three sub-research questions consisting of analytical and descriptive elements (Nygaard, 2017) to help guide my study:

Main research question:

- How has the historical and contemporary development of Norway’s passport regime been affected by the international passport regime, and what does this reveal about Norway’s state identity as well as its relations with other states in a context of interplaying national and international processes?

Sub-research questions:

1. What have been the legal, administrative, and practical components of Norway’s passport regime?
2. How has Norway engaged with and responded to the international passport regime?
3. How can we interpret changes in the materiality of Norway’s passport between the periods 1920 to present day 2019, and 2020 onwards, as being indicative of changes to Norway’s state identity?

1.3 Thesis structure

Following this “Introduction”, I have divided the thesis into a further six sections. The “Theoretical and conceptual framework” establishes regime theory and identity as the main theory and concept used to analyse the development of both the Norwegian and international passport regimes. I weave in relevant literature to present the key tenets of both theory and concept, and bring regime theory and identity in to the 21st century by showing how they fit into IR’s material turn. I continue the approach of incorporating a literature review in the “Methods” section, and firstly outline my positionality in relation to the subject of study. The section then continues to detail the various qualitative approaches used in the research – semi-structured interviews, archival research, and material culture studies’ methods. It ends by touching upon some of the practical and ethical considerations I have had to make.

The fourth section “Findings and analysis” establishes a context for my research investigations by selecting specific periods in Norway’s history to highlight the particular notions of Norwegian state identity that have developed in different times. In this context, I present my findings and analysis using the material culture studies’ methods discussed in the “Methods” section. The “Findings and analysis” section incorporates images of Norwegian passports from 1930 to present day 2019, and from 2020 onwards, to reference them alongside and within the rest of the text purposefully showing that images can be utilised in international relations studies. I follow-up these findings with a “Discussion” structured around providing answers to my sub-research questions. Here, I attempt to tie the different analytical threads from the “Findings and analysis” together to form a foundation for providing answers to my main research question. The “Conclusion” addresses some of the key ideas mentioned in the “Introduction” and reiterates that the relatively recent material turn in IR scholarship should do more to better utilise material methods in the analysis and presentation of material objects. I end the thesis by suggesting some further avenues of research for this niche topic, and some of the potentially broader implications of it for IR studies on state identity and inter-state relations.

2. Theoretical and conceptual framework

This section presents regime theory and identity as the main theory and concept used to analyse the historical development of both the international, and Norwegian passport regimes. First, I introduce how I came across regime theory in IR and what led me to read more about it as a useful analytical tool; I continue from here to explain its origins, use, and criticisms against it. I incorporate a literature review of the work done by its early practitioners to summarise: the main tenets of the theory, the types of analyses produced at the time, and its relationship to the concept of identity. Second, I provide more detail on the *specific* aspects of regime theory and identity that I adopt in my analysis. I discuss the concept of identity from two perspectives; the first relates identity to the branch of regime theory that advocates it as a useful analytical tool – knowledge-based approaches, and the second perspective looks at identity from the work of more established constructivist scholars in IR. I suggest that regime theory’s knowledge-based branch addressing identity, could do more to *actually incorporate* it in analyses and by establishing a connection to constructivism, I hope to do just that.

Third, after outlining my specific use of regime theory and identity, I outline some of their limitations and ways to address these. Fourth, I bring regime theory and the concept of identity in to the 21st century by showing where they fit in with the academic conversations taking place in contemporary IR studies. Weaving in a literature review, this part of the section addresses the types of studies IR practitioners have done on passports and how they have branched out in to different forms of inquiry focused on new materialism and assemblages. I show that with some methodological additions, regime theory and identity remain relevant components of a framework for analysing the development of Norway’s passport regime.

2.1 Getting to know regime theory

In my preliminary reading for this thesis, I read IR scholar Mark Salter’s book *Rights of Passage; The Passport in International Relations* (2003, referred to as *Rights of Passage* hereon); his presentation of the development of the international passport regime inspired and perplexed me in equal measures. Salter uses the term “regimes” throughout his book, for example: “freedom of movement regime”, “securitized passport regime” and “international passport regime” (2003). By using the term multiple times Salter acknowledges that it means *something*, however one is left wondering exactly *what* that something is. Nowhere in the book

does Salter dedicate a chapter – or even a paragraph for that matter – outlining what he thinks the term “regime” means, or which practitioners have influenced him in his use of it. Although it eventually becomes clear that “regimes” refer to inter-state and inter-institutional agreements on a given aspect of international relations, as well as the administrative, social and political processes that aid their functioning, Salter does not explicitly state this in his book.

In fact, Salter rarely mentions theory in *Rights of Passage*; instead, he chooses to focus on the empirics and history of the international passport regime. He writes – “The management of the passports by the ICAO would seem to support the functionalist theory of technical cooperation...but [this] theory cannot explain why the regime continues to be governed by the ICAO rather than a purpose-built organization” (Salter, 2003, p.85). However, there is no mention of *what* the functionalist theory of technical cooperation entails, or, what alternative explanations exist for why the ICAO continues to govern the international passport regime as opposed to an alternative organisation. These theoretical omissions confused me and made me want to read more about the origins of regime theory and its use.

Regime theory developed in the 1970s and 1980s with most of its early practitioners having North American higher education backgrounds (Haas, Keohane, Krasner, Puchala and Hopkins). In its early days, many IR scholars labelled regime theory a “trend” because it evolved primarily as an offshoot to the mainstream IR theories of liberalism and realism (Verbeek, 2011). Regime theory responded to the changing dynamics of international relations in which cooperation and interdependence existed alongside a global context of the Cold War and subsequent bipolar international relations (Krasner, 1983; Verbeek, 2011). Realist theories could easily explain the polarisation of international relations but struggled to account for why cooperation between states on a transnational level prevailed; it was here that regime theory established its research niche (Krasner, 1983). Questions around who or what facilitated cooperation on certain issues led to the increased importance of institutions, and what role they played in creating, negotiating and maintaining agreements in spite of ideational and political differences. The answers to such questions hoped to expand the nature of inquiry in IR, and went on to form the key tenets of regime theory.

2.2 Regime theory – key tenets and multiple approaches

The basic tenet of regime theory is that regimes matter and make a difference in international relations; the other tenets include its definitions, institutional membership, and three specific approaches that one can adopt in conducting regime analyses. Stephen Krasner (1983) believes regimes matter because they highlight reciprocity between states, which is more than just a result of economic interdependence or of wanting to avoid anarchy in the international community of states. His definition of regimes has remained central to the study; according to him, regimes are the “...principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area...” (1983, p.1). For such procedures, principles, norms and rules to work, there needs to be a prerequisite of international consensus on the importance of the given area – in the case of my research, passports – and on the reasoning for establishing a regime and subsequent institutions to maintain it.

Krasner’s description of regimes came with its limitations, which prompted other early regime theory practitioners to present alternatives; despite differences in definitions, the role of institutions in regime theory remains central. Krasner’s definition is often criticised for being ambiguous because the difference between principles, norms and rules on a practical level is hard to decipher (Hasenclever, Mayer & Rittberger, 1997). In response to this ambiguity, Robert Keohane – another early regime theory scholar, defined regimes in 1989 as “...institutions with explicit rules, agreed upon by governments, that pertain to particular sets of issues in international relations” (in Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.12). He presents regimes and institutions as the same thing, but Krasner (1983) delineates between them and states that regimes *need* institutions to function but they are *not* institutions in themselves. Even though these definitions vary, both agree on the importance of institutions – linking to another tenet of regime theory, which states that institutions and organisations form the administrative structures necessary for regimes to function (Hasenclever et al., 1997). Institutional membership therefore becomes important to states, and acts as a mandatory element of being part of the international community.

Studying international relations from the lens of regime theory can be done from three main approaches, these are power-based, interest-based, and knowledge-based (Hasenclever et al., 1997). Hasenclever et al., (1997) link power-based approaches to realist theories of international regimes in which relative power capabilities and the role of the existing

international hegemon contribute to the way in which states interact and reach consensus on areas of international interest. Power-based approaches have a weak view of the role of institutions in maintaining regimes, a rationalistic meta-theoretical orientation and a state behavioural model concerned with relative gains (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.6). On the other hand, interest-based approaches to the study of regimes fall under the neoliberalist school of thought in which market procedures and institutional bargaining drive states' actions towards regime formation and maintenance (Hasenclever et al., 1997, pp.23-82). Interest-based approaches acknowledge the role of institutions more than power-based approaches, but still give preference to the role of the market as an organiser of international cooperation (Hasenclever et al., 1997). Like power-based approaches, interest-based approaches share a rationalistic meta-theoretical orientation, but have a behavioural model in which states wish to maximise absolute gains and utility from the regimes they establish.

Although I accept that there are absolute and relative gains from states reaching consensus on areas of international concern, I believe that both the interest and power-based approaches focus on regimes at the macro level with little emphasis on the micro, individual units (states) that comprise the regime. Neither the interest, nor power-based approaches to the study of international regimes allow me much scope to explore state identity and different conceptions of this in different times. Therefore, the approach most suited to my study of the Norwegian passport is knowledge-based. Knowledge-based approaches of international regimes refrain from viewing state actions in terms of gains and benefits using variables; they place emphasis on language, interpretation, meaning, and identity. Unlike the power and interest-based approaches, knowledge-based approaches come under the cognitivist school of thought in the study of international regimes (Hasenclever et al., 1997). They have a sociological meta-theoretical orientation and a behavioural model for states that sees them as key role-players. Knowledge-based approaches consider institutionalism a strong aspect of the formation and maintenance of regimes (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.6), emphasising dialogue between actors, and the medium and setting in which this takes place as important. This provides me with the ability to trace how communication between states can constitute the formation, functioning and maintenance of regimes.

2.3 Using regime theory – definition, knowledge-based approaches and variations

My application of regime theory uses Krasner’s definition – “...principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area...” (1983, p.1), and knowledge-based approaches to focus on ideas and state identities. I view passports as the “given area”, and the principles, norms and rules relating to them as drafting the acceptable and preferable forms of international travel and national identity documents (ICAO, 2018). The actors whose expectations converge around this area include the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), foreign states who demand to see passports at airport arrival and departure points, home states who have the responsibility of issuing them, and state inhabitants who apply, pay for, and use them. It is in this sense that regime theory continues to be an applicable and relevant tool for the analysis of passports, and in which knowledge-based approaches allow me to focus on ideas and state identities.

In their review text *Theories of International Regimes* from 1997, Andreas Hasenclever, Peter Mayer and Volker Rittberger develop the knowledge-based approaches to the study of regimes. According to them (1997), knowledge-based approaches can be divided into two strands of academic inquiry – weak and strong cognitivism¹. Both strands aim to address and challenge the shortcomings of mainstream realist and neoliberalist approaches to the analysis of international regimes, but they differ in their stance on the degree to which mainstream analyses should be supplanted or supplemented. Weak cognitivism falls into the latter category; this strand “[attempts] to fill a gap in interest-based theorizing by supplying a theory of interest change” (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.137). Weak cognitivists posit that states always maximise their utility through the interests they pursue but they are less likely to problematize the interest in the first place (Hasenclever et al., 1997).

In contrast, strong cognitivism “[makes] the case for an *alternative* rather than a supplement to extant theorizing about regimes” (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.137, emphasis in original). This strand of knowledge-based approaches to studying international regimes is more likely to problematize the institutions that provide structure to regimes, and the sources of knowledge that states use when reaching agreement on a given area of international concern. Although both strands of cognitivism differ in their analytical focal points, and the degree to

¹ Hasenclever et al., (1997) use the word “cognitivism” interchangeably with “knowledge” and one could easily write cognitive-based approaches as a synonym for knowledge-based approaches.

which these differing focal points should replace or supplement mainstream theoretical perspectives, they do agree that state behaviour depends on the types of knowledge they have on issues of international interest. As Hasenclever et al. write both strands "...share a dissatisfaction with the model of the *homo æconomicus* which informs rationalist theorizing, bringing back...the *homo sapiens* by stressing the knowledge-dependence of international behaviour" (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.136). My understanding of international behaviour related to international regimes lies in between weak and strong cognitivism, and leans slightly more towards the strong strand than the weak.

I agree with both strands that knowledge contributes significantly to regime compliance but I disagree with weak cognitivists that states *always* maximise their utility by complying with norms and rules (Hasenclever et al., 1997). However, unlike strong cognitivists I have not set out to *replace* mainstream theoretical approaches to the study of regimes (Hasenclever et al., 1997). I rarely think that studies which set out to do so live up to such ambitions, but I do accept several of strong cognitivism's key tenets, primarily: there is a power that follows from words and actions being viewed as legitimate, "...international regimes are embedded in the broader normative structures of an international society..." (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.155), and cooperation depends on the importance placed on intersubjective meanings. One difference that stands out most between weak and strong cognitivists is the difference in emphasis they place on the concept of identity. Strong cognitivists regard identity a central part of analysis; they "...subscribe to an ontology which emphasises the dependency of state identities and cognitions on international institutions and [relate] the formation and maintenance of particular international regimes to these pre-established identities" (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.157). The next subsection explains in more detail how regime theory relates to identity.

2.4 Regime theory's relationship to the concept of identity

So far, I have established that my theoretical understanding of regimes leans more towards the strong cognitivist strand of the knowledge-based approaches in the study of international regimes; I move on now to address the types of analytical frameworks I can utilise from this perspective. Hasenclever et al. (1997) outline four approaches to conduct an analysis of international regimes from a strongly cognitivist theoretical perspective; these are: the international society approach, the communicative action approach, the power of identity, and

the power of history approach (pp.167-208). The latter two – identity and history feature throughout my research and analysis. History provides me with a framework to place international regimes in chronological order in a context of both global and national events (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.167). The concept of identity – as outlined in Hasenclever et al., (1997) provides an opportunity to study the individuals that make up states both from the viewpoint of those in power and those under its rule.

Hasenclever et al. (1997) use the work of constructivist scholars like Alexander Wendt to substantiate what the strong cognitivist strand of knowledge-based approaches thinks about the concept of identity. They write (with reference to Wendt), “...identities can be collective...other-regarding...[imply] empathy and solidarity...[or]...identities can be egoistic...self-regarding” (Hasenclever et al., 1997, p.186). They continue – “According to constructivism, foreign policy decisions are governed by both the meanings that states attribute to social objects and their self-understandings...” (p.188). It becomes apparent from this continued reference to constructivism that the strong cognitivist strand of understanding regimes actually borrows its thoughts on identity from other, more established disciplinary trends. I think that strong cognitivism does enough to acknowledge the significance of identity for regimes, but struggles to apply the concept explicitly in regime analyses. Because of this, I believe it is also important to discuss the concept of identity from the better-established perspective of constructivism to fill the knowledge-gap left by the strong cognitivist strand of knowledge-based approaches.

Constructivists argue “...that states can have multiple identities that are socially constructed through interaction with other actors...the identity of a small state implies a set of interests...different from...the identity of a large state...the actions of a state should be aligned with its identity” (Theys, 2017, p.37). I analyse identity in this thesis as being state-based resulting from interactions *between* states using the medium of language. When states agree upon a common language regarding a particular given area, they take action to realise it involving procedures, rules, norms and principles. Identities form when states and individuals can clarify what they are in relation to other individuals and other states.

McEwan (2009) further clarifies “...that the ‘self’ is defined by constructing the ‘other’”. In this sense binary oppositions – although not the only way to view identity formation – are the most logical and functional way of understanding how identities come to exist (Neumann, 1996). Constructivism allows me to understand different periods of change and stasis in relation to

Norway's passport regime because it incorporates change and sees it as an integral part of analysis. Representations of the self and the other are essential in understanding the development of consensus around a given area; it is this consensus that then goes on to lay the foundations of an international regime.

2.5 Addressing limitations of regime theory and identity

Regime theory and the concept of identity – whether presented from the perspective of strong cognitivists in the knowledge-based approach to regime theory, or from the more established approach of constructivism, have their limitations. Bertjan Verbeek (2011) presents regime theory as outdated in the 21st century with many other branches of IR studies – including globalisation and critical international political economy (p.561) supplanting its use. Similarly, MJ Peterson (2012) criticises regime theory's early practitioners for presenting a concept in the guise of a theory. Another limitation that IR scholars have called regime theory out on is its essentially state-centric ontology and its indifference towards problematizing this (Hasenclever et al., 1997; Krasner, 1983; Verbeek, 2011; Young, 2012).

All of these limitations – regime theory's dormant use, questionable status as a theory, and state-centric ontology do not detract from its ability to generate new insights. I believe that there is a continued value in the definitions of the term "regime", and in the work done by regime theory's early practitioners. Additionally, the objective of this thesis is not to test regime theory's theory status, and so it is less important whether one wishes to label it a theory or a concept. Similarly, if I were to problematize regime theory's state-centric ontology I would limit myself in obtaining answers to my research questions. Since I consider regimes to be the *outcome* of discourse and action between states, the working assumption needs to be that states *do* exist and in this sense, a state-centric ontology becomes less of a research limitation and more of a research requirement.

Researching identity can also be problematic because it is a product of discursive developments rooted in specific historical and political locations (Foucault in Hansen, 2006). This rootedness questions the applicability and relevance of identity representations through different time and spatial periods. Hansen (2006) argues that identity analysis through discourse is highly subjective resulting in problems with methodology, and the reduced reliability and replicability of certain interpretations. Hasenclever et al. (1997) also highlight an ambiguity

about the way in which people and states interpret each other; they subsequently question how anyone really knows the true nature of a relationship between actors and identity (pp.190-192). However, I do not perceive these epistemological challenges as limitations because they do not limit what I am able to interpret from my research, they merely suggest that others may not interpret the research in the same way. Given that I aim to *explore* the topic of Norway's passport and passport regime in this research project, I expect and welcome varying interpretations because I am conducting research on a topic that has not been done before in IR studies.

2.6 Relating contemporary IR studies to regime theory and identity

Given some of the limitations of regime theory and identity, one may wonder how the theory and concept can be related to IR studies today; I address this by supplementing them with material culture studies' methodologies and in doing so, exemplify IR's contemporary turn towards "new materialism" and "assemblage thinking" (Acuto & Curtis, 2014; Aradau & Huysmans, 2014). The number of IR studies using material methodologies and perspectives has grown since 2010 having developed from more critical lines of inquiry in IR². In 2011, Steve Smith argued that "...international relations needs to be pluralistic, in the strong sense of valuing different intellectual approaches; not pluralistic in a weaker sense of 'anything goes' ...[it] should...not accept that humanity is moving toward common identities and politics" (pp.781-782). One of the main goals for this thesis is to value different intellectual approaches, but to also take the time to explore, implement and test them to see what types of analyses and insights can result from this. IR's most recent turn towards "new materialism" and "assemblage thinking" (Aradau & Huysmans, 2014) shows greater appreciation for different approaches and a greater willingness to apply them; it is in this disciplinary context that I am able to place my own approach and method.

The works of: Claudia Aradau and Jef Huysmans (2014), Michele Acuto and Simon Curtis (2014), and even Mark Salter (2015; 2016) have incorporated material aspects. In doing so

² The topic of IR theory's history is outside the scope of this thesis, but it is worthwhile knowing that the new materialism and assemblages approaches developed from more critical IR studies dating back to the mid-1990s. During this time, language-oriented approaches grew and so too did the desire to depart from methods that were solely based on positivism.

they show how knowledge can be produced as an assemblage, a term that Acuto and Curtis define as an:

“...approach that is capable of accommodating the various hybrids of material, biological, social and technological components that populate our world...it [encapsulates]...a form of materialism that lays emphasis upon the creative capacities of matter and energy, and the processes that instantiate them...including...social interaction” (2014, p.2).

Aradau and Huysmans (2014) engage their reader in a discussion of the difference between methods and methodology; namely that methods “...are...within worlds and partake in their shaping...[they]...are...performative practices...connecting and assembling fragments of ontology, epistemology, theories, techniques and data...” (p.598). I understand this to be a direct reference to the subject of study and the subject studying it, suggesting an awareness that one needs in positioning themselves in relation to the research, and of being appreciative of the alternative positions that could have been adopted. Stephen Collier (2014) – with reference to vital systems security – explains that assemblages “...characterize a style of inquiry...that [draws] on diverse theoretical resources” (p.33) and has more to do with establishing links between otherwise “...disparate elements” (p.34).

Similarly, Salter’s edited books – *Making Things International 1: Circuits and Motion* (Salter, 2015) and *Making Things International 2: Catalysts and Reactions* (Salter, 2016), try to connect disparate elements. He and his contributing authors show how objects matter in the international, and it is from here that I too take inspiration to the study of Norwegian passports. My understanding of the new materialism and assemblage approaches in IR is that they place more emphasis on the “microscale” (Dittmer, 2017) of international relations, making what has generally been taken for granted the starting point of analysis. I combine this new materialism and assemblage thinking in IR studies with regime theory and the concept of identity to study the development of Norway’s passport regime, whilst simultaneously using appropriate methods of studying and presenting the material.

3. Methods

This section adds to ideas established in section 2, which presented regime theory and identity as the main theory and concept used to analyse the historical development of Norway's passport regime. Section 2 highlighted one branch of contemporary IR studies in the form of the turn towards the material, and discussed the works of Salter (2015; 2016) on new materialism and Aradau and Huysmans (2014) on assemblages as examples of this material turn. I demonstrate in this section that by applying material culture studies' methodologies to an analysis of Norway's passport regime (already using identity and regime theory) can make it a part of contemporary IR's material turn.

First, the section outlines my positionality in relation to the subject of study, and explains my reasons for choosing Norway as the study site. Second, I present qualitative research and include relevant literature to show how I took a qualitative approach: in the formation of my research questions, use of sampling techniques, use of semi-structured interviews (SSIs), and archival research to fit the purpose of this study (Nygaard, 2017). Third, the section outlines in detail what material culture studies are, and specifies the approaches I used when analysing Norway's passport regime – namely, object-centred and object-driven analysis (Open University, 2016). Fourth, I address my study's limitations regarding methods and the research process; I state the ethical concerns I took into consideration and the guidelines I followed to limit these. By stating clearly: what my relation to the research topic was, what my objectives were, which methods I used and how, and what limitations I experienced, I hope to be as transparent and consistent as possible (Nygaard, 2017) in the presentation of my findings and analysis.

3.1 Positionality and reflexivity – me, myself and Norway

Stating positionality in relation to one's research topic, and vice versa – of the research topic in relation to the researcher, helps maintain transparency during the research process (Nygaard, 2017). Similarly, reflexivity is "...a critical feature of visual research" (Mitchell, 2011, p.5) and part of being able to engage with the material that one has selected – whether it be a physical object or an image of the object. Combined, positionality and reflexivity provide me with permission to include myself in all the interpretations. I am British, my upbringing,

schooling, and life experiences during formative years have all been British³. Not being Norwegian means my ability to understand the nuances of Norwegian culture will naturally be less than that of a native. However, a degree of cultural “oversight” is inevitable and applies to anyone conducting research on a cultural topic outside the realm of his or her immediate own. I dismiss this inevitability as having a limitation on my ability to be insightful about the historical development of Norway’s passport regime, and its impacts on both external and internal conceptions of Norwegian identity.

Although I view Norway from the eyes of an outsider, I do benefit from speaking the Norwegian language and this has made being able to access, read, understand and cross-examine original source material much easier. My ability to speak Norwegian served me well when I communicated with Norwegian academics, individuals in public institutions, and bureaucrats. Reflecting on this with hindsight, I believe I signified my willingness to use a language which was not my own, and in turn, I remain certain that this made it easier for those I spoke to to tell me information which they may have felt more reserved about had I spoken English. Presenting myself in this way reflects two other things; the first is my flexible approach to research methods, and the second is the plurality of what I consider valid knowledge forms in IR. My aim for this thesis is to neither test a grand theory, nor create a new one. Instead, I explore alternative *methods* as a supplement to existing theory and concepts – regime theory and identity, to see what types of insight I can get from this. By doing so, I hope to show the continued relevance of regime theory and identity in IR in the twenty-first century.

In IR, I am a proponent of analytical eclecticism using pluralist approaches and understandings – I find it limiting to prescribe myself to just one particular research or theoretical tradition. My combination of theory, concept and methods attempts to reflect the complexity of issues surrounding identity, materiality and states, and I explore them using the case of Norway. I chose Norway as the study site for three main reasons; the first of these relates to practicality. I am a mother of two children and the day-to-day responsibilities of family life determined very early on in my research plan that the study site had to be Norway since travel

³ I recognise that the term “British” is loaded with both individual and stereotypical views of what “Britishness” actually means. This thesis does not attempt to define the term “British” because this falls outside its scope; however, on a personal level being British is very much about my life experiences, and the nationality and identity that I gravitate towards most. The latter two of these concepts are conveniently documented and represented in the materiality of my own passport.

beyond this was unfeasible. Feasibility was the second thing I considered when selecting Norway as the study site because I had easier access: to archives, bureaucrats and individuals in public institutions. Finally, I chose Norway as opposed to another small state because the topic of passports and passport regimes was, and remains, unstudied in this country. Although this has been challenging in terms of finding relative secondary source material, it has also provided me with an opportunity to create an original piece of work using mostly primary sources.

3.2 Qualitative research – research questions, semi-structured interviews, and archives

It is worthwhile here restating the main and sub-research questions as a reminder (to both the reader and myself) of the overall aims of this research:

Main RQ:

- How has the historical and contemporary development of Norway's passport regime been affected by the development of the international passport regime, and what does this reveal about Norway's state identity as well as its relations with other states in a context of interplaying national and international processes?

Sub-RQs:

1. What have been the legal, administrative, and practical components of Norway's passport regime?
2. How has Norway engaged with and responded to the international passport regime?
3. How can we interpret changes in the materiality of Norway's passport between the periods 1920 to present day 2019, and 2020 onwards, as being indicative of changes to Norway's state identity?

I have formulated my research questions from a qualitative research tradition; research question 1 is descriptive relying on my "...own data [and] observations" (Nygaard, 2017, p.22), whereas questions 2 and 3 are more analytical and interpretive (Nygaard, 2017, p.22). Adopting qualitative research methods allowed me to explore a specific case in detail (Bryman, 2016), and because qualitative research employs non-probability sampling, I was able to select units of analysis based on their applicability and suitability to my research questions (Walliman, 2006; Bryman, 2016). Given that qualitative research is less about generalising from a particular case to a larger subset of the population (Bryman, 2016), I took the case of Norway and highlighted

its individual attributes and characteristics in a very specific context (Bryman, 2016) – or, as what Dittmer (2017) would refer to as analysing the “microscale”.

I employed a non-probability, fixed purposive sampling strategy focused at the unit-level (Bryman, 2016). My approach was non-linear; I started out knowing what it was that I wished to study – the materiality of passports, and then worked backwards to establish a study site, formulate research questions, and select relevant theory, concepts and methods for analysis. Having established Norway as the study site for various pragmatic reasons, it followed that my units of analysis were Norwegian passports; since the international passport regime originated in 1920, I wanted to initially find Norwegian passports from 1920 (or thereabouts) to present day 2019⁴. I must make it clear here that although a number of passport categories exist in Norway, for example: emergency passports, diplomatic passports, temporary passports etc. (Politiet, 2019), I aimed only to collect copies of standard passports which all Norwegian citizens are eligible to apply for, and which are valid for a period of up to 10 years (Passloven, 2019). I justified this choice in the interest of maintaining consistency in the units of analysis, and to open up my request for passports to as many people as possible in the hopes of increasing participation.

Due to initial concerns over the number of people that would be interested in participating, I did not set a limit on the number of passports that I wanted to sample; instead I focused on ways of publicising my research as clearly and concisely as possible. I knew from the onset that many people would have reservations about showing me a personal identity document such as their passport. One of the first steps I took in October 2018 was to create a research poster in Norwegian outlining the scope of my research and providing contact details should anyone be interested in taking part (see Appendix I). I put this poster up in different parts of my local area, but after several weeks of waiting without a single response, I forwarded the request to my supervisor Katharina Glaab whose help proved instrumental in obtaining original passports.

At the same time as designing the research poster, I developed a research information sheet also in Norwegian (Appendix II) to provide detailed information about what each

⁴ It would later become clear in my research that a wealth of public information is also available on the Norwegian passport scheduled to be issued in 2020. I go into more detail about the materiality of this passport in section 4. Findings and Analysis, and section 5. Discussion.

participant could expect during the research process, and how I would handle the research data. During the development of this sheet, an advisor at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) gave me a significant amount of feedback on its content and structure. Given that my research topic comes across personal information, I was obliged to register my study with the NSD and make several drafts of this research information sheet before approval. In December 2018 the research information sheet finally met all of the NSD's criteria for ethically handling personal data and was approved. This officially gave me the green light to continue collecting primary data in the form of Norwegian passports.

With my supervisor's help, I obtained one positive lead about a potential research participant in February 2019; with that lead's participation I managed to fulfil the material elements of research in my thesis. Upon receiving the passports, I conducted an object-centred and object-driven analysis (Open University, 2017), redacted personal images and information on the spot, and made colour copies which were then stored securely in accordance with the NSD's rules about personal information storage. I conducted semi-structured interviews (SSIs) – another qualitative research method – with those who participated in a *very* informal manner. The degree of flexibility that SSIs have (Bryman, 2016) suited the nature of my flexible, open-ended and exploratory inquiry into the history of Norway's passport regime. I allowed participants to take the lead on sharing any information they thought would be relevant to my study, and anything that I had not previously considered in my research often became the probe for further discussion on the topic.

Unfortunately, given the lack of response to my initial requests for research participation, exploring Norwegians' subjective understandings and meanings in relation to their passport has not been an avenue of research that I have been able to go down. However, this can definitely be a research option in the future with more focused interviews conducted with people who are more interested in talking about their passport. In addition to conducting informal interviews with willing research participants, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with bureaucrats and individuals involved in the processes of making and issuing passports. I conducted the interviews face to face at both the Norges Bank (Bank of Norway) and Politidirektoratet (the Police Directorate) in Oslo primarily because of a lack of response to my initial email requests for information. Once I established who the relevant contacts were at both of these state

institutions, I asked any follow-up questions I had via email and this proved to be the most productive and effective use of time and resources.

I supplemented SSIs with another qualitative research technique in the form of archival research; I wanted to make sure that I was exhausting all possible resources in my efforts to find information related to the history of Norway's passport regime. Between October and November 2018 I contacted institutions in Norway which I believed would hold copies of old Norwegian passports – Politidirektoratet (the Police Directorate) and the Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet (Ministry of Justice and Public Security - MJP, under which the Police Directorate operates). Given that the police in Norway has long had the responsibility of processing passport applications (Politiet, 2019), and the MJP has worked extensively since the 1990s to revise Norway's Passport Law (Passloven), it came as a huge surprise that neither of these institutions had an archive holding passports or passport copies.

When I asked members of these institutions why this was the case, I was told that old passports had to be destroyed for security reasons primarily for fear of identities being stolen, or for old passport formats being copied and then sold fraudulently (M. Thuv & A. Yttri, personal communication, November 14th 2018). It seemed somewhat unlikely that a person would benefit from copying a passport from the 1970s for example, and then selling it illegally – identity documents from that time (or even earlier) are simply not valid for travel in accordance with the international passport regime's guidelines as outlined by the ICAO (ICAO, 2019)⁵. Thankfully, I had more success at the Riksarkivet (National Archives) in Oslo in obtaining original source material about the historical development of Norway's passport and passport regime.

Although the Riksarkivet does not hold originals, or copies of original passports, it does hold a wealth of information about Norway's Passport Law (Passloven) and the circumstances surrounding its development. Once I obtained access to the relevant documents concerning Norway's Passport Law, I scanned the necessary material and conducted a thorough object-centred and object-driven analysis (Open University, 2017) of it in relation to my research questions. My choice of mixing qualitative research methods in this way was to ensure the triangulation of sources and my interpretation of them. I did this to see if what participants told

⁵ Somewhat ironically however, is the fact that there is a wealth of public information available about the Norwegian passport that is scheduled to be issued in 2020 – right down to the very specific technical aspects that will make it one of the most difficult travel documents to copy (Gemalto, 2018). I still struggle to understand the logic behind this.

me matched up with the historical and archival documents; in doing so, I maintained transparency in my findings (Bryman, 2016; Nygaard, 2017). This was an especially important consideration given that my methods still remains somewhat unorthodox in the turn towards the material in contemporary IR scholarship. Outlining the processes and methods I used as clearly as possible will hopefully justify my interpretations of the raw data "...given the theoretical [and conceptual] framework" (Nygaard, 2017, p.139) already established.

3.3 Methods to study the material

The passport is a material object, it is a thing that one can touch and hold, a booklet that a person must have if they wish to travel abroad, or if they wish to possess a legitimate identity document at home. It is precisely this tangibility and materiality of passports that drew me to them as a potential topic of further study. Claudia Mitchell (2011) writes "...the analysis of material objects offers the possibility of theorizing abstract concepts in a grounded manner...expanding the possibilities of what counts as evidence in research" (p.35), it was from here that I began researching more into the methodologies for studying them. Methodologies to study material objects come under the umbrella term "material culture studies". The term itself fits onto the wider spectrum of qualitative research approaches, but remains less used in IR despite contemporary turns towards the material. The remainder of this section provides more detail about what material culture studies are, how I have specifically used them in my analysis of original data, and touches upon some of the methodological and ethical limitations that I experienced along the way.

Material culture studies seek to "...understand societies, both past and present, through careful study and observation of the physical or material objects generated by those societies" (Open University, 2016, p.10). The emphasis is very much on people's relationships with their physical surroundings, something that is perhaps taken-for-granted or ignored in everyday lives. Material culture studies allow me to think about the life cycle of the Norwegian passport in relation to being one part of a much bigger, international passport regime – "...throughout their existence [objects] are subjected to wider forces in the world that help to shape their destinies" (Open University, 2016, p.13). In "...the world of things that people make...purchase or possess..." (Berger, 2014, p.16), the study of the material's content and context opens up an

analysis revolving around the value of the object in *itself*, and of this being equally important to studies of it using theories and concepts.

The things we surround ourselves with have an ability to say more about us than we initially think and material culture studies present an opportunity to delve into the otherwise mundane, everyday objects people tend to ignore. As a practice, material culture studies can help map the relationship one has between an object and themselves, and the different time and spatial contexts these relationships occur in; Figure 1 is how I visually interpret this relationship to function:

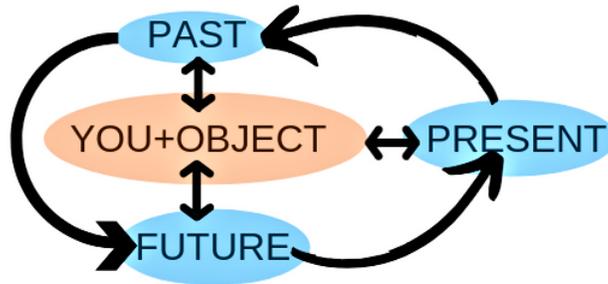


Figure 1. Visual representation of the relationship between a subject and an object in past, present and future contexts. Adapted using information from Berger (2014).

In the middle of this relationship, one finds them self and the object, surrounding it are the contexts of past, present, and future. The relationship one has with an object will always be different because of the varying contexts in which this relationship takes place; it will also always be different because of how each individual context has, is, or will affect the other contexts (Berger, 2014). In this sense, one is able to see the life cycle of not only objects, but of the interplaying relationships people have with them and their materiality.

It is difficult to pinpoint an exact date for the development of material culture studies but there is general agreement among scholars that the method evolved from traditional history and archaeology (Hicks & Beaudry, 2010). Since the 20th century, material culture studies have been used primarily in the social sciences and humanities (Berger, 2014); its interdisciplinary nature (Berger, 2014; Hicks & Beaudry, 2010; Mitchell, 2011; Open University, 2016) provides the type of adaptability I need when answering my research questions. Material culture studies focus on representation and interpretation – essentially making a distinction between what we *think* is knowledge and what *actually* is knowable (Berger, 2014). Andrew Jones and Nicole Boivin

(2010) highlight the ability of material objects to have an agency of their own with which they can affect the social world.

Passports exemplify this; people in the social world created them, agreed upon their legitimacy as a formal identification document when crossing international borders, and continue to use them for this purpose in present day 2019 – their possession therefore becomes valuable in itself. This turn towards the value of the material – in both IR and other social sciences also seeks to challenge the emphasis that social science and humanities have placed on the preference and prevalence of text as the legitimate method and presentation of knowing. Jones and Boivin (2010) write that there is “...a heavily linguistic-oriented...academic climate...” (p.335) which has overshadowed the value of studying the material and presenting it either in its original material format, or in the form of an image presenting it as I have chosen to do.

Because material culture studies focus on images and non-verbal communication more than other methodologies (Epstein, Stevens, McKeever & Baruchel, 2006), they tap into another part of the human brain which is significant for our cognition of phenomena (Remley, 2016). The human brain processes images and objects differently to the way it processes words; more specifically, it has to work harder to generate meaning from words alone because connections between words first need to be established before any meaning can. In contrast, the brain views images in their entirety making more energy available for meaning making and interpretation tasks (Remley, 2016). In their studies, David Bate (2010) and Douglas Harper (2002) show that looking at images and objects delves deeper into the human consciousness which helps people jog their memories – both in terms of building memories, and remembering ones they already had which aids in making meaning.

Therefore using images and objects in a study that aims to address a state’s identity on both a national and international level, is extremely helpful because it becomes clear that people come to associate more with images and objects, than they do with words. I hope that this will provide more insight into what the Norwegian passport could represent to people that have it, and what they think the images in it represent, and how this may have changed through time. As Mitchell (2011) states, there is an “...interpretive potential of working with the mute evidence of artefacts and written documents” (p.49), I too wish to highlight this potential and give a voice to things which would otherwise remain silent. It is through an object’s materiality that different voices in academic conversations about the social world can heed different insights.

3.4 Using material culture approaches

As mentioned earlier in the “Theoretical and conceptual framework” of this thesis, several of the studies on physical objects in the social sciences – in IR in particular – have failed to provide visuals of the objects they study, literally presenting half the picture. Even Salter in his most recent edited works – *Making Things International 1 and 2* (2015; 2016) features a *total* of only 14 images out of a potential 733 pages worth of usable publishing space to display images of the objects being studied in the books. Given that the aim of these books is to highlight IR’s turn towards the study of the material, I view Salter’s and his contributing authors’ choice to predominantly use words to communicate that which is essentially a visual and sensory experience a significant methodological oversight. The lack of consideration for the use of images overshadows the nature of objects as things which are meant to be seen (Mitchell, 2011), any discussion of them should therefore have their visual characteristics displayed.

My use of material culture studies rectifies this oversight by including images of the passports I analysed. Since I cannot present the original passports as part of my thesis, I hope that visuals of them alongside explanatory text will help to bridge the sensory gap in the way that research on material objects is communicated. In addition to presenting the passports visually, I have employed two other methods of studying material objects – the object-centred and object-driven approaches (Open University, 2016). Object-centred approaches focus on the “...specific physical attributes of the object...[and aim] to describe [it]...” (Open University, 2016, p.11) in its entirety. The object-driven approach “...shifts towards an emphasis on understanding how objects relate to the peoples and cultures that make and use them...ideas about contextualisation and function become...important.” Both of these approaches help me place the Norwegian passport regime individually at different historical times, but simultaneously help me see it as part of a much larger international passport regime. Arthur Berger writes in his book – *What Objects Mean: An Introduction to Material Culture* (2014) that “...nothing has meaning in itself...an object’s meaning always derives from the network of relations in which it is imbedded” (p.55).

It is in this network of relations that my mixed-methods qualitative research approach also exemplifies the definition of assemblages as explained by Acuto and Curtis (2014) –

“...the various hybrids of material, biological, social and technological components that populate our world...it [encapsulates]...a form of materialism that lays emphasis upon the creative

capacities of matter and energy, and the processes that instantiate them...including...social interaction” (2014, p.2).

The semi-structured interviews I conducted with bureaucrats and public institution members, the hours I spent searching archives both in person and online, and the object-driven and object-centred analyses I conducted on the passports obtained, all combine to make an assemblage of different knowledge sources. I explore these different knowledge sources further in my “Findings and analysis”, but before then I highlight some of the ethical considerations and limitations I encountered during the research process for this thesis.

3.5 Ethical considerations and limitations

In accordance with the extensive guidelines from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD, 2018) about the appropriate use of personal information from research participants, I have made sure that none of the images presented in my analysis contain identifiable traces of the passport holder, and that all personal information has been redacted. This maintains the primary ethical principal of doing no harm to research participants (Bryman, 2016; Nygaard, 2017). In the interest of doing no harm, all the original passport copies containing information of the passport holders have been shredded and disposed of accordingly making sure that nobody else has access to them. I have obtained the correct permission to reproduce images which I have not taken myself, and have referenced the original sources correctly. I have handled all personal communication professionally, and have obtained consent to use the information from this communication in my thesis to avoid any problems about this at a later stage in the research.

During the many months of research for this thesis, the main limitations I encountered were getting access to original documents and having to manage a lack of interest from potential participants to follow-through with participation. I was, and remain baffled by the institutional indifference to archiving old Norwegian passports as examples of Norway’s material history. I understand and accept reasons for this in relation to protecting personal information and identity, but there is also a possibility for blank passport booklets (not containing biographical data) to be archived – yet this is not considered valid archival material. Several of the questions I asked about the passport’s production methods since 1920 were dismissed by many of the bureaucrats and public institution members I spoke to. My aim with these questions was to understand more about the technological changes the passport’s production had undergone in different periods.

Individuals at the Bank of Norway (Norges Bank) – whose Printing Press (Seddeltrykkeriet) had printed Norwegian passports up until 2003 (Ravnsborg-Gjertsen & Sporastøyl, 2007), and individuals currently working with the production of Norwegian passports at Gemalto, informed me that this information was classified and therefore not available to the public (A. Yttri, personal communication, November 14th 2018; Gemalto, personal communication, January 2nd 2019).

Because of this institutional indifference to either talking about the processes of producing passports, or documenting and storing old Norwegian passports, I had to expand my search to the public at large something which proved hit-and-miss in obtaining participants. The main problem that I experienced with both institutions and individuals was convincing them of the value of my research – of the potential for the materiality of the Norwegian passport to reveal more than just its appearance. Any initial desires from potential participants to take part eventually fizzled out leaving me to ask for much-needed help from my supervisor. Fortunately, with her help I eventually managed to obtain Norwegian passports and copy them. These gave me the images I needed to form the material part of my study upon which I based a substantial part of my analysis where I interpreted potential meanings and representations.

Some may choose to argue that my interpretations of the passport's meanings and representations are just that – *mine*, and this subjectivity could be viewed as detracting from the merit of the research methods and analysis – in other words, is it all just speculation that one thing links to another? In short, I hope not, I have been clear in this thesis – from the formulation of my research questions, to the use of theory and concepts, and methods used, that my aim is to explore and supplement *existing* research practices in IR. My interpretations are justified given my research design (Nygaard, 2017) and this detracts from them being mere speculation. I discuss what these interpretations are and how they provide potential answers to my research questions in the following section.

4. Findings and analysis

This part of the thesis presents findings and analysis from two main categories of information. The first category consists of my background reading on Norway's history since independence in 1814 to present day 2019, and on the history and development of the international passport regime. I select specific events in Norway's history that have affected the formation of its state identity⁶, and I use these events to form the historical and contemporary context for understanding the points I make about identity in the rest of the analysis. I group these events under the following headings: "Independence, peaceful foreign policy, and recognition-seeking – 1814-1914"; "Internal political uncertainty, regional integration, and newfound wealth – 1914-1980", and "European doubts, peace role, and conservative concerns – 1980-present day 2019".

In this first category I also discuss the history and development of the international passport regime since 1920 because this allows me to branch out to a macro-level analysis in which I am able to build a context for the development of Norway's own passport regime. The second category of information from which I present my findings and analysis is my own research. I put material culture studies methods into practice and use the genre conventions (Nygaard, 2017) of object-centred and object-driven approaches (Open University, 2016) to demonstrate how the materiality of the Norwegian passport in conjunction with the processes surrounding it, on international and national levels reveal broader changes to representations of Norwegian political, economic and social identity.

4.1 The impact of historical events on Norway's state identity

4.1.1 Independence, peaceful foreign policy, and recognition-seeking – 1814-1914

In the one hundred years between 1814 and 1914, a number of pivotal events changed Norway's developmental trajectory from being that of a territory under Danish rule, to a territory in search of internationally recognised sovereignty within a community of international states. Officially known as the Kingdom of Norway, Norway originally spent centuries under the rule of the Danish crown (Lange, 2005). Historical conflicts between Sweden and Denmark resulted in

⁶ I realise that several national and international events will be overlooked in my presentation of Norwegian history. However, the task of this thesis is not to present a complete overview of Norway's history and its relations with other states; I believe that my grouping of historical events under the headings specified reflect information logically within the scope of my research aims.

the signing of the Treaty of Kiel in January 1814, which ceded the territory of Norway to Sweden. Less than six months later in May 1814, Norway declared its independence and formulated a constitution – Grunnloven (literally translating to “the founding/base law” in English). Despite this declaration of independence in May 1814, Norway remained in a political union with Sweden until 1905 (Leira, 2015). After 1905, the political union disbanded and Norway sought to: peacefully establish its own foreign policy (Leira, 2015), have peaceful relations with its regional Nordic neighbours, and pursue a strategy of recognition-seeking within an international community of sovereign states (Leira, 2015).

At the onset of the First World War in 1914, Norway – still a young state, had maintained peaceful relations with its neighbours Sweden and Denmark, and had established economic and politically meaningful relationships with Britain. Despite the tumultuous nature of the relationship between Norway, Sweden and Denmark in the past, Norway wished to stand out as a peaceful state (Leira, 2015) utilising the similar language foundations between the countries to further communication and establish trade and travel relations. At the beginning of the 20th century, Norway had also developed economic and political relationships with Britain whose maritime resources had been particularly appealing. Although Norway, along with the other Scandinavian states maintained an official discourse of neutrality during the First World War (Haugevik, 2015), its economic relationship with Britain meant that it *de facto* functioned as a neutral ally.

Britain remained an economically and symbolically significant figure for Norway during the war (Haugevik, 2015). When the war ended, Norway resumed its strategy of recognition-seeking (Leira, 2015) which consisted of asserting its presence in different international arenas (Haugevik, 2015). Its first real opportunity to do this was as a founding member of the League of Nations (LoN) in 1920. Since the LoN acted as a catalyst for several international transit-related issues and transit-related documents – essentially laying the foundations for the international regime of passports – I dedicate an entire sub-section to it (4.2). The following part continues to present key events in Norway’s history between 1914 and 1980, which have affected the formation of its state identity.

4.1.2 Internal political uncertainty, regional integration, and newfound wealth – 1914-1980

At the end of the First World War in 1918, Norway resumed its political strategy of recognition-seeking (Leira, 2015) and aimed at developing its small economy; simultaneously, social and community welfare became areas of national interest (Lange, 2005). In 1929 the Great Depression hit Norway's economy badly as it did in much of Europe; the period up until 1935 saw a series of short-lived ruling governments (Liberals, Farmer's Party, and Conservatives) attempting to bring political stability to the deteriorating social and economic conditions (Lange, 2005). In 1935, the Norwegian Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet) took power under the leadership of Johan Nygaardsvold who remained in office until after the Second World War. During WW2 Norway was under Nazi German occupation; this ended in 1945 when the war came to an end and a Labour Party-led government re-focused the state's political, economic and social goals (Lange, 2005, pp.153-154, my translation)⁷. After occupation ended with the end of the Second World War, a Labour Party-led government. All this concurrently took place in a greater global context of growing bipolar geopolitics and Cold War international relations.

In contrast, on a regional level, post-WW2 Europe witnessed greater political and economic integration with the development of the Council of Europe in 1951 and the European Coal and Steel Company in 1952; these initiatives highlighted the significance of cooperation and reciprocity and extended to Scandinavia where Norway formed part of a similar regional initiative. Norway along with Sweden, Denmark and Iceland agreed to form the Nordic Council (Nordisk Rådet) in 1952, which was then officially inaugurated in 1953 (Lange, 2005). Behind the official discourse of regional security, trade and cooperation, the Nordic Council highlighted the "...common cultural background...almost common language...religion...and... legal tradition...[as hallmarks] of Scandinavian association..." (Dolan, 1959, p.513). In 1954, the Nordic Council developed the Nordic Passport Union (NPU); this facilitated greater regional movement by minimising border checks for Scandinavian citizens at border controls (Lange, 2005). The NPU signals not only a major regional development, but also a major development for Norway's passport regime forcing it to rectify its Passport Law (Passloven) which had essentially remained unchanged since Norway's time under Danish rule (Norway's Public

⁷ I have chosen to avoid going into too much detail on the topic of Norway during the Second World War because it is just too immense to address within the scope of this thesis.

Reports, the Passport Law, [Norges Offentlige Utredninger, Passlov], 1994, The National Archives [Riksarkivet], accessed January 11th 2019).

At the onset of the 1960s, national attention in Norway turned to questions of further integration with the European Economic Community (EEC); concurrently, increased exploration in the North Sea discovered oil (Norwegian Petroleum, 2019) which proved profitable and rapidly changed Norway's economic standing to that of a very wealthy state. In 1962 and 1967, Norway made applications to join the EEC but was vetoed by France on both bids (Sirevåg, 2014, p.21, my translation); it made a third application for EEC membership in 1970 (Sirevåg, 2014, p.21, my translation) but this too was unsuccessful. Whilst Norway continued its membership applications to the EEC, public discontentment from political youth organisations grew towards the idea of membership (Sirevåg, 2014, p.22, my translation). By the end of the 1970s, this public discontentment evolved into a strong anti-European sentiment. Given the immense amount of wealth Norway had accrued from its oil exports, and the complex politics of oil that had developed around the natural resource, many people had reasonable doubts about Norway's economic obligations to the EEC should its applications be successful (Benum, 2005; Witoszek, 2009).

4.1.3 European doubts, peace role, and conservative concerns – 1980-present day 2019

In the 1980s, concerns about an oil-dependent economy and Norwegian membership of the EEC intensified; high rates of national unemployment (Benum, 2005) and economic struggles defined the decade as did Norway's increased involvement in United Nations (UN)-led global peacekeeping missions (Benum, 2005, p.108, my translation). Involvement in these missions developed Norway's identity as a peace-loving state deeply invested in upholding UN-developed standards of international justice and law – standards that most sovereign states prescribed to (Leira, 2015, pp.33-38). Undertaking international action in the interest of preserving peace and democracy reinforced Norway's role as a peaceful member of the international community of sovereign states (de Carvalho & Lie, 2015).

These conceptions of Norwegian state identity continued throughout the 1990s and early 2000s; the period: defined Norway as an internationally visible peace-broker, a continued member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), and eventual signatory of the Schengen Agreement (which had repercussions for the Nordic Passport Union and Norway's

Passport Law). In 1993, Norway instigated the Oslo peace process between the Israeli government and Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) (Benum, 2005) – a huge endeavour for an otherwise small state. Norway successfully played the role of peace-broker, and became a logical site for peace negotiations because of its existing identity as a peace-loving state having issued the Nobel Peace Prize since 1905 and having continuously upheld international law (de Carvalho & Neumann, 2015). In 1994, the Norwegian public voted against Norway's fourth application for European Union (EU) membership in a referendum, and since then Norway has not made any further applications for membership (Sirevåg, 2014, p.24, my translation).

Despite not being an EU member, Norway has opened up its borders since 1995 in accordance with the Schengen Agreement. The agreement has naturally had repercussions for Norway's own Passport Law and for the Nordic Passport Union since a number of other Nordic Council members have also become EU members⁸. As of 2019, Norway continues to be a member of the UN, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and EFTA. A conservative-led government since October 2013 has made both Norway's border controls and immigration policies stricter (Regjeringen, 2019) reflecting growing nationalist sentiments (arguably mirroring those in much of Europe at present). These inter-state and inter-organisational relations demonstrate Norway's state identity as being willing to negotiate and be involved in international areas. One such area of international interest (Krasner, 1983) where Norway has been eager to get involved in is the development of the international passport regime in 1920; it is to this topic that the thesis now turns to.

4.2 The development of an international regime of passports

At present, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) regulates and recommends changes to international travel based on: changes to international security, technological advances, and global migration patterns (ICAO, 2018). ICAO works under the UN as a specialised agency (ICAO, 2018) and has set standards for passports since 1920 because it views them as an integral part of international travel for both states and individuals. The ICAO's precursor (ICAO, 2018) was the International Commission for Air Navigation (ICAN), which worked under the League of Nations from 1919. ICAN first converged states' expectations on passports, international travel and valid documentation for travel at a conference in Paris in 1920.

⁸ Sweden and Denmark are currently also members of the EU as well as the Nordic Council.

At the International Conference on Passports, Customs Formalities and Through Tickets, League of Nations member states – including Norway – signed the “Convention Relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation” (Salter, 2003). Under the LoN, ICAN worked as the first regulatory institution with the primary goal of monitoring and coordinating international air transport (ICAO, 2018). ICAN’s key focus was to establish inter-state consensus about what international air transport should look like, and which documents should facilitate this travel. Simultaneously, ICAN served as an administrative body and a site for negotiation where states could go to discuss issues surrounding air transport (e.g. Article 37 of the “Convention Relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation”). One part of the regulation of aerial navigation involved standardising travel documents and this resulted in the first international recommendations for passports’ formats and content – a development of the norms, principles and rules (Krasner, 1983) for the appearance of passports. The following extract from one of the conference’s preparatory documents illustrates this standardisation:

“The establishment of a uniform type of “ ordinary ” passport (non-diplomatic). (“ international type, ”) which will be identical for all countries, in order to facilitate control during the journey (model as per Annex I), to be issued at the latest by July 1st, 1921, and to supersede all other types” (Original League of Nations document, United Nations Archives Geneva, retrieved 05.03.2019 from https://biblio-archiv.unog.ch/Dateien/CouncilMSD/C-641-M-230-1925-VIII_EN.pdf)

As part of this desire for greater standardisation, ICAN recommended LoN member states throughout the 1920s to adopt a passport format largely based on the British passport’s format from the same time. Figure 2 displays this standard format:

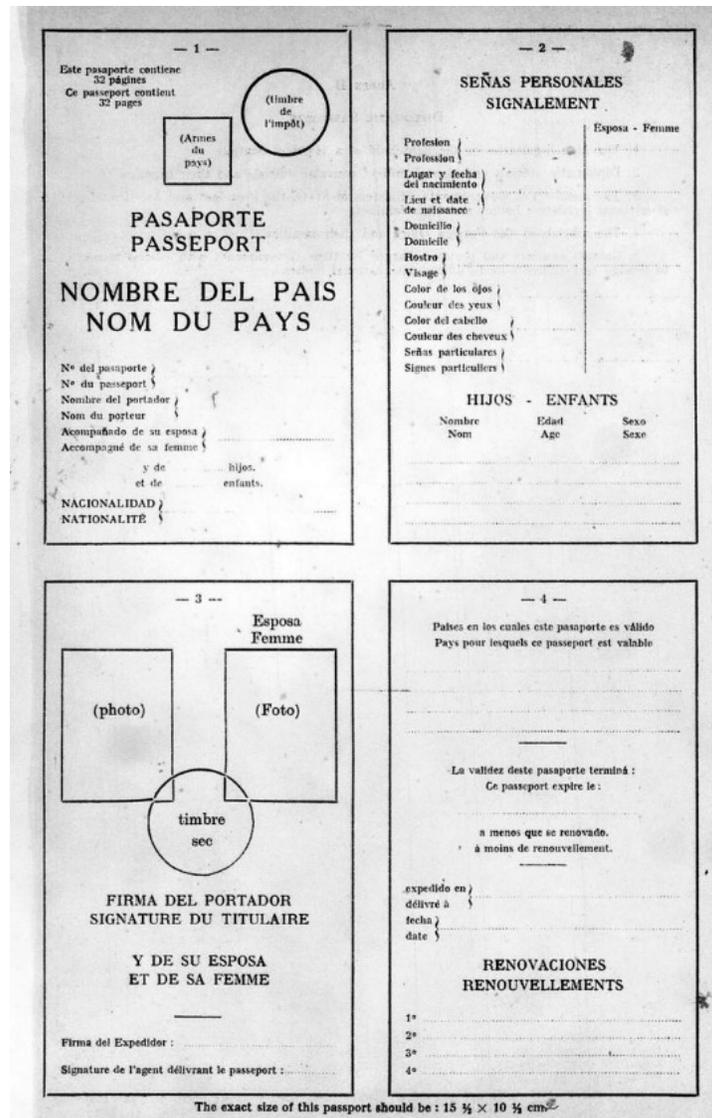


Figure 2. Standard passport format recommended at the International Conference on Passports, Customs Formalities and Through Tickets, 1920. Source credit: United Nations Archives Geneva, retrieved 05.04.2019 from https://biblio-archiv.unog.ch/Dateien/CouncilMSD/C-641-M-230-1925-VIII_EN.pdf

Throughout the remainder of the 1920s, ICAN periodically held conferences and conventions to monitor member states' actions regarding the passport recommendations; by 1929 it had officially adopted the term "international regime of passports" to refer to passports as an area of international interest (UN Archives Geneva, 2019). Conferences were held in Geneva in 1926 and 1929 with the years in between spent monitoring and negotiating with member states

their progress towards an international, standard passport format. Figure 3 shows how the term “regime” became part of the League of Nations’ official discourse on the issue of passports:

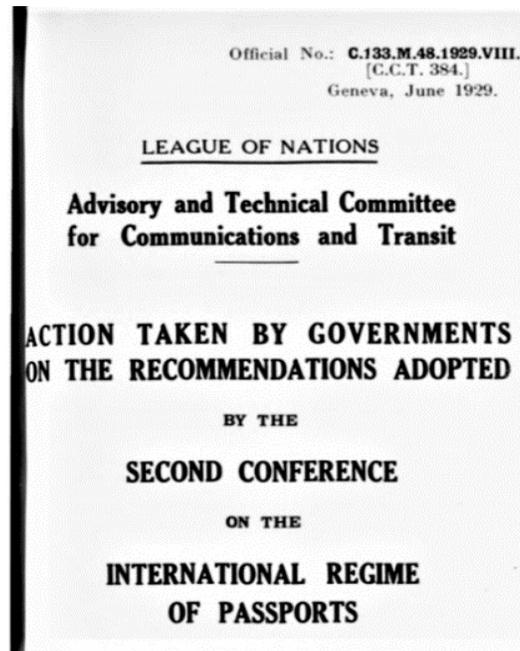


Figure 3. Front cover of a League of Nations Publication from 1929 updating member states about progress towards reaching an international passport format. Source credit: United Nations Archives Geneva, retrieved 05.04.2019 from https://biblio-archiv.unog.ch/Dateien/CouncilMSD/C-133-M-48-1929-VIII_EN.pdf

The international passport regime’s administrative structures exemplify tenets of regime theory outlined by Krasner (1983) – namely that regimes *need* institutions to help them function, and membership in these institutions matters for states. In the case of the international passport regime (of which Norway is a part), the institution that maintained its function from 1920-1944 was the International Commission for Air Navigation (ICAN). Having originally worked under the auspices of the League of Nations, ICAN became absorbed into the UN framework in 1944 when the League of Nations began to dissolve. In 1944, ICAN evolved into ICAO; ICAO continues to monitor civil aviation matters and periodically recommends standards and practices to member states (ICAO, 2019). This pattern of organisational structure, issue-area, and institutions needed to manage them all feed into each other with states playing the role of interested actors. Having established how the international passport regime developed, the next sub-section of the findings and analysis uses my own research to turn to Norway and examines how Norway has internalised the recommendations of the international passport regime to make it its own.

4.3 Norway's internalisation of the international regime of passports – material reflections of an evolving state identity

4.3.1 Norway as a compliant state

Norway has given a lot of importance to the international passport regime since 1920 and has made its presence known in an international arena of states as both a founding, and very compliant member of the League of Nations and its recommendations. A comparatively young state at the time of the LoN's inception and of ICAN's development, Norway worked harder to ensure its visible presence on an international level. Unlike its Nordic neighbours Sweden and Denmark, Norway had historically pursued a strategy of recognition-seeking since its independence in 1814 (Leira, 2015). Norway's internalisation of the international passport regime supports conceptions of its identity as a compliant state – willing and eager to follow the rules of international law and to assist in its development (de Carvalho & Neumann, 2015).

Shortly after the League of Nations members signed the “Convention Relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation” under the observation of ICAN in 1920, Norway initiated parliamentary talks to change the layout of its passport to adopt the standard format that had already been developed (see Figure 2). Norwegian Parliamentary Documents (Norsk Stortingsdokumenter) from December 1922 show that the Minister of Justice and Police at the time – Arnold Holmboe, established a clear plan to implement the recommended changes to passports as outlined by the convention in 1920. The document also recognises some of the changes to the processes surrounding passport applications and issuance resulting from the proposed changes:

“For its part, Norway has recommended this proposal, and the department has therefore established new booklets essentially in accordance with the international type...The [new] booklets will be delivered by Richard Andvord's Stationers, Kristiania (now Oslo), the chief of police will have to address them when ordering passport booklets...(The National Archives [Riksarkivet], 2019, p.1, my translation).

A League of Nations' publication printed in the same year of 1922 under the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit supports the actions Norway took. The publication documents the state's response to the institution's request for an update on the application of the resolutions relating to passports from 1920. Page 49 of the publication affirms:

“The Norwegian Government has no objection to the suggested establishment of a uniform type of ordinary passport (“ international type ”). It is, however, of opinion that each country should exercise its discretion in the choice of the quality, the colour, the watermark, etc., of the paper used for its passports, as these are characteristic features which may constitute a means of

recognising the issuing country and preventing forgeries. The uniform type of passport should be employed not only by the central authorities, but also by consulates and legations. However, before using the new type, we reserve the right to exhaust the stocks of passports of the form at present in use” (United Nations Archives Geneva, 2019, p.49).

This signifies Norway’s general adherence to the recommendations – an adherence to the international passport regime, but also hints to the state’s desire for a degree of flexibility when making the passport a marker of national identity that other states will then go on to recognise internationally. The time Norway took to reply to the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit’s request for a response is also relatively quick given that communication between states at the time was a much longer process (unlike the technological advances of the 21st century which have made information retrieval and communication instant).

Figure 4 displays a British passport from 1930; it represents the format the League of Nations recommended to other member states. Figure 5 is a Norwegian passport issued in the same year (1930), and exemplifies how Norway’s compliance to the international passport regime materialised in its own passport. It provides an interesting point of comparison between states; almost all key aspects are the same: the biographical data page (ICAO Doc 9303, 2015) is on the right hand side of the booklet, the layout of the information is almost identical and the required information about the passport holder is standardised. The main differences centre on the images used and the languages the biographical data is written in. Norway’s passport from 1930 displays the official coat of arms – Riksvåpen, above the state’s name. The coat of arms consists of a crowned lion holding an axe and appears on a shield that is also crowned; this same image of the coat of arms appears embedded as a larger visual (ICAO Doc 9303, 2015) in the background of the biographical data page with reduced saturation (ICAO Doc 9303, 2015).

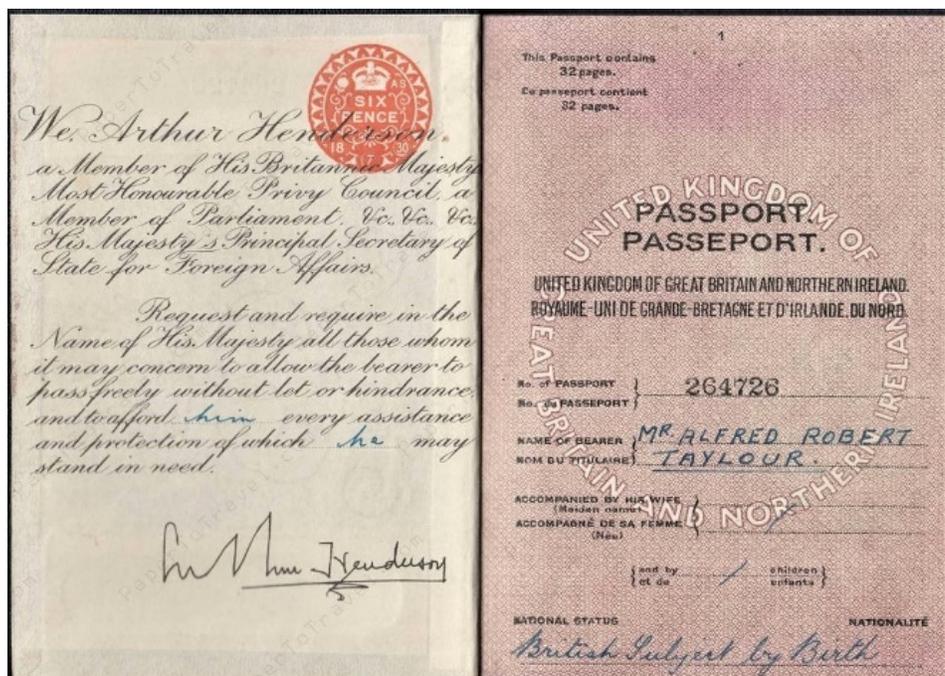


Figure 4. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland passport issued in 1930. Source credit: Paper to Travel, accessed 03.04.2019 from <https://www.papertotravel.com/MP-546/photo/10211>

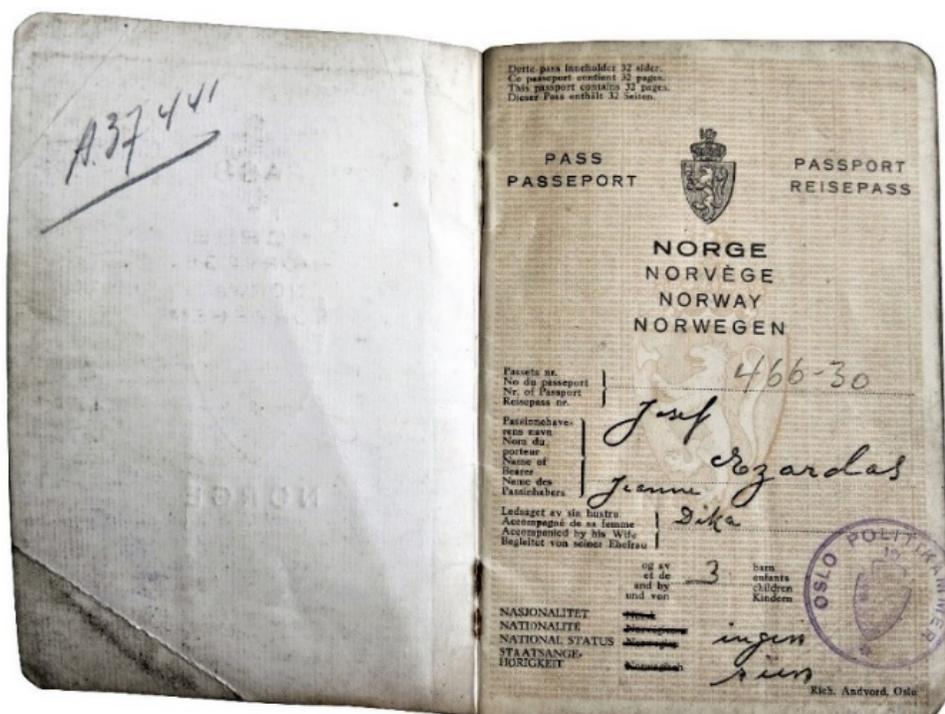


Figure 5. Norwegian passport issued in 1930. Source credit: The Norwegian Centre for Holocaust and Minority Studies, accessed 03.04.2019 from <https://www.hlsenteret.no/bibliotek/dokumentene-forteller/czardas-josefs-pass.-nasjonalitet%3A-ingen.html>

Another difference between the Norwegian and British passports issued in 1930 relates to the languages used to present the biographical data of the passport holder. The British passport contained only English and French, whereas the Norwegian passport contained twice as many languages with Norwegian, English, French and German all printed in it.

4.3.2 Unnskyld, do you parler norwegisch?

Changes in the languages printed in the Norwegian passport hint to Norway's changing ideas of the significance of certain languages used both nationally and internationally. The importance Norway has placed on such languages have been materialised in its passport, which ultimately functions as a marker of this relevance or irrelevance. For example, Figure 5 above shows four languages in the Norwegian passport; the addition of the German language to the passport booklets can be traced back to documents from 1923 from the Ministry of Justice and Police⁹. German was included in the Norwegian passport to make it easier for Norwegian citizens travelling to German-speaking countries (Norwegian Parliamentary Documents, 1923, The National Archives [Riksarkivet], accessed January 11th 2019). I interpret this as an attempt for Norway to further internationalise by facilitating the movement of Norwegians to more states. A circular notice from the Ministry of Justice and Police dating from September 1923 shows the state's desire for the Norwegian passport to be developed to incorporate German:

“Regarding passport booklets. Norwegian travellers, given the current relationship with Germany, could experience difficulties because their passports only contain Norwegian and French text; the department has prompted, that in addition to the passport booklets (with Norwegian and French text), passport booklets in Norwegian, German and French will [also] be printed” (Norwegian Parliamentary Documents – Circular Notice [Rundskrivelse], 1923, The National Archives [Riksarkivet], my translation, accessed January 11th 2019)

By 1977, the Norwegian passport had *five* languages printed in it: French, English, German, Norwegian Bokmål – the predominant written form of Norwegian comparable to written Danish, and Nynorsk – a written form of Norwegian based on spoken regional dialects (The Language Council, 2019). The addition of Nynorsk (which translates literally to “new Norwegian” in English) reflected a growing internal recognition in Norway of those that spoke a

⁹ The Ministry of Justice and Police is known today as the Ministry of Justice and Public Security; the names are different but their functions remain the same. Unfortunately, due to a lack of archival material and a lack of participant interest in showing me old Norwegian passports, the earliest passports I could find from the 20th century were from 1930. English has also been added to the passport somewhere between 1920 and 1930, but it is difficult for me to establish a more concrete date for this.

regional dialect and chose to write in the Nynorsk written form. This can be traced back to the 1950s where Norway's political goals for both written forms was to make them as compatible as possible (The Language Council, 2019). I view the Norwegian state's steps to include Nynorsk in the Norwegian passport as a step towards presenting their equal status. All five languages continued to appear in the Norwegian passport until 1992 when the Bank of Norway's Printing Press (Norges Banks Seddeltrykkeri) commissioned an entirely new design. In the new design of the passport (which is still in use today), the Bank of Norway's Printing Press reduced the number of languages to just three – Norwegian Bokmål, Norwegian Nynorsk and English (Arild Yttri, personal communication, 29th January 2019). Figures 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 demonstrate this development clearly:

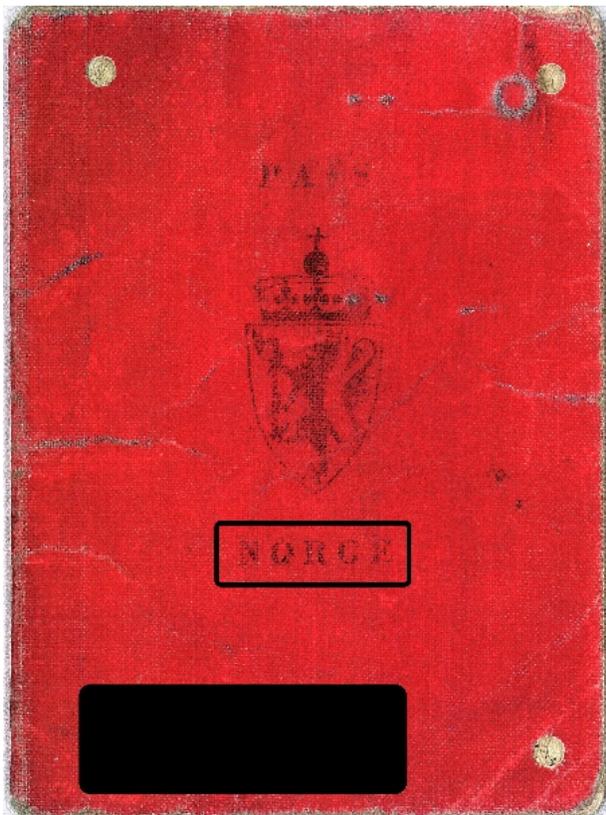


Figure 6. Norwegian passport issued in 1976 showing only the Norwegian Bokmål word for passport and Norway on the booklet cover. Source credit: own research material.

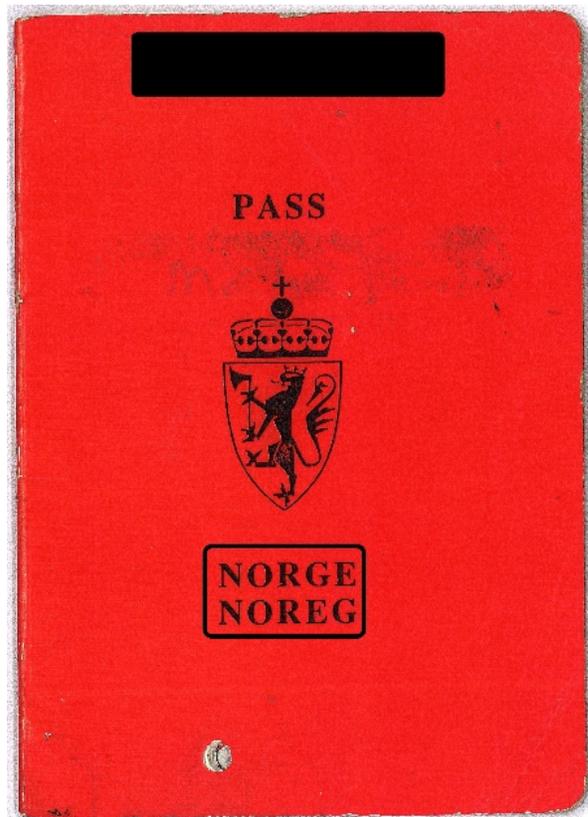


Figure 7. Norwegian passport issued in 1987 showing the addition of Norwegian Nynorsk on the cover. Source credit: own research material.

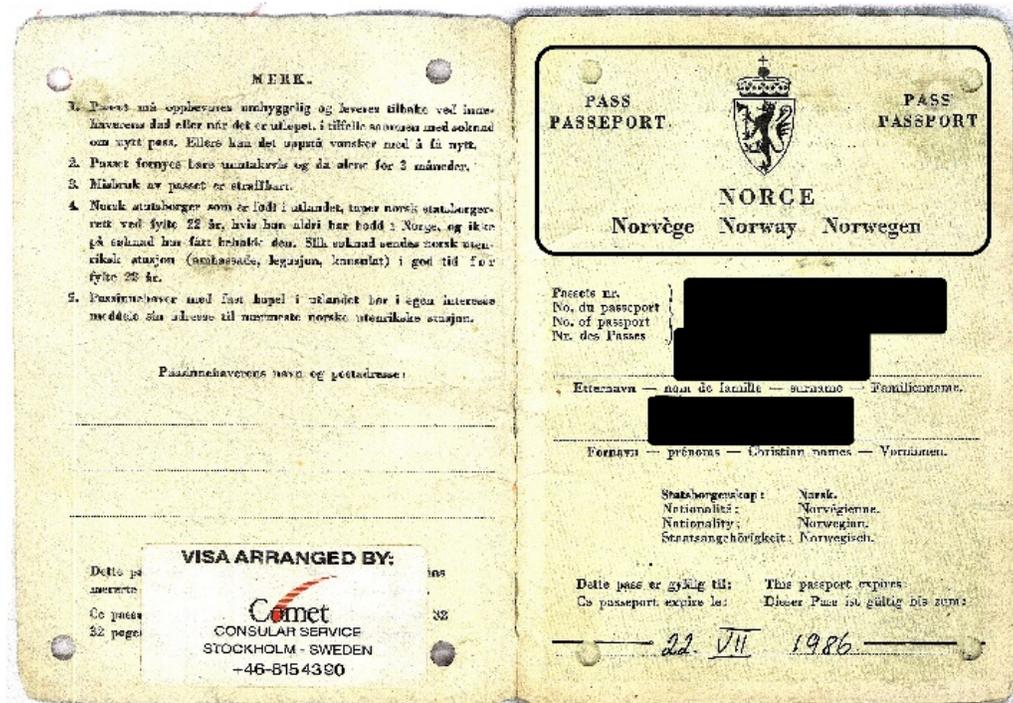


Figure 8. Norwegian passport issued in 1976 showing four languages of communication – English, Norwegian Bokmål, German and French. Source credit: own research material.

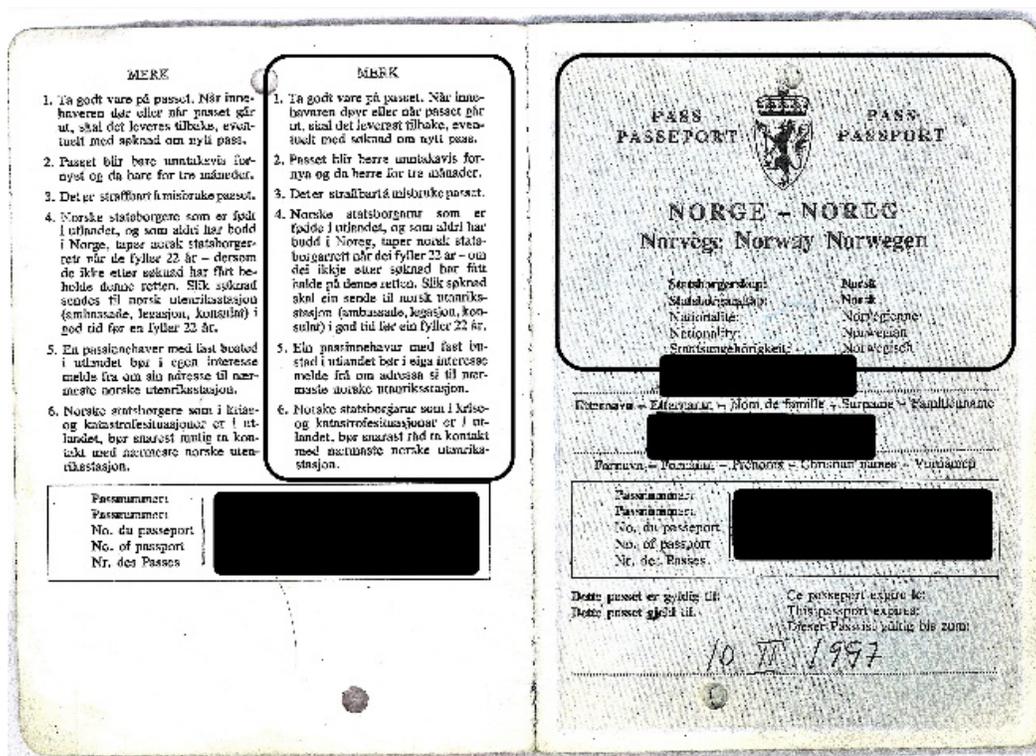


Figure 9. Norwegian passport issued in 1987 showing five languages of communication: English, French, German, Norwegian Bokmål and the addition of Norwegian Nynorsk. Original source.

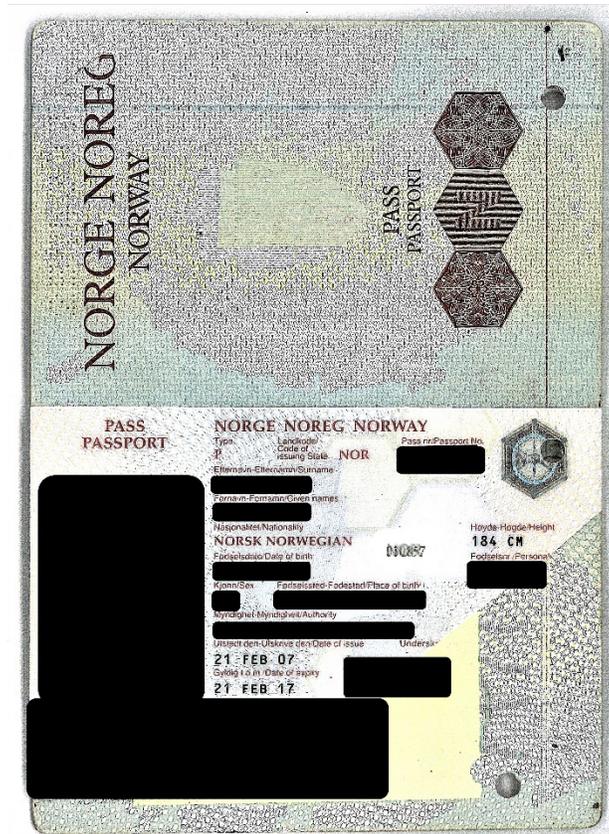


Figure 10. Biographical data page of a Norwegian passport issued in 2007 showing the languages English, Norwegian Bokmål and Norwegian Nynorsk. This is the format of the current Norwegian passport. Source credit: own research material.

The recurring theme of changes to the languages in the Norwegian passport also appears to serve the purpose of making a significant statement about the political and social identity of Norwegians in the 21st century. A supporting example for this finding is the new Norwegian passport due to be issued from 2020 (VG, 2018). As Figure 9 demonstrates, the new passport will have the two forms of written Norwegian – Bokmål and Nynorsk, English, and for the very first time in its history, Sami – a native language belonging to an indigenous group of people based primarily in the north of Norway. The decision to include Sami in the Norwegian passport – to essentially document it as an official language of use – is a huge political gesture given the history of ethnic discrimination and forced policies of “fornorskning” (closest translation in English is “Norwegianisation”) against the Sami people (Hellesvik, 2016). This suggests an acknowledgement from the Norwegian state of the importance of different regional and ethnic factions in Norway, and of the continued status of English as an international language of

policies. Up until 1990, the Passport Law had essentially remained unchanged since the 1950s when the Ministry of Justice and Police ratified it to incorporate the Nordic Passport Union (Norway's Public Reports, the Passport Law, [Norges Offentlige Utredninger, Passlov], 1994, The National Archives [Riksarkivet], accessed January 11th 2019).

As a member of the Nordic Council Norway had easier access to information sources from its regional neighbours when researching for and formulating its own passport law. A series of letters exchanged between the chiefs of police (Appendix III) in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland in the early 1990s highlight the paper trail of communication between states regarding passport laws. I comprehend this paper trail and all the time that passed in between waiting for replies, faxes and phone calls as essentially being the backbone of how international relations actually function amongst states. I interpret Norway's request for information from its fellow Nordic neighbours as an important recognition of the value of regional developments in the same issue-area – passport law development. The very *idea* that Norway would approach its regional partners for advice on developing its passport law rather than other states manifests the "...common legal tradition..." that Dolan (1959) discusses in his article and which ties the Nordic countries to each other suggesting that Norway also has a strong regional state identity.

4.3.4. Changing processes, and buttressing identities using technological advances

The development of Norway's passport regime has seen many technological advances, which have changed the processes of applying for, and being issued with a passport; this processual change has subsequently altered the relationship between the individual and the state in Norway in the periods 1950-1990 and 1990 to present day 2019. From the 1950s¹⁰ to the 1990s, Norwegians made passport applications in person at their local passport issuing office (passkontor). The police in Norway has long had the responsibility of accepting passport applications, processing them, and then issuing them (Magnar Aukrust, personal communication, 18th September 2018). The reasons for this go back to the 18th century when control of strangers coming in and out of the capital city Kristiania (now known as Oslo) was a police task (Magnar Aukrust, personal communication, 18th September 2018). From the 1950s to the 1990s, the local passport office processed passport applications within a period of ten days; the issuing police

¹⁰ This date is one that I can support with material evidence; unfortunately, I could not find any journals, articles, books or other sources of information about Norwegian passport application processes before this time.

officer would then meticulously record details of all passports by hand in passport journals (passjournal). Figures 12 and 13 provide examples of what these passport journals looked like:

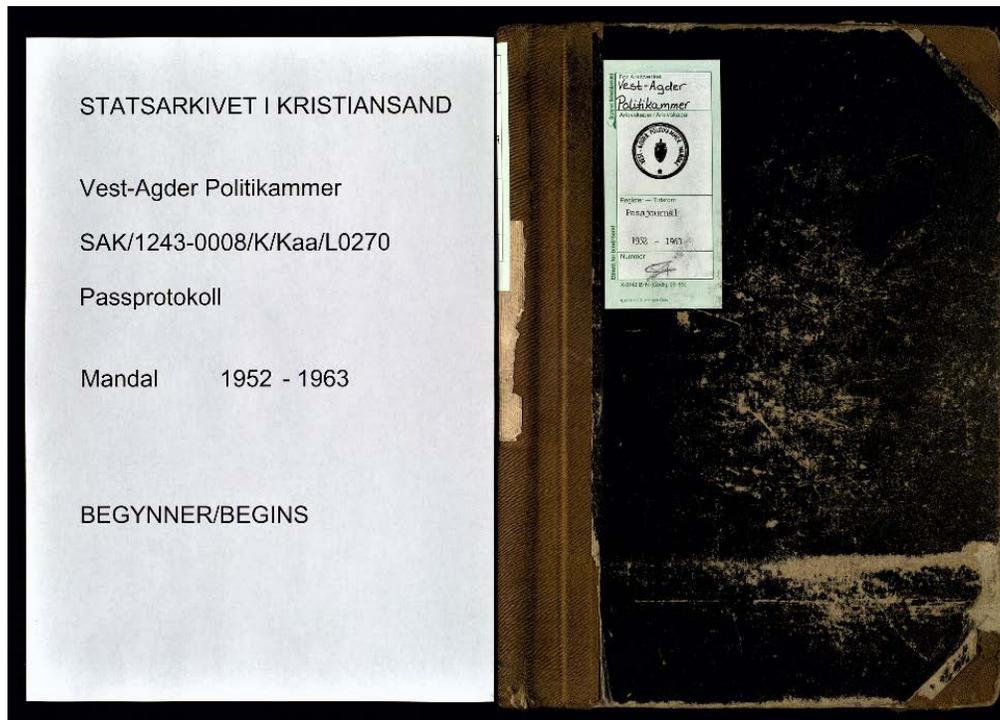


Figure 12. Scanned image of a Passport Journal from Vest-Agder Police recording new passports issuances, or renewals from 1952-1963. Source credit: The Digital Archives, (Digitalarkivet), accessed 14.04.2019 from <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/em10411510020001>

2		Født										3	
No.	Namn	Når	Hvor	Bosted	Område	Utslett	Tid	Høyde	Ansikt	Øyne	Hår	Hj. tegn	Tykt no.
1/52			hista	hista	Europa.	4/52	25	180	ovalt	blå	blondt	—	737001
2/52			—	—	U.S.A.	—	—	171	—	—	—	—	737002
3/52			—	—	—	—	—	120	—	—	—	—	737003
4/52			—	hyngdal	—	3/52	—	169	—	—	—	—	737004
5/52			—	hista	Europa.	—	—	182	—	—	—	—	737005
6/52			Spind	Spind	M. sjøfart	5/52	—	169	—	—	—	—	737006
7/52			Furund	Farsund	—	—	—	163	—	brune	brunt	—	737007
8/52			hista	hista	—	2/52	—	173	—	grå	blondt	—	737008
9/52			hista	Holmen	—	—	—	170	—	blå	—	—	737009
10/52			Ryesdal	hyngdal	U.S.A.	—	—	174	—	—	brunemåst	—	737010
11/52			hista	hista	—	—	—	167	—	grå	blondt	—	737011
12/52			Hustad	Hustad	—	4/52	—	173	—	blå	blondt	—	737012
13/52			hista	hyngdal	M.S.A.	17/52	—	180	—	—	—	—	737013
14/52			hista	hista	U. sjf.	—	—	172	—	brune	brunt	—	737014
15/52			Hustad	Hustad	M.S.A.	14/52	—	122	—	blå	blondt	—	737015
16/52			hista	hista	U.S.A.	22/52	—	163	—	—	lyst	—	737016
17/52			—	—	—	—	—	180	—	—	blondt	—	737017
18/52			Hustad	hyngdal	—	23/52	—	174	—	blågrå	grøtt	—	737018
19/52			Spind	Spind	U. sjf.	26/52	—	173	—	blå	blondt	—	737019
20/52			hista	hista	U.S.A.	—	—	158	—	—	—	—	737020
21/52			—	—	—	19/52	—	172	—	—	brunt	—	737021
22/52			hyngdal	hyngdal	—	—	—	185	—	—	—	—	737022

Figure 13. Pages 2-3 of the Passport Journal from Vest-Agder Police. A record of all applicants, their date and place of birth, area of travel, height, facial features, eyes, hair colour, any particular features and passport number are all hand-written. Source credit: The Digital Archives, (Digitalarkivet), accessed 14.04.2019 from <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/em10411510020004>

Since the late 1990s, technological advances in the form of the Internet and digital communication have seen passport applications digitalised. All initial passport application steps are done online in Norway; the first step involves making an application, paying for it and then submitting it electronically to the nearest passport issuing office (passkontor). The online application is followed by the submission of passport photographs and biometric data at one of the passport offices. Once the police receive all the required information for an application, they begin processing it; it can take up to one month before they issue a new passport and inform an applicant that their passport is ready for collection (Politiet, 2019). The shift towards digital passport applications has reduced the workload of individual passport officers. They no longer have to record every single application manually in a passport journal – computers do this instead. However, this has also reduced an element of interaction in the relationship between the state apparatus for processing passport applications, and the citizens applying for them.

4.3.5 Norwegian passports as symbolic markers of similarity and difference

The passport in Norway has functioned as a symbolic marker of similarity and difference used in different historical periods to present a certain identity of Norway; such conceptions of identity have come from both national and international processes. From the inception of the international passport regime in 1920 under the auspices of the League of Nations, Norway has shown a willingness to adapt to the international standards set by the League (see Figure 5 above). However, between 1920 and 1990 Norway remained firm that it should be allowed to: select the colour of its passport's booklet, add images to it, and select the overall quality of the paper inside (United Nations Archives Geneva, 2019 [1922], p.49). The Norwegian passport from 1940¹¹ to 1990 had a bright red coloured booklet (Figures 6 and 7), but the passport booklet designed in 1992 – and still in use today – changed from being that bright red colour to a burgundy red which mirrors the passports issued by EU member states. Figures 14 and 15 below illustrate this comparison.

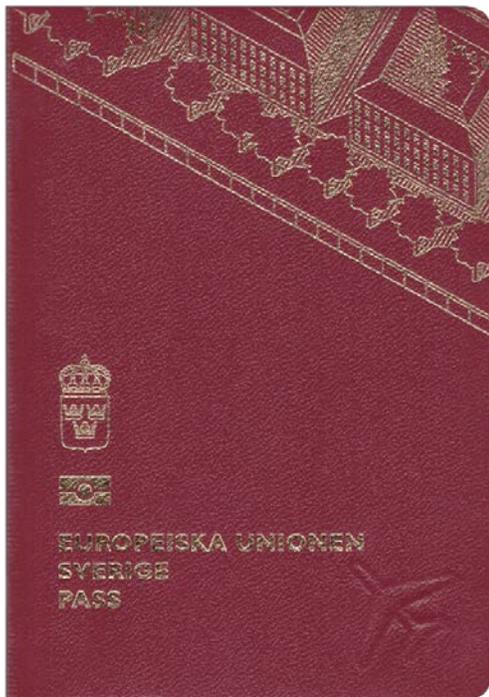


Figure 14. An example of the cover of a Swedish passport. Source credit: The Passport Index, accessed 16.04.2019 from <https://www.passportindex.org/byRegion.php?country=se>

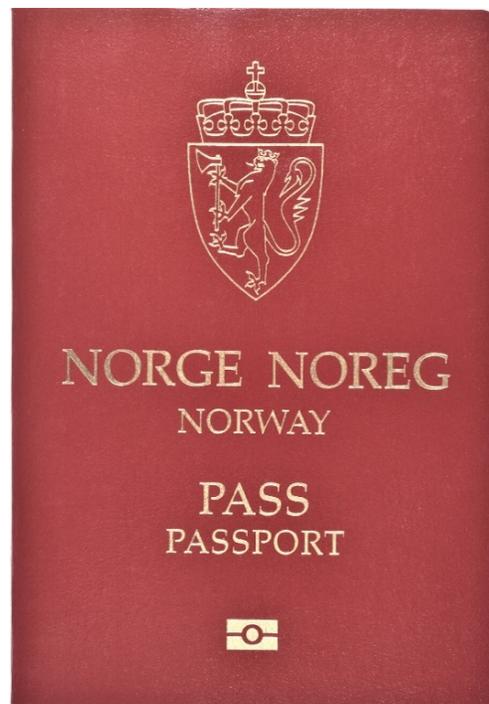


Figure 15. The front cover of the current Norwegian passport (issued in 2016) originally designed in 1992 by Arild Yttri. Source credit: own research material.

¹¹ This is a date that I can confirm with empirical evidence from my personal communication with Monica Thuv at the Bank of Norway. I could not find any copies of passports and their covers before 1940.

The visual similarities between Norway's current passport and the standard passport format of the European Union member states can be explained by my communication with the designer of the current Norwegian passport – Arild Yttri. I asked Yttri: when he designed the current passport, where he got the idea from for the design, and what inspired him, he told me:

“The Bank of Norway's Printing Press decided in 1990 to develop a new Norwegian passport. I had free choice over the design, but we were to follow the ICAO standard from 1980. I built the contents page around the Riksvåpen [coat of arms], a fable animal from the entrance of Urnes stave church [located in Luster municipality in Sogn and Fjordane county, northwest of Oslo], and finally a hexagonal snowflake form. The only thing I kept from the previous design was the Riksvåpen – (which I did not get out of). The fable animal, which looks like a cross between a horse and dragon, had always fascinated me and is in its form a ‘design’ that has crossed many national borders since you find a kinship throughout the whole of medieval Europe's decorative aesthetic” (Arild Yttri, personal communication, 29th January 2019, my translation).

From his engaging explanation, one can see a distinct medieval European influence in the design of the current Norwegian passport with the horse-dragon-like fable animal and its matching burgundy coloured booklet. I find it very interesting that Yttri mentioned a form of kinship in the design of the fable animal as it “...has crossed many national borders” in medieval Europe and represents a European decorative aesthetic. This aesthetic has materialised into an object – the Norwegian passport – which somewhat amusingly also facilitates the movement of people across national borders. I view the changes to the design of the Norwegian passport in 1992 as a clear indicator to the European Community that Norway identified itself as having regional relations with them, but not being exactly like them. Figures 16 and 17 display the horse-dragon-like fable animal and the hexagonal snowflake Yttri referred to in his explanation of the passport's design. The hexagonal snowflake can also be interpreted as having reference to the climate in Norway during the winter season, which tends to be very cold and snowy for the best part of half a year. Figure 18 presents the original source of Yttri's inspiration for the design – the entrance to Urnes stave church in Sogn and Fjordane county, mid-northwest Norway:



Figure 16. The horse-dragon-like fable animal appears on the inside of both the front and back covers of the current Norwegian passport – originally designed in 1992. Source credit: own research material.

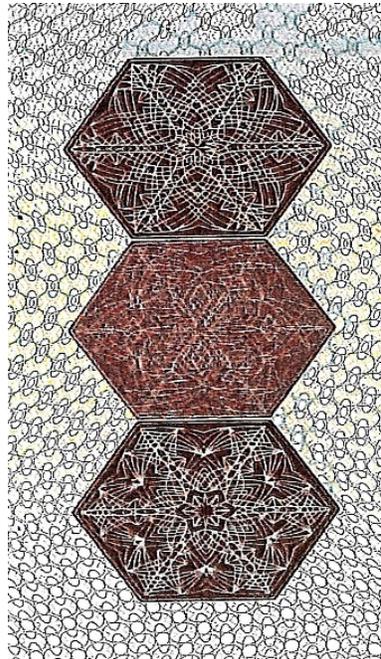


Figure 17. The hexagonal snowflake image. Included perhaps as a representation of the cold winters Norway has. Source credit: own research material.



Figure 18. A close-up image of the decoration found at the entrance of Urnes stave church in Sogn and Fjordane County, mid-northwest Norway. Source credit: Store Norske Leksikon (The Big Norwegian Encyclopedia), accessed 16.04.2019 from https://snl.no/Urnes_stavkirke

Urnes stave church in mid-northwest Norway was built around 1140 AD and is arguably one of Norway's oldest churches; it is a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) heritage site revealing a lot about Norway's medieval history both pre- and post-Christendom (Christie, 2009). The fantasy horse-dragon-like animal that appears in the current Norwegian passport takes its inspiration directly from wooden carvings at the entrance of the church (Arild Yttri, personal communication, 29th January 2019). The animal juxtaposes changing ideas about ancient Norse mythology with the rising religion of Christianity at the time, through contrasting images of the supernatural and a divine Creator (Christie, 2009). The church's beautiful architecture expresses the subtle conflict between old and new identities, and reflects in its façade an experiment to see whether such identities could be seamlessly merged. I too interpret the design of the Norwegian passport from 1992 in a similar sense. A subtle inconsistency emerges in the materiality of the passport between what the state identity of Norway should be from an external, international perspective, and what it actually is, and has been from an internal, national one.

This subtle inconsistency between national and international conceptions of Norwegian state identity, and how they are materialised in the Norwegian passport is one that I believe Norway has begun to rectify. Using a completely different passport design process, and highly advanced and expensive¹² technology for the new Norwegian passport, Norway has gradually been able to distance itself from the standard passport format of the European Union member states (which it has had since 1992). The changes in the processes of designing the passport symbolise a shift towards greater individualism for Norway's passport regime. In 2014, the Norwegian Police Directorate in collaboration with the National Criminal Investigation Service (known in Norwegian as Kripos) – a special agency under the Norwegian Police Service, broke with tradition and decided for the first time to open up the process of designing the Norwegian passport to the Norwegian public (Monica Thuv, personal communication, 7th January 2019). A similar process of designing new Norwegian bank notes had been initiated by the Bank of Norway and this had inspired the Police Directorate and Kripos to do the same with passports (Monica Thuv, personal communication, 7th January 2019). The passport design process

¹² I tried to find out how much the design and manufacturing processes of the new passport actually cost, but none of the people I spoke to gave me an answer. I have been able to find out that the costs of the new ID card project in Norway (a similar initiative taken to improve personal document security, and facilitate travel within the EU) has gone up from an estimated 14 million kroner in 2007, to 700 million kroner in 2018 (Aftenposten, May 2018).

manifested in the form of a public competition with several designers putting forth their designs to an independent jury.

The winning design, known as “Norwegian Landscapes” (Det norske landskap) came from Neue Design Studio – “...a branding and design agency...” (Neue Design Studio, 2019) based in the capital city Oslo. In addition to increasing the Norwegian passport’s security features to minimise its forgery, a new design has primarily wanted to increase public engagement with the travel and ID document. According to former Kripos employee Monica Thuv:

“The reason why we wanted a competition in the first place was to get good, creative input for the design and concept of new documents. The design of passports and ID documents is not the Police Directorate’s core competence. If one were to get a passport supplier to overtake the development of the design, one would also have to worry about being contractually locked into a particular design expression, which would not give as much control on the final visuals. Moreover, a foreign supplier would not necessarily know about Norwegian references, connotations and other things” (Monica Thuv, personal communication, 7th January 2019, my translation).

The process opened up an opportunity for designers to put forth a *more Norwegian* aesthetic, one – when compared to the current passport’s design – is starkly different. The tone of the colour red is much brighter and resembles the brighter red colour of the Norwegian passport booklets from 1940-1992. Figures 19, 20 and 21 highlight this resemblance and difference:

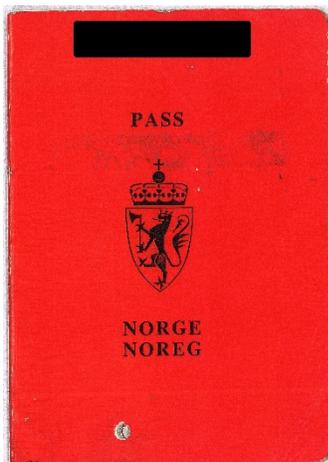


Figure 19. Norwegian passport issued in 1987.
Source credit: own research material.

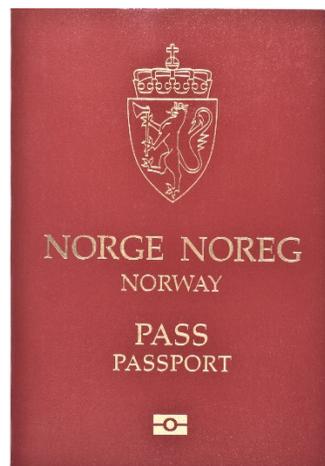


Figure 20. Norwegian passport issued in 2016.
Source credit: own research material.

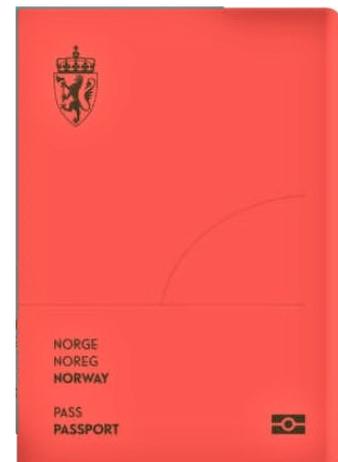


Figure 21. Norwegian passport scheduled to be issued in 2020. Source credit: Neue Design Studio, accessed 17.04.2019 from <https://neue.no/work/norwegian-passports/>

In an extract from the agency’s website, Neue Design Studio outline their own interpretation of the task of designing a new Norwegian passport based on the guidelines from the Police Directorate and Kripos. In this interpretation, they heavily emphasise the concept of Norwegian identity and state that at the time of the competition, their aim was to make the passport more representative of this. The Studio writes:

“...a very important aspect of the task was...that the passport should have a solid foundation with the Norwegian people. The design has to create a sense of belonging and connection across age, gender and regions in Norway...it was important to look at our historical foundation and what in the Norwegian culture [created] a sense of belonging...[the] landscapes surrounding us give a sense of belonging and pride, and fill a symbolic function for the entire nation...to Norwegians, nature is more than beautiful scenery. It supplies us with rich fisheries, clean hydroelectric power, and various other industries. By using illustrations of single parts of a wide Norwegian panorama, from north to south, we want to show the contrasts in landscapes and climates that have shaped us, offered opportunities and resources, places for recreation and the scenes of important historical events” (Neue Design Studio, 2019, n.p).

The main representations of Norwegian state identity which come to light given the Studio’s interpretation of its task and the final design choice, are: Norway as a state concerned about the protection of its landscapes, about the use of renewable energy sources, and about acknowledging what the land has provided it throughout history. In essence, the design almost represents a type of modern-day romanticism towards the environment and nature. Figures 22 and 23 exhibit these Norwegian landscapes:



Figure 22. Norwegian landscape in the new Norwegian passport due to be issued in 2020. Source credit: Neue Design Studio, 2019, accessed 17.04.2019 from <https://neue.no/work/norwegian-passports/>

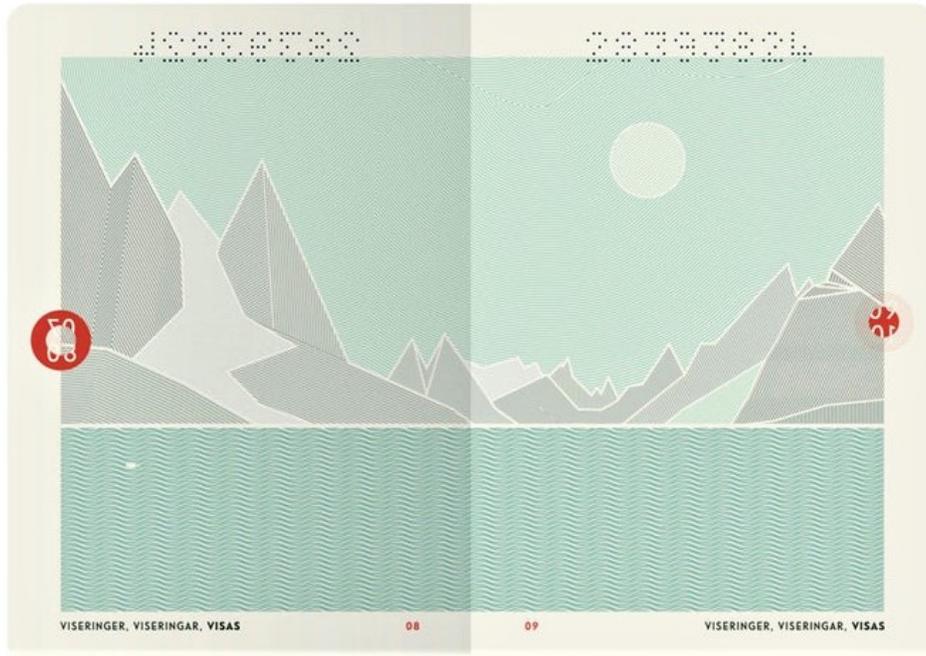


Figure 23. Norwegian landscape in the new Norwegian passport due to be issued in 2020. Source credit: Neue Design Studio, 2019, accessed 17.04.2019 from <https://neue.no/work/norwegian-passports/>

Given the simplicity of the new Norwegian passport’s cover and the modern, minimalistic colour palette used throughout the document, many have already recognised and questioned its status as a “...design classic” (Coldwell, 2014). Will Coldwell – a travel reporter for the British newspaper *The Guardian*, describes an additional feature of the new passport – “When shone under UV light, the landscapes within the pages transform to show the northern lights in the night sky, a magical touch that adds a deeper sense of intrigue to the already striking document” (Coldwell, 2014, n.p.). Acknowledgments of Norway’s nature and use of environmental imagery in the passport can also be seen to a lesser extent in the design from 1992 in which its designer – Arild Yttri, included three hexagonal snowflakes on the inside pages of the document. I have already interpreted this as a reference to the cold winter climate in Norway, but the new passport’s design takes this environmental reference and amplifies it suggesting that Norway has chosen to identify itself as a state that really *celebrates and emphasises* its nature. Figure 24 shows the new Norwegian passport under UV light:

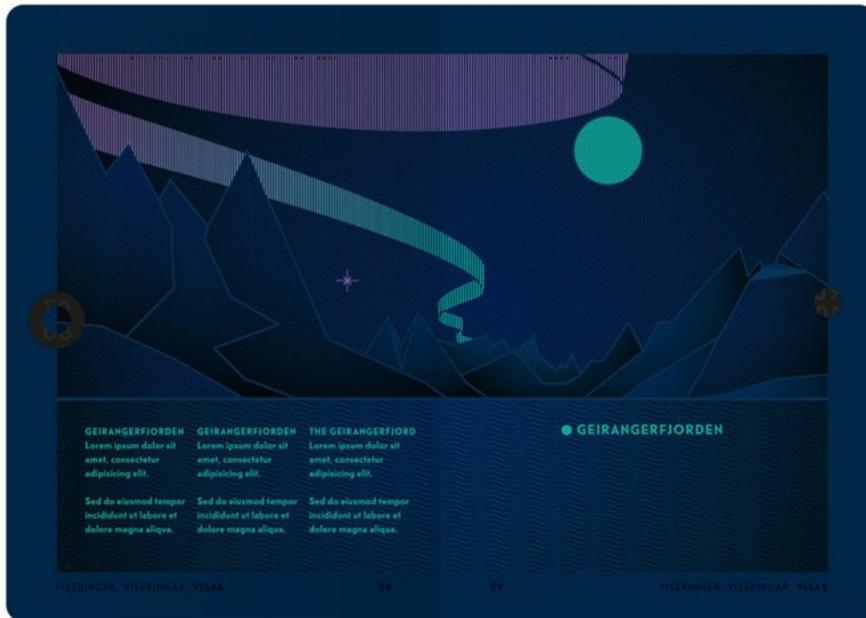


Figure 24. The new Norwegian passport shone under UV light to reveal the northern lights. Source credit: Neue Design Studio, 2019, accessed 17.04.2019 from <https://neue.no/work/norwegian-passports/>

Another way that I perceive the Norwegian passport to be a symbolic marker of identity differences and similarities is through Norway’s use of the most up-to-date passport technologies to display its wealth and to set itself apart from other states and their passport regimes. In the interest of fulfilling the current requirements for machine-readable travel documents (MRTDs) which aim to have a “...strong defence against alteration, forgery [and] counterfeit” (ICAO Doc 9303, 2015, p.3), Norway has exhausted the latest technologies in its passport’s new design. For the first time in its history, the Norwegian passport will contain five photo images of the passport holder in various locations on the two biographic data pages. Figures 25 and 26 illustrate this:



Figure 25. Biographic data page of the new Norwegian passport due to be issued from 2020.
 Source credit: VG, accessed 04.11.2018 from <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/oRQrXj/slik-blir-norges-nye-pass-skal-ha-hele-fem-passbilder>



Figure 26. Biographic data page of the new Norwegian passport due to be issued from 2020.
 Source credit: VG, accessed 04.11.2018 from <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/oRQrXj/slik-blir-norges-nye-pass-skal-ha-hele-fem-passbilder>

According to the makers of these new passports Gemalto, the Norwegian passport exemplifies – “A high-end set of security features, including irreversible laser-engraved personalization information...safely located and protected within the genuine polycarbonate datapage. The microprocessor is also embedded in the secure datapage” (Gemalto, 2019, n.p.). This means that the new passport will be difficult to forge and therefore be a more secure travel document for Norwegian citizens. From a material culture studies’ perspective, Berger (2014) stresses the power of objects to carry a certain status of their own. An object can distinguish “...the position an individual has in some group, or that a group has relative to other groups” (Berger, 2014, p.75). I believe this analogy applies to Norway’s new passport, which has symbolically represented Norwegian state identity as technologically advanced, willing to pay for such advancements, and willing to engage its citizens in processes that had previously occurred behind closed doors.

5. Discussion

5.1 International and national passport regime relations

The development of the international passport regime originated in a post-WW1 context in 1919 when members of the League of Nations – including Norway – took initiatives to standardise international air travel procedures and documents (Salter, 2003). The standardisation focused on getting states to reach consensus on the given area (Krasner, 1983) of passports because these documents ultimately facilitated the movement of people. States had to decide: what the document's purpose was, what its appearance would be, and how it was to be issued (Article 37, Convention Relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation, 1920). Institutions under the League of Nations like the International Commission for Air Navigation (ICAN), and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) under the UN when the League dissolved, have monitored, sustained and developed the international passport regime's existence since 1920. Institutional organisation functions as a prerequisite for the maintenance of regimes (Krasner, 1983) working to disperse knowledge to states about the various norms, rules, principles and decision-making procedures that comprise the regime (Krasner, 1983). Institutional membership in ICAN and in ICAO post-1945, has provided states with an arena in which they can discuss the issue of passports and engage with each other as the first step towards reaching consensus.

Norway's engagement with the international passport regime has occurred through its position as a founding and compliant member of the League of Nations, and as an adherent of the UN specialised agency ICAO's recommendations. From independence in 1814 to the inception of the League of Nations in 1920, Norway pursued a foreign policy strategy of recognition-seeking (Leira, 2015). The state did this to make itself more visible in an international community of sovereign states, and to affirm that its former state identity as a controlled territory under Danish and subsequently Swedish rule, no longer applied. Membership in the League of Nations and involvement in the development of the international passport regime established Norway's presence in the international community, which gave it recognition.

Documents from the United Nations' Archives in Geneva (see Figures: 2, 3 and 4 and corresponding quotes) show that Norway responded promptly to requests for updates on the status of its adherence to the international passport regime. Norway complied with ICAN's recommendations for a standard, universal passport format with the only divergences coming in

the form of: the languages the state wished to use in the passport, the colour of the booklet, and the images printed inside it. In the same year that Norway sent its response to the League of Nations – 1922, it had already placed new orders for the standard passport booklets to be issued highlighting its identity as a compliant state.

This identity of Norway being a compliant state has continued in to the 20th and 21st centuries as it not only continues to adhere to ICAO's recommendations, but also attempts to surpass them in the field of advanced passport technologies (Gemalto, 2019). Norway's current passport – first issued in 1992, (see Figure 10) demonstrates several of ICAO's recommendations; it is a Machine Readable Travel Document (MRTD), and has biometric data stored inside which assists in the authentication of the document and the document holder (ICAO, Doc 9303, 2015). The new Norwegian passport due to be issued in 2020 (VG, 2018) "...incorporate[s] a wide range of overt and covert security features...including irreversible laser-engraved personalization information...[which is]...located and protected within the genuine polycarbonate datapage...[and has a]...microprocessor...embedded in [it]..." (Gemalto, 2018, n.p.). Norway's position as a wealthy state has allowed it to use the latest and most expensive passport technologies and in doing so, Norway sets itself apart from other states in the international passport regime.

5.2 National passport regime formations

The development of Norway's passport regime has run parallel to the development of the international passport regime; Norway has maintained a reactionary, reciprocal relationship to the international passport regime since 1920 because of its compliance and willingness to be actively involved in international processes. This point exemplifies a key tenet of regime theory – that states *can* cooperate and reach consensus on given areas for the benefit of those involved, and the very *idea* of reaching consensus drives the negotiations and reciprocity (Hasenclever et al., 1997). The international passport regime's institutional structures which control travel laws, recommendations and processes, have influenced the development of Norway's own legal, administrative and practical structures to varying degrees. This influence is less visible in the national passport regime's administrative and practical components including passport applications and issuance, but most visible in the development of Norway's Passport Law (Passloven).

Until the 1950s, Norway's Passport Law had remained relatively unchanged since the 19th century with only a few modifications made to incorporate changing travel agreements between Nordic Council member states; this changed in the 1990s when the Ministry of Justice and Police established a Passport Committee (Passutvalget) to revise and properly establish a Passport Law. Norway used its position as an existing member of the Nordic Council, and its peaceful relations with the other Nordic states to gain access to information from them whilst re-drafting its Passport Law. This signals the importance of information sharing and knowledge acquisition between states, but also to the importance of the historical connections that facilitate them. Norway communicated with Denmark, Sweden and Finland in a language that it could easily understand and used their passport laws as reference points to develop its own. By using information from its neighbours, Norway maintained consistency with the rest of the region and bolstered its regional Nordic identity.

Another aspect of Norway's national passport regime formation includes administrative and practical structures. Norway has ensured that processes surrounding its passport regime such as passport applications, and issuance procedures allow the regime to function properly. There is a complex, yet well-established network of relations between these different processes; a clear Passport Law outlines the various conditions under which a person is able to apply for a Norwegian passport, and the conditions under which it can be removed (Passloven, 2019). An established administrative infrastructure – in which the Police is responsible for the various stages of passport application and issuance – ensures that the practical elements of the national passport regime are fulfilled. From 1920 to the late 1990s, both the application and issuance processes of passports in Norway occurred in person at passport issuing offices (passkontor); since the late 1990s however, technological advancements have digitalised both the application and issuance procedures. This shows the importance of technology as an essential component in the evolving national formations of Norway's passport, but also links to the advancement of technology on a global scale.

5.3 Materialising changing identities

Changes in the materiality of the Norwegian passport reveal variations in the *type* of recognition Norway has wanted to receive from fellow members of the international community; these changes simultaneously highlight the conceptions of Norwegian identity that have emerged

at different times throughout history. Forming an integral part of its foreign policy strategy since independence in 1814, recognition-seeking (Leira, 2015) became one of the ways in which Norway could assert its presence amongst other sovereign states. From the inception of the international passport regime in 1920 under the auspices of the League of Nations, Norway regularly engaged with the regime and adopted its recommendations for travel documents. The design of the passport from the 1930s exhibits Norway's adherence to the recommendations of the international passport regime (Figure 5).

Besides the Norwegian national coat of arms (Riksvåpen) on the cover and inside pages, no other images feature in the passports issued between 1930 and 1992; this reflects Norway's greater desire to *fit in* to the international community at this time by following the established norms, principles, rules and decision-making procedures (Krasner, 1983) rather than standing out. However, Norway did state its desire to exercise a degree of flexibility concerning the colour of the passport booklets and the languages used in them (United Nations Archives Geneva, League of Nations Publication, 2019 [1922]). Its passports up until 1992 materialised this degree of flexibility in their bright red coloured booklets, and in the changes made to the number of languages printed in them. Changes to the number of languages in the passport materialise the changing national ideas about the significance of certain languages in the Norwegian passport versus others. So although Norway made additions to the passports issued between 1930 and 1992, it did so using the *existing* international passport regime standard which supports its identity as a compliant state.

Norway's compliancy to the international passport regime's recommendations continued throughout the 1990s and remain valid up to present day 2019; its passport from this time developed in a national context of growing anti-European sentiments, but in a contrasting regional context of greater European integration. The passport from 1992 (Figures 10 and 15), which is still in use today, particularly mirrors the passports issued by the majority of the EU member states from the same time. Its design uses a near-identical shade of burgundy red for the passport booklets like most of the EU member states' passports, and the format and passport technologies continue to adhere to ICAO's recommendations. The similarities between the passports' designs on the outside suggest that Norway has wanted other sovereign states to recognise it as a state that blends in and participates in regional and international matters despite choosing not to be a member of the regional organisation (EU) itself. The inside of the passport

however (Figures 16 and 17), retains an element of individuality with the use of images related to Norse and medieval European mythology, and the Nordic climate. The passport materialises a Norwegian state identity at somewhat of a crossroads in the 1990s – part of the European Economic Area, content to follow international passport regime recommendations, but still not quite like the rest of mainland Europe.

In stark contrast to the two former versions of the passport, the new Norwegian passport due to be issued in 2020 (VG, 2018) materialises not only nationalist sentiments about Norway's place in the international but also very specific ideas of Norway's state identity. These ideas of Norway's state identity utilise its relationship with the environment – a relationship that combines productivity, sustainability and an overall appreciation for the vast and varying natural landscapes (Neue Studio Design, 2019). The images in the new passport (Figures 22, 23 and 24) materialise a form of modern-day environmental romanticism reflecting the type of identity Norway has come to associate with itself, and which it wants other states to recognise. For the first time in the history of its passport regime, Norway has made a very conscious decision – which is reflected in the materialisation of its passport, that it *wants to stand out* as being different in this area of international interest. Being recognised for its difference in this area of international interest also extends to the new passport's design process and technological features, all of which display Norway's wealth. The passport design process in 2014 included the Norwegian public, which implies a state identity that is opening up, and becoming more transparent about passport regime processes. I interpret this as an evolvement in passport processes that signifies the importance of national input in the development of a document that functions both nationally and internationally.

5.4 Summing up

The historical and contemporary development of Norway's passport regime has developed in parallel to the development of the international passport regime, which was jointly established by League of Nations member states in 1920. At the international level, the regime has built institutions (ICAN and then ICAO) that have laid the foundations for the passport regime's norms, rules, principles and decision-making procedures to develop. The Norwegian state has maintained lines of communication with the international passport regime's institutions

making it easier for it to negotiate certain terms and conditions the regime has recommended in relation to its passport.

In a context of interplaying and overlapping national and international processes of the passport regime, Norway's passport has materialised certain conceptions of its state identity that have also reflected certain periods of both national and international history. Following independence in 1814 and for the rest of the 20th century, Norway utilised its passport to materialise an identity of itself as wanting to fit in with the rest of the international community of states. It was more important for the relatively young state at the time to adhere to the international passport regime's standard format for passports than to challenge it. This is materialised in the passports between 1930 and 1992, which show that besides the addition of languages and colour choice, Norway made minimal attempts to personalise its passport. In the 21st century however, the idea and desire to fit in with the rest of the international community of sovereign states regarding passport formats no longer fits well with the conceptions of Norwegian identity that have developed since the latter half of the 20th century.

In the latter half of the 20th century Norway's economic position in the world changed drastically with its discovery of oil. This wealth has allowed Norway in the 21st century to design a passport which not only complies with the international passport regime's recommendations, but which surpasses them. The passport's use of different images and technologies makes it truly stand out reflecting that Norway too wishes to stand out. It is in this sense that the materiality of its passport and changes to it reveal a lot about the ways in which Norway has internalised the recommendations of the international passport regime. It highlights the tangible ways in which it has complied to the recommendations of the regime, and the ways in which it has deviated from it. The passport therefore not only functions as a valid ID and travel document, but also as a material marker of identity differences and similarities between Norway and others states prescribing to the international passport regime, in a context of both historical and contemporary interplaying processes.

6. Conclusion

The initial idea for this thesis began with my general interest in objects, and in their ability to say more than their primary function might suggest. An object that has intrigued me for a long time is the passport; upon further reading I learned that many IR studies had referred to the passport in relation to topics such as: visa and mobility regimes (Aygül, 2013; Beaumont & Glaab, 2019), citizenship and identity (Fleming, 2014) and securitisation (Muller, 2004). Only one text I read made passports the focus of the study – Mark Salter’s book *Rights of Passage; The Passport in International Relations* (2003). Salter’s book and a number of other studies on passports repeatedly referred to the object in a context of the term “regimes”; however, very few of these studies actually defined what their use of the term “regimes” was, which left me confused. Another thing that equally puzzled me was the methodological approach these studies (Aygül, 2013; Beaumont & Glaab, 2019; Salter, 2003) had taken to research the object, and the choices they had made in their presentation of it. What struck me most was the *lack of materiality* these studies had incorporated in their analysis of a fundamentally physical, tangible thing; most studies had *entirely* bypassed the methods available for studying material objects. This inconsistency between the object of study, and the methods used to research and present it combined with the ambiguity surrounding the use of the term “regimes”, formed the starting point of my enquiry into the topic of passports. I chose to focus on passports in Norway because a study of this kind – until now – had not been conducted, and research on a smaller state provided an opportunity to diverge from the predominantly great and middle power studies IR scholars had done on passports so far.

I applied a mixed methods qualitative research design using semi-structured interviews, archival research, and the material culture studies’ methods of object-driven and object-centred analysis (Open University, 2017) to explore the development of Norway’s passport in the wider context of the international passport regime. I chose regime theory and identity as the main theory and concept in this exploration of Norway’s passport for two main reasons. First, I wanted to better understand *what* regime theory was – since it had been referred to multiple times in the literature on passports but seldom explained, and second, having read the tenets of regime theory, I learned that the branch of knowledge-based approaches also incorporated the concept of identity (Hasenclever et al., 1997). Within knowledge-based approaches, the strand of strong cognitivism supposedly utilises identity and history as two ways of understanding how

knowledge affects the formation, maintenance and development of regimes (Hasenclever, 1997). I incorporated both identity and history in my analysis of Norway's passport regime; I focused the concept of identity on Norway's *state* identity, and used history throughout to provide a chronological framework for the organisation of my research. Having established the theoretical and conceptual framework, I then discussed the material culture studies' methods of object-driven and object-centred approaches, which guided me in my analysis of the physical Norwegian passports I was able to obtain. I did this to fulfil one of my main research objectives – making the materiality of a material object an essential part of the study in terms of both methods used to study it, and methods to present it.

This particular combination of: regime theory, state identity, and object-driven and object-centred material culture studies' approaches, coupled with archival research and semi-structured interviews has enabled me to ascertain that Norway's passport regime has developed parallel to the development of the international passport regime since 1920. This thesis has exhibited changes in the materiality of Norway's passport since 1920 to present day 2019, and from 2020 onwards to reflect wider changes in its state identity. In doing so, I have shown that the passport functions not only to facilitate international travel and identify individuals, but also functions as a material marker of identity differences and similarities between states. The strikingly different visual imagery the new Norwegian passport uses (Figures 22, 23 & 24) illustrates Norway's very conscious efforts to *stand out* and be different from the other states adhering to the international passport regime. This contrasts with the compliant state identity that emerged from the design of its passports from 1930 and 1992 from which Norway appears to have placed a greater emphasis on *fitting in* to the regime, and the wider international community of sovereign states. I have emphasised the importance of history in Norway's relations with the international passport regime by weaving in selected historical information. This historical information has functioned as a necessary context for the varying conceptions of state identity that have materialised in the Norwegian passport.

By working with regime theory's strong cognitivist strand of knowledge-based approaches, I have revived regime theory's somewhat dormant status in IR. I hope to have shown the merit in viewing state consensus on given areas of international interest, as outcomes of very complex networks of relations between, and within states. Having compiled an assembly of knowledge from various material, social, technological and historical sources (Acuto &

Curtis, 2014), my research also finds a place within assemblage thinking in IR's recent turn towards the material (Aradau & Huysmans, 2014). However, both regime theory's knowledge-based branch of approaches which claim to utilise identity and history, and IR's contemporary studies on new materialism (Dittmer, 2017; Salter, 2015; 2016) and assemblage thinking (Acuto & Curtis, 2014; Aradau & Huysmans, 2014), fall short in their theoretical and methodological approaches to the subjects they study. At present, knowledge-based approaches in regime theory do *enough* to acknowledge the significance of identity and history, but little in the way of analysing or exploring this significance in regime analyses. Similarly, a considerable disconnect exists in IR studies which claim to study the materiality of an object and its greater international influence, but then simultaneously *ignore* the very material nature – the tangibility, of that object and the merit in visually presenting this. I have addressed this disconnect by demonstrating the value of supplementing theory and concepts with material culture studies' methods, to both present, and research the material object.

One of the unfortunate limitations I experienced during research for my thesis was a lack of participant interest; this hindered my ability to analyse the subjective meanings of the Norwegian passport for people that have one. Although not a possible research avenue in this thesis, it definitely forms a viable area of research in future studies on the topic of Norwegian passports. I also think that this topic opens up an opportunity to conduct comparative national passport regime studies – either in a Nordic context, or in one that branches out to other regions of the world. I really hope that my thesis has generated a greater interest in this subject, and in the value of material things. I believe that my exploration of Norway's passport regime is just the tip of the research iceberg with so much more depth waiting to be revealed.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Research participation poster – original version in Norwegian



The poster features a dark blue and green background with icons of books and a clipboard. At the top center is the NMBU logo (Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet) and the text 'Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet'. Below this is the Norwegian flag and the text 'HEI! ER DU NORSK?'. The main text is in Norwegian, explaining the researcher's need for old Norwegian passports for a master's thesis. It includes contact information and a research interest in the history of Norwegian passports. At the bottom, there are two smiley faces and icons of books and a clipboard.

Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet

HEI! ER DU NORSK?

Da trenger jeg deg! Mitt navn er Afshan Bibi og jeg er en mastergradsstudent ved Norges Miljø- og Biovitenskapelig Universitet (NMBU) i Ås. Jeg skriver masteroppgaven min om historien bak norske pass, og jeg er på utkikk etter forskningsdeltakere.

Jeg vil gjerne lage en visuell samling av norske pass fra 1950-tallet til i dag. Så, hvis du er over 18 år og har et pass fra tiden mellom 1950-2018 vennligst ta kontakt.

Men et pass er en identitetsdokument - hva med min personlige informasjon!? Det er helt riktig, men mitt fokus er på passblanketten selv og ikke på din personlig informasjon. All personlig informasjon som kan identifisere deg, for eksempel: ditt navn, fødselssted/dato, personnummer, passfoto og passnummer vil bli anonymisert. Forskingen innebærer kun at du lar meg fotografere eller skanne passet du viser meg, og at disse bilder brukes i masteroppgaven.

Hvis du, eller noen du kjenner har tatt godt vare på sine gamle pass, vær så snill ta kontakt med meg for mer informasjon om hva jeg forsker. Ved interesse, kan du sende meg en mail på afshan.bibi@mbu.no

Jeg gleder meg til noe veldig interessante innsikt om det norskepassets historie!

Appendix II: Research information sheet and consent form – original version in Norwegian

Deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet – «Historien bak Norges pass fra 1952-2019»

I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Bakgrunn og formål

Jeg er en mastergradsstudent ved NMBU i Ås og dette prosjektet er en del av forskning for masteroppgaven min. Formålet med dette forskningsprosjektet er å lage en oversikt av norske pass som – per dags dato – ikke har vært gjort i Norge. Jeg håper også å dokumentere hvordan Norges pass har endret seg siden 1950-tallet. Ved "forandring" mener jeg de fysiske og teknologiske endringene som passet selv har gått gjennom i sitt utvikling som en reise- og identifikasjons dokument. For eksempel: fargen på passblankett, den nødvendige informasjonen i passet, bildene som brukes på passportene og språkene som er brukt. Jeg er veldig interessert i de historiske prosesser som det norske passet har blitt en del av, og i Norges forhold til andre land vedrørende internasjonale passregler. Alle disse tingene er en del av Norges historie, og av Norges identitet.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Jeg – Afshan Bibi er ansvarlig for dette forskningsprosjektet, min e-post adresse er afshan.bibi@nmbu.no. Jeg studerer ved Norges Miljø – og Biovitenskapelige Universitet (NMBU) i Ås; studieveilederen min er førsteamanuensis Dr. Katharina Glaab, e-post katharina.glaab@nmbu.no

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Du har blitt valgt til å delta i dette forskningsprosjektet fordi du er over 18 år gammel, og du har blitt spurt personlig om du vil delta i et prosjekt som ber deg om eksemplarer av norske pass fra tiden mellom 1950 og i dag. Ditt «ja» svar er det første trinnet i forskningsprosessen, hvor du nå får mer informasjon om hva forskningen innebærer.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Forskningen krever at du viser frem pass fra tiden mellom 1950 og i dag. Hvis du viser frem et pass som ikke tilhører deg personlig, vil du bli bedt om å forklare hvordan det kom i din besittelse. De som presenterer et pass som er deres eget, vil ikke bli bedt om å forklare hvordan det kom i deres besittelse. Hvis du ønsker å fortelle meg noe om passet eller hvis du ønsker å stille meg noen spørsmål om forskningstemaet, så er du hjertelig velkommen til å gjøre det, og jeg vil notere dette som tilleggsinformasjon fra deltakeren. Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det at du lar meg: ta borte det passet du viser meg, teipe over all personliginformasjon inni passet (for å anonymisere det), og skanne det. Disse skannede bildene blir lagret elektronisk på en PC på universitetet mitt og brukt kun i masteroppgaven. Hvis du ønsker ikke at jeg tar borte det passet du viser meg, har du to alternativ. Det første er at jeg teiper over personopplysningene når vi sitter sammen, og så tar jeg et bilde av det anonyme passbildet; det andre alternativ er at du teiper over personopplysningene selv og skanne og sende det anonyme passbildet til meg.

Som skrevet ovenfor, all personlig informasjon som kan identifisere deg, for eksempel: ditt navn, fødselssted / dato, personnummer, passfoto og passnummer vil bli anonymisert ved å teipe over det før skanning. Den *eneste* informasjonen jeg vil dokumentere fra passet er: hvilket år det er utstedt, fargen, størrelsen, informasjonen som staten krevde om passholderen – rekkefølgen der dette vises, bilder på passet innvendig og utvendig (ikke inkludert passbildet ditt), offisiell tekst skrevet av utstederen, og eventuelle sikkerhets / teknologiske funksjoner passet kan ha (for eksempel biometrisk teknologi).

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan jeg oppbevarer og bruker den opplysningen du gir meg

Jeg vil kun bruke opplysningene du gir meg til formålene jeg har fortalt deg om i dette informasjonsskrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket; mer informasjon finnes på <https://www.datatilsynet.no/regelverk-og-verktoy/lover-og-regler/personvernregelverket/om-personopplysningsloven-og-nar-den-gjelder/> Kun jeg vil ha direkte tilgang til informasjonen du presenterer meg. Min studieveileder vil *kun* se hva jeg viser henne, og vil ikke få tilgang til de opprinnelige dataene selv.

For å sikre at ingen uautorisert person får tilgang til den informasjonen, blir dataene lagret på en PC som er låst til enhver tid, bortsett fra når jeg bruker den aktivt.

Jeg skal erstatte navnet ditt og kontaktinformasjonen din med en kodenøkkel lagret på min egen liste og som er skilt fra den opprinnelige data som at din kontaktinformasjon og navnet ditt kan ikke kobles tilbake til informasjonen du har gitt meg.

Disse kodenøkler skal slettes ved prosjektslutt slik at alle data er anonyme.

Hvis transkripsjon av noen data trengs, vil jeg bearbeide dette selv.

Opplysningene fra prosjektet vil kun brukes i forhold til forskning for masteroppgaven min og ikke til andre formål.

Deltakerne vil *ikke* gjenkjennes i publikasjon av masteroppgaven min, de opplysningene som vil publiseres er nevnt i paragraf to i seksjonen «Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?» på sidene 1 og 2.

Hva skjer med opplysningene når jeg avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 15.05.2019 – datoen jeg håper å innlevere masteroppgaven min. Alle kodenøkler vil slettes ved prosjektslutt og de anonymiserte passene vil lagres videre, og kan bli brukt i en oppfølgingsstudie senere.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med: Meg – Afshan Bibi på e-post afshan.bibi@nmbu.no

Studieveilederen min – Katharina Glaab på e-post katharina.glaab@nmbu.no

NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på e-post personverntjenester@nsd.no eller telefon: 55582117.

Forskningsavdelingen NMBU, seniorrådgiver Jan Olav Aarflot – jan.olav.aarflot@nmbu.no

Med vennlig hilsen

Prosjektansvarlig

Studieveileder – Førsteamanuensis Katharina Glaab

Forsker – Student Afshan Bibi

Dato:

Dato:

Samtykkeerklæring

Vær så snill fyll ut og signere dette samtykkeerklæringskjemaet, og sende det tilbake til meg på e-post. Hvis det er vanskelig eller umulig å gjøre dette, er det bare å gi meg beskjed, så avtaler vi en annen løsning.

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «Historien bak Norges pass fra 1952-2019» og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

å delta i dette forskningsprosjekt som har som hovedformål å lage en visuelloversikt av norske pass fra 1950-tallet til i dag

at personopplysningene oppbevares til 15.05.2019 (datoen for prosjektslutt)

at de anonymiserte opplysningene om passet lagres etter prosjektslutt og kan bli brukt i en oppfølgingsstudie senere

Deltakerens navn:

E-post adresse:

(Dato, prosjektdeltakerens signatur)

Appendix III: Series of letters exchanged between Norwegian, Finnish, Danish and Swedish Police departments when Norway's Passport Law was being re-drafted. Source credit: The National Archives [Riksarkivet], RA/S-6489/D/L0235/0011. Retrieved 17.01.2019.

8

JUSTITTSMINISTERIET
2. ekspeditionskontor
SLOTSHOLMSGADE 10
33 92 33 40 TELEFAX 33 93 35 10

BS-695 MLK
Journ. 2.k. 1990-3703-45
1216 København K., den 3 JUNI 1991

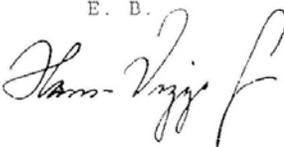
Det Kongelige Justis- og
Politidepartement
Akersgatan 42
Postboks 8005 Dep. _____
0030 Oslo 1 JUSTISDEPARTEMENTET
Norge. + bilag.

P

Under henvisning til Justis- og Politidepartementets skrivelse af 17. april 1991 vedrørende paslovgivningen sendes vedlagt forslag til lov om pas til danske statsborger m.v. med bemærkninger, justitsministerens tale ved fremsættelsen af lovforslaget i Folketinget den 7. marts 1952, betænkning over forslag til lov om udlændinges adgang til landet m.v. og forslag til lov om pas til danske statsborgere m.v.

Endvidere vedlægges til orientering forslag til lov om udlændinges adgang til landet m.v. med bemærkninger, idet dette indeholder regler om udlændinges rejselegitimation.

Der henvises til j.nr. 6650/90 P-J.

P. M. V.
E. B.

Hans-Viggo Jensen

INRIKESMINISTERIET
Polisavdelning

Datum

Dnr

31.5.1991

7

Magne Svor
rådgiver sekretaer i passlovutvalget
Det Kongelige justis- og
politidepartement

Hänvisning

Ärende

Härmed sänds lagberedningsdokument om passlagstiftningen.
Jag har skickat dessa dokumenter redan 3.5.1991, kanske
brevet har försvunnit på posten. Jag hoppas att Ni får
detta brev med posten.

Var god och hänvisa i svaret
till skrivelserns datum och nummer

Med vänlig hälsning

Tf. överinspektör


Anne Häyrynen

B9 10330U-27, 6996655, P

Postadress
PB 257
00171 HELSINGFORS

Gatuadress
Kyrkogatan 12

Telefon
Växel (90) 1601

Telekopiering
1602927



DET KONGELIGE JUSTIS- OG POLITIDEPARTEMENT

KONTOR: AKERSGT 42 · TLF. (02) 34 90 90 · TELEFAX (02) 34 95 30 · TELEX 21 403 JDEP N
POSTADRESSE: POSTBOKS 8005 DEP. 0030 OSLO 1

4.

Rikspolisstyrelsen
Registerbyrå
v/Brita Rutström
Pb. 12256
S-10226 Stockholm
L Sverige

Deres ref.

Vår ref. (bes oppgitt ved svar)

Dato

6650/90 P-J

17.04.91.

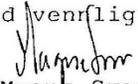
REVISJON AV PASSLOVGIVNINGEN

Ved Deres brev av 20. august 1990, mottok Justisdepartementet v/ Passlovutvalget, gjenpart av passlagen, passförordningen og Rikspolisstyrelsens föreskrifter och allmänna råd för verkställighet av passlagen och passförordningen. Materialet har vært til stor nytte for utvalget så langt, og man takker for velvillig bistand.

Under arbeidet har imidlertid utvalget følt et behov for å gjøre seg kjent med passlovgivningens forarbeider, og tør derfor be om å få tilsendt eventuelle offentlige utredninger, parlamentsresolusjoner m.v. som ligger til grunn for den svenske passlagen.

På forhånd takk!

Med venflig hilsen


Magne Svor
rådgiver
sekretær i pass-
lovutvalget

Til passlovutvalgets
medlemmer

13.05.91.

MØTE I PASSLOVUTVALGET

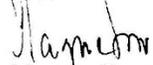
Det innkalles til møte i passlovutvalget

onsdag 22. mai kl. 11.30
i Regjeringsadvokatens lokaler

Vi fortsetter behandlingen av emnene passforbud/nektelse, tilbakekallelse av pass og inndragning av pass.

Vedlagt oversendes forarbeider til den svenske passloven. Jeg har ennå ikke mottatt noe materiale fra Danmark og Finland. Vedlegger også utdrag fra del III i "Bestemmelser om utskrivning og verneplikt i Norge" (BUV). Bestemmelsene er gitt med hjemmel i Vernepliktsloven og Utskrivingsreglementet.

Med hilsen


Magne Svor



Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
Noregs miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Postboks 5003
NO-1432 Ås
Norway