Analysing the Norwegian media debates on negative social control

Women with Muslim backgrounds' negotiations of citizenship as belonging, identity and participation

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Abstract

This study aims to examine how public discourse and how portrayal of women with Muslim backgrounds, have consequences for citizenship in Norway. Growing scepticism towards immigrants, and stronger sense of islamophobia have characterised public debates. The debates have since the 2000's frequently been connected to gender equality and the issue of women's rights. Minority communities have been accused of being oppressive to women, and portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds as passive victims have been visible in the debates. How does these portrayals affect women with Muslim backgrounds citizenship?

To answer this question, I have analysed the recent years debates on negative social control. By using Carol Bacchi's 'What is the problem represented to be?' framework for analysis., I analysed the discourses on negative social control, and how the contribute to portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds. Within these discourses I found three dichotomies that as characterised the debates on social control. The dichotomies of 'Norwegian' culture and the culture of the others, active agents vs. passive victims, feminism and antiracism.

These dichotomies have discursive consequences of how women with Muslim backgrounds are presented in the debates. However, a central aspect of the debates on negative social control was how a good number of women with Muslim backgrounds themselves participated in the debates. I found that, in their contributions to the debates, they have sought to challenge the before mentioned dichotomies, and in my interpretation succeeding.

I argue that these discussions and the portrayals have implications for citizenship. By using a conceptualisation of citizenship based on identity, belonging and participation, women with Muslim backgrounds are making claims for and negotiating citizenship based on identity, belonging and participation,

The women with Muslim background have disproven the dichotomies and the subsequent portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds by negotiating and making claims for citizenship. By making their claims for and negotiating citizenship, they have expanded the boundaries for membership into the 'imagined' Norwegian community

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background – Media debates on negative social control

In the spring of 2016, Nancy Herz wrote an opinion piece in the Norwegian newspaper, Aftenposten, stating, "We are the shameless Arabic girls and our time starts now" (*Vi er de skamløse jentene og vår tid begynner nå*) (Herz 2016). In the article Herz, rejects the shame external forces are imposing on individuals within ethnic minority communities. She describes how herself and others are put to shame by their ethnic communities for being a young woman active in public debates standing up for women's rights, both by these communities themselves, as well as the majority population. The article initiated widespread debates on negative social control, which gained a lot of attention. As a result, many individuals participated in the debates, in which many of them were women with Muslim backgrounds. Negative social control is a relatively new topic in public debates, even though practices like forced marriage, female genital mutilation and honour violence can be viewed as forms of social control. The debates were part of broader media discussions on immigration and integration.

One central theme for many of the women with Muslim backgrounds participating in the debates was how they did not want their experiences to be used to legitimize discriminatory discourses. Public debates in western societies, included Norwegian society, have been characterised by growing islamophobia (Van Es 2016:3-4). The aftermaths of 9/11, the consequential war on terrorism, and recent terrorist attacks by Islamic extremists, Islam and Muslims have increasingly become visible in public debates. As Muslims and Islam have increasingly been mentioned in the debates on immigration and integration, there are patterns suggesting that immigration have become synonymous with 'Muslim' immigration (Bangstad 2014:17).

Women's rights and gender equality have the recent years become a central aspect in the debates on immigration and integration, with a focus on the rights of the Muslim woman (Helseth 2016:22). When the question of Muslim women's rights has been addressed, there have been tendencies to portray

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women with Muslim backgrounds as oppressed victims (Van Es 2016). During the 1990's and early 2000's, it was increasingly argued in Norwegian public debates that Islam caused the oppression (Van Es 2016:43). The recent years the focus has been on culture, and how culture is a source of gendered oppression. This has led to discussion of if it is possible to combine multiculturalism[1] and women's rights (Okin 1999, Phillips 2007).

The portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds as oppressed victims are nothing new. As argued by Edward Said (1978) in his famous work '*Orientalism*', processes of othering consisting of stereotypical depictions of the 'other', were used to legitimise the European colonial rule. By portraying the colonised orient as uncivilised, while the European colonizer were portrayed as modern, divisions between the colonised and the coloniser were produced (Said 1978). These colonial images presented the racialized woman as oppressed by the colonised and in need of saving.

These images are still visible today, and when discussing minority women, the Norwegian public debates are characterised by a polarisation between perspectives from feminism and antiracism (Helseth 2017:22). The debates on negative social control were characterised by these opposing views. Debaters with minority backgrounds did in many instances refuse to give into this perceived contradiction, by explicitly stating that their experience will not be used to legitimise discriminatory or xenophobic discourses. In an article signed by 21 debaters with minority backgrounds in the Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten, they state: "The debates about negative social control and the 'shameless' girls are misused to legitimise a narrow and inhumane immigration, asylum- and integration debate" (Zariat, Srour, & Herz 2017). They are refusing to let their experience be used for purposes of legitimising discriminatory, xenophobic and islamophobic discourses.

Even though immigration is a rather new phenomenon in the Norwegian context, there are a growing percentage of the Norwegian population with immigrant

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[1] In these discussions the normative definitions of multiculturalism are addressed. In such definitions the active facilitating of cultural minorities rights is central. By implementing politics that preserves cultural difference (Teigen 2013:187).

backgrounds. Today it is estimated 765 108 immigrants in Norway, and 179 294 are Norwegian born with immigrant parents (SSB 2019). Thus, the negative images of Muslims in public debates does affect many individuals in Norwegian society. How does the images of Muslims in public debates affect individuals with Muslim backgrounds? Does it affect their citizenship to the Norwegian community?

Citizenship can be defined as a describing the relationship between the state and the individual and the relationship between its citizens (Lister 2003:3). It entails a formal and informal dimension, which the formal describes the legal status, while the informal dimension is more diffuse (Brochmann 2002:59). The informal dimension, which in Norwegian would be referred to as 'medborgerskap', are addressing the social mechanisms of society (ibid.). Dimensions of identity, belonging and participation are important aspects of informal membership.

1.2 Choice of research topic and research questions

In order to analyse the consequences of the negatively loaded portrayals of Muslim women in public media debates, and the effects it has had for women with Muslim backgrounds, I will in this thesis answer the following research question, which describes the overall aim of the thesis:

What potential consequences might the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds in media debates have for citizenship?

To answer this, I will answer the following research questions:

- What are the discourses on negative social control?

- What portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds is present in the discourses on negative social control?

- What are potential consequences of these portrayals for women with Muslim background's negotiations of citizenship, based on identity, belonging and participation?

The main goal of this thesis is to analyse how the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds have real life consequences for the women themselves. To

analyse the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds, I chose to study the media debates on negative social control. This decision was made due to how the discussion have been prominent in public debates and have been one of the most discussed topics in recent years. To my knowledge, at the start of this project there have not been conducted extensive research on the debates. The debates on negative social control, have been connected to minorities and immigrants, and questions of women's rights. Therefore, the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds is present in the debates. The topics are also highly contested subjects in public debates. There are power relations present in the debates, by defining who belongs and who does not. The debates and portrayals themselves have real life consequences. These discursive portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds, materialises in everyday lives and their experience of membership to the imagined community (Anderson 2006). The images can lead to exclusionary mechanism which sets the boundaries of informal membership. The boundaries can contribute to processes of marginalisation and stigmatisation, which manifests itself in society as for example discrimination. It is reported that over half of the population with immigrant backgrounds have experienced discrimination in Norwegian society (Tronstad 2009). Therefore, it is important to examine what the underlying understandings present in these images, and what implications the images have for citizenship.

When analysing what consequences how these images will affect women with Muslim backgrounds, citizenship will be the main theoretical concept. As previously mentioned, the concept of citizenship describes the relationship between the individual and between the state, and the relationship between its citizens (Lister 2003:3). The informal dimensions of citizenship will be at the centre of my conceptualisation of citizenship. As the informal dimension of citizenship is diffuse in its definition, there are power relations within the society that decides who obtains membership or not. Within the informal mode of citizenship, the dimensions of identity, belonging, and participation is important. As the Norwegian society becomes more and more diverse, these three dimensions becomes increasingly more important for citizenship in the Norwegian context. To be considerate of the growing differences in the Norwegian population, conceptualisation of citizenship that adhere to these

characteristics is important. Questions of participation, belonging and identity will be central for my conceptualisation of citizenship. The portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds and their discursive effects have potentially consequences for citizenship more spesifically the dimensions of belonging, identity, and participation. It has become increasingly important to study how policies, and discourses affects citizens' individual and collective identities and belongings, as well as their practice (Siim 2013:5).

To analyse the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds in discourses on negative social control, I will use Carol Bacchi's analytical framework, "What is the problem represented to be?" (WPR approach). The WPR approach was originally developed for analysing policies and their problem representations (Bacchi 2009). I have adapted the questions in her analytical framework, to suit my project. A central question in the framework is what are the underlying assumptions in the problem representations. In this case, I have used these analytical tools to examine the discourses of social control, and the underlying images of women with Muslim backgrounds.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

In the next chapter, chapter 2, I will define negative social control and present the context of the media debates on negative social control. Further, I will map out existing research on women with Muslim backgrounds. The chapter concludes with describing the relationship between feminism and antiracism and how it affects the images on women with Muslim backgrounds.

Chapter 3 will describe the theoretical framework used for my analysis. As mentioned before, citizenship will be the central analytical concept for my analytical discussion. I will start off by describing citizenship theory in general before mapping out the feminist critique of the concept. I also describe conceptualisations of citizenship based on social citizenship ('medborgerskap'). The dimensions of identity, belonging and participation, which is central for the analysis will be mapped out.

In chapter 4, I will address methodology and choice of method. The chapter will start of by explaining the choice of method, and how the texts samples were constructed. Further, the analytical framework will be mapped out. I will explain

how I intend to use Carol Bacchi's approach, 'What's the problem represented to be?'. Based on this framework, I have developed some analytical questions which will be explained in this chapter. Later, I describe how I have gone forward with the analytical process. In the end, I will discuss subjectivity and the ethical considerations I have faced during the research process.

In chapter 5, I will present the findings from the empirical material, and answering my first analytical question, which seeks to analyse the discourses on negative social control. I will describe which practices are understood as social control, and how the issue is connected to gender and sexuality. Following, I will present how the term 'skamløs'(Shameless) has been used in the debates, followed by the connections of social control to culture and religion. The chapter ends with describing how social control is understood as a minority issue. In this part the connection to integration, challenges of being multicultural and how the authors with Muslim backgrounds wish to not contribute to discriminatory, xenophobic and islamophobic discourses.

In chapter 6, the empirical findings will be discussed and connected to theories of citizenship. The chapter starts off with describing what images of women with Muslim women consists within the discourses present in the texts samples. Later, I will discuss the potential effects of the images have for citizenship for women with Muslim backgrounds.

Chapter 7 is where I will summarise the main arguments and the main findings from the previous chapters. In the end I will provide a few pointers for further research.

2.0 Background and context

2.1 Introduction

In the following chapter, I will provide background information regarding Norwegian debates surrounding negative social control. I will start of the chapter by defining social control, before I map out the discussions of negative social control. Further, I will present existing research on portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds in media debates, before I end the chapter by describing a perceived contradiction between feminism and antiracism, and between feminism and multiculturalism.

2.2 Social control

In any society, social control is a central mechanism, that regulates interactions between individuals within a society (Ugelvik 2019:14). Assuming a broader definition, social control is defined as the different tools a society utilizes as a means to "regulate itself and the systems and measures that has the goal of getting individuals to behave within the limits of what is understood as confirm behaviour, or 'normal' behaviour" (Ugelvik 2019:13-14).The threat of being excluded from society makes the individual comply with the dominant norms in a particular society(ibid.). The control attempts to control individuals behaviour and to behave in certain ways.

Social control manifests itself in numerous ways, in both formal and informal forms. These two forms of social control differ in the ways the norms they are based on are manifested in society (Ugelvik 2019:34-35). The formal control is based on formal norms that often are legally written down and publicly available (Ugelvik 2019:34). In contrast, the informal types of control are vaguer and are not written down rules but are just as important in the regulation of interactions between individuals of a society. All members of society are expected to know of these norms, as informal types of control are often connected to culture (Ugelvik 2019:35). To belong to in a society is to know of, accept and to comply to the societal norms (ibid.).

2.2.1 Subcultural and local forms of social control

Some types of social control exist for every member of a given society. Especially the formal types of control that are constituted through the legal

system. However, other forms of social control are local and/or culture specific (Ugelvik 2019:35). Subcultural norms do in many instances divert from the majority norms and thus the control of the society as a whole (ibid.). These subcultural forms of social control are often based on informal forms of social control. The family unit is a good example. Every family have their own rules and norms that each member must follow.

2.2.2 Negative social control

When discussing social control, it is useful to consider when does the control becomes too extensive? Can social control potentially become too restrictive of the individual? This form of social control has in the public debates been referred to as forms of negative social control. According to the action plan '*Retten til å bestemme over eget liv. Handlingsplan mot negative sosial control, tvangsekteskap, og kjønnslemlestelse'implemented* by the Norwegian government in 2017, negative social control is defined as:

"different forms of supervision, pressure, threats and force that are executed to ensure that individuals are living in compliance with the family or the groups norms. The control can be recognised as systematic and can be in disagreement with both convention on the rights of the children and Norwegian law" (Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017:12, my translation).

I will in this thesis refer to the specific types of negative social control that have been perceived as restricting individuals in excessive ways, as they appeared in in public Norwegian debates, and as defined in the above quote from the action plan. In the debates during this timeframe of the study from 2012 until the end of 2018(which will be further explained in chapter 4), negative forms of social control were the type of social control addressed. In the discussions of negative social control, negative social control, was often referred to as social control. Therefore, I will in this study refer to this negative social control, only as social control, while still acknowledging that social control itself is not necessarily harmful, but at the same time necessary for a society.

2.3 The Norwegian media debates on negative social control

It is difficult to pinpoint when the issue of social control first was introduced on the public agenda in Norway. Social issues that causes extensive control have for

a long time been discussed in public debates. Subcultural practices as, forced/arranged marriage, female genital mutilation, and honour violence, are practices that can be considered forms of negative social control (Teigen 2013, Bredal 2013, Wikan 2003).

2.3.1 Negative social control connected to honour and shame

In the recent years debates on negative social control, social control has been understood as the informal control based on an alternative norm system that to some extent is positioned in contrast to the norms of majority of society, and that rests on the notion of a collective honour and shame (Ugelvik 2019:102).

Social control is in many cases considered a result of an honour culture (Ugelvik 2019:102). Honour culture is prevalent in collectivistic cultures, where honour is highly appreciated. The concept of honour describes how the individual sees themselves and how others view them (Wikan 2008:9). Thus, ideas of honour have both an individual and collective dimension. Honour is a concept with positive connotations in most societies. How to achieve an honourable status, differs from various historical and cultural contexts (Wikan 2008:9).

The concept of honour is in some contexts based on ideas of gender divisions that have different normative expectations from women and men, and where the genders have different responsibilities in maintaining and protecting the honour (Ugelvik 2019:102). In such contexts, men often represent the family in the larger community and has historically been the head of the family, and thereby responsible for the collective honour (Wikan 2008:9). In contrast, women do not have honour at all (ibid.). While the honour is considered male, women possesses shame. To have shame is to know how to manage ones sexuality after the honour codex and norms of honour (Wikan 2008:9). If the sexuality is not controlled, the woman is shameless, and might lead the whole family into dishonour (Wikan 2003:73). In some instances, this threat of loss of honour, dishonour, can lead to honour-based violence and extensive social control in varying degrees. Dishonour is a public phenomenon, and when the dishonour and the subsequent shame becomes public it can have severe consequences (Wikan 2003:74).

Even though the public debates on negative social control to a high degree has been connected to minority and/or immigrant groups, I intend to highlight that extensive social control occurs in many different groups in the Norwegian society, and that these occurrences might be connected to honour. Loss of honour and feelings of shame have proven to be prevalent in many cases of violence in the Norwegian majority population, for example dishonour and jealousy have been proven to be a common trend in Norwegian murder trials (Ugelvik 2019:103). Existing research has found that the issue of social control is prevalent within groups off (so-called) ethnic Norwegians often members of Christian congregations. These brings up experiences of not being taken seriously by institutions in Norway. from public support system, due to their background (Kosuta 2018).

2.3.2 De 'Skamløse jentene' – The Shameless girls

An increasing number of Muslim minority women in Norway have participated in public debates in general. In her study on media representations of Muslim women in the Norway and the Netherlands, and how Muslim women's organisations reacted to the stereotypical portrayals, Margaretha Van Es (2016) notes aa slight increase of women with minority backgrounds, many with Muslim backgrounds, participating in public debates in Norway.

The debates in question were initiated by young minority women detailing their experiences of social control and the ways these have limited their abilities to assume control over their own lives. The participations were considered brave for rejecting the control external forces were trying to impose on them (Herz 2016). The term shameless became commonly used as a way of rejecting the shame external forces were trying to inflict upon the individual. Originally the term '*skamløs*' has been used to shame girls by claiming that they girls have no shame for behaving or not behaving in certain ways (Bile, Srour, & Herz 2017). Individuals comply themselves with the social control to avoid feelings of shame. One of the areas of which shame has been an important control mechanism in society has been sexuality (Ugelvik 2019:92). Sexuality, especially women's sexuality has been heavily restricted(ibid.).

In the debates on social control, the term was first mentioned by Nancy Herz in an article published in the newspaper Aftenposten, April of 2016. With the title: "We Are the Shameless Arabic Girls and Our Time Starts Now" (*"Vi er de skamløse jentene og vår tid begynner nå"*) (Herz 2016). In the article, Herz (2016) rejects the control that attempts to use shame to make individuals comply to certain behaviours. Instead, attention is given to the means in which minority girls and Arabic girls are attempting to resist these forms of social control. The term "*shameless girls"* appeared frequently in the debates and was used by the participants to describe young women from minority groups who spoke out about negative social control. The term came to be embraced by the women themselves.

In 2017, three of the shameless girls, Amina Bile, Sofia Srour, Nancy Herz, released a book named "*Shameless"* (2017). In the book they tell stories of their own experiences of social control and retell stories of others with experiences of social control in Norway. The stories in "*Shameless*" garnered a considerable amount of attention in the Norwegian media, with some commentators suggesting the book as a start of a movement with minority women. The debaters where praised for their braveness in speaking out on these issues.

The "*Shameless*" girls highlighted the problematic depictions of Muslims and other minorities in Norwegian society. An important aspect of the debates surrounding social control that the "*Shameless"* girls sought to emphasise was explicit rejection of legitimising discriminatory, xenophobic and islamophobic discourses in Norwegian society (Bile, Srour, & Herz 2017, Herz 2016).

2.5 Portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds in public debates
Several studies have addressed the framing of and the discourses on Muslim women in public debates. Van Es (2016:39) argues there has been a significant increase in the public debates relating to women with Muslim backgrounds and their position in Islam in the Norwegian public debates. There was a substantial increase during the 1990's, and more significantly after the terror attacks September 11th, 2001(Van Es 2016:39). Issues related to women's emancipation and immigrant integration were the themes where women with Muslim

backgrounds were mentioned (Van Es 2016:42). In many cases, these two themes were interconnected.

2.4.1 Stereotypes on Muslim women in the Norwegian debates

In her study Van Es (2016) found that since the arrival of Muslims in Norway, the Norwegian public debates have been full of stereotypes on Muslim women. In the late 1970's, early 1980's much of the focus was on "the pitiable housewife" or "the brave refugee woman" (Van Es 2016:60). The pitiable housewife stereotype depicted the average Muslim housewife as an individual following her husband to Norway(ibid.). This stereotype was constructed as someone to feel sorry for and in need of help, an element that has long been used by orientalist images, that existed long before they arrived in Norway (Van Es 2016:61). The pitiable housewife was often contrasted with the supposedly emancipated 'Norwegian' woman. At the same time, there were stereotypes of the 'brave refugee woman', which emphasised stories of the bravery of refugee women coming to Norway. Their agency was highlighted, by praising them for their courage and resilience through difficult times (Van Es 2016:65).

During the late 1980's early1990's, immigration to Norway increased significantly as did the public scepticism towards immigrants (Van Es 2016:62). During this period, young Muslim girls were increasingly referred to in public debates, as "the oppressed minority girl" (ibid.). They were depicted monolithic group, oppressed by practices like forced marriage and female genital mutilation. These practices were formerly referred to as minority issues were now more frequently understood to be a Muslim issue (Van Es 2016:70). The debates promoted the image of these young Muslim girls as vulnerable being subjected to their parents oppressive and sometimes violent cultures (Van Es 2016:66). Muslim girls and young women were solely in the context of their "victimhood", affirming the stereotype of "the oppressed minority girl" and a picture of the stereotypical oppressed minority girl, though having grown up in Norway, was still struggling to balance two cultures were created (ibid.).

The stereotypes continued to put a mark on public agenda during the 2000's, while issues like arranged marriage and female genital mutilation raised vast public attention (Bredal 2013, Teigen 2013). These debates spurred a sense of

crisis. A crisis that the politicians and society as a whole needed to take seriously, there was a need for urgent action and measures to combat these issues (Helseth 2017:18). The debates on the issues of forced marriage and female genital mutilation have been characterised by a hypervisibility and a form of crisis emancipation(*kriselikestilling*) [2](Bredal 2013:137, Siim & Skjeie 2008:323.).'

Hypervisibility refers to how the issues of forced marriage has been hypervisible in media debates. The hypervisibility is contributing to a discourse about these issues that these types of violence and social control, are explained from their culture, and thus separate from the violence majority women face (Bredal 2013:136-137). When the work against forced marriage is constructed as something different and special, the measures are not integrated in the public service system (Bredal 2013:137).

In addition to the characteristic of hypervisibility, the public debates on these issues were characterised by a form of crisis emancipation (Eggebø & Teigen 2009:333). According to Birte Siim & Hege Skjeie (2008), in the meeting between gender equality there is a crisis frame of gender equality created in the media. Such a frame that is based on the assumptions that gender inequality only exists in minority groups, and these minority specific problems are separated from the general gender equality agenda (Siim & Skjeie 2008:323, Teigen 2013). The persistent attention given to the supposed lack of gender equality among ethnic minority groups in Norway has played a central role in Norwegian public debates and has contributed to a sense of crisis used for legitimising stricter immigration policies (Teigen 2013:181). Furthermore, this serves to separate the issue of gender inequality gender within in ethnic minority groups from the general gender equality debates, and thus separating these issues into their own gender equality agenda (Teigen 2013:181). The development and implementation of policies concerning honour-based violence, genitalia mutilation and forced marriage within this crisis frame, have in in many cases restricted individual rights instead of enhancing them (Siim & Skjeie 2008:232).

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[2] I have encountered several translations of 'kriselikestilling', however, I will use crisis emancipation as the translation of the concept (as Van Es 2016:68)

The focus on these single issues like forced marriage and genitalia mutilation, and the debates characterised by hypervisibility and crisis emancipation can be said to be caused by a perceived threat against gender equality. Even though there is no formal declaration of achieved gender equality, there is a perceived self-image that Norway are one of the most gender equal countries in the world, and that Norway have achieved gender equality (Mulinari et al. 2009) There is a strong gender equality discourse in the Scandinavian countries that have influenced the debates on these issues.

2.5 Perceived contradiction between feminism in public debates

In public debates, it exists a perceived contradiction between feminism and antiracism. In her study, Hannah Helseth (2017) examined 239 texts written by self-proclaimed Muslims about women's rights from year 2000-2012. She found that a contradiction between antiracism and feminism characterised public debates when discussing women with Muslim backgrounds rights. When criticising patriarchal structures in minority communities in public debates, there is a risk of being accused of contribute to racism. On the contrary, if you criticise stigmatising statements about Muslim women's rights, there are risks of being accused for of trivialising the oppression. (Helseth 2017:16).

The contradiction between feminism and antiracism has a long history and it can be traced back the fight against slavery and colonialism (Helseth 2017:66). Both black feminism and postcolonial feminism have criticised this contradiction, by criticising which subjects and whose experiences were the grounds for political struggle and by doing this trying to get white women to reflect upon their privileged position (Helseth 2017:58). They challenged dominant notions in feminist movements that in many cases have been built upon the experience of the white middle-class woman. Their main goal was to challenge ideas of how gender was the only source of oppression, but factors as ethnicity is important (Crensthaw 1991).

The organised feminist movements have been accused of not being inclusive to women of colour in their feminism. These conflicts have been visible in the Norwegian context. In her study on Norwegian minority and majority women's organisation, and their representations of feminism, Cecilie Thun (2012a) found

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that minority women are excluded from majority women's' representations of feminism. Minority women were constructed as different and there were boundaries between 'Norwegian' women and 'immigrant/minority' women (Thun 2012a:52).

2.6 Multiculturalism and feminism

The perceived contradiction between antiracism and feminism have been central in discussions on multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a contested concept, which has different definition. In this context, the descriptive and normative definitions are most relevant. A descriptive definition uses multiculturalism as a description of cultural diversity in society, while a normative description explains how the multicultural diversity should be approached (Teigen 2013:187)[3]. This approach to multiculturalism describes and political idea that recognises differences between groups within different public arenas, by implementing politics, that maintains cultural difference (Teigen 2013:187, Døving 2009:43).

Recent years, multiculturalism has been increasingly viewed in a negative light. There has been talks of the death of multiculturalism, and there is growing worry of economic and social integration of ethno-cultural minorities and a rising world tension over terrorism (…)" (Phillips 2007:3). The question of women's rights have been a central worry, and there have been discussion on if it is possible to combine multiculturalism and feminism. I will address these discussions in the following parts.

2.6.1 Susan Okin – '*Is multiculturalism bad for women*?'

In the article '*Is multiculturalism bad for women?*'(1999), Susan Okin claims that feminism and multiculturalism is incompatible (Okin 1999). She criticises the normative definitions of multiculturalism that seeks to protect minority cultural groups by giving them special group rights or privileges (Okin 1999:10-11). According to Okin, this is problematic because group rights prevents the freedom of the individual. The rights of children and women will be set aside, due to how these cultures tends to contain patriarchal structures and practices. She highlights practices of wearing hijab, polygamy, female genitalia mutilation,

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[3] I will use multiculturalism as a descriptive term.

and honour culture, as examples of cultural practices that oppresses women in non-western cultures (Okin 1999:14-17). Okin claims that all cultures are inherently patriarchal, but some societies have to a bigger extent moved away from these patriarchal structures, as she claim is the case 'western' cultures (Okin 1999:16). The article was met with massive critique and it facilitated many discussions on the subject. One of her critics, was Anne Phillips with her conceptualisation of '*Mulitculturalism without culture*'.

2.6.2 Anne Phillips – '*Multiculturalism without culture*'
In her book, '*Multiculturalism without culture*' (2007), Anne Phillips (2007) criticises Okin, and states that through a multiculturalism without culture, feminism and multiculturalism can be united. The combination is possible because both concepts aims for equality (Phillips 2007:3). Phillips solution is a multiculturalism without culture, which aims to not construct or reproduce stereotypes (Phillips 2007:8). To not construct or reproduce stereotypes, understandings of culture needs to be different. She argues that it is the understandings of culture that leads to these assumptions and stereotypes about other cultures(ibid.). Culture is not a defined unit and the conflicts between cultures are exaggerated and are not bigger than the conflicts within cultural groups (ibid.). Understandings of culture needs to be nuanced, as something that influences, shapes, and/or limits action, but is not determining actions. There have been tendencies of representing individuals from minority or non-western groups as driven by their culture to behave in particular ways (Phillips 2007:8-9). In these understandings, culture becomes the main motivation of every action, and their agency becomes denied. By dispensing essentialist understandings of culture, and a bigger focus on human agency, multiculturalism can be combined with women's rights.

Phillips claims that in the discussion following Okin's article, Okin was regarded as representing a hegemonic western discourse that defines non-western cultures as patriarchal (Phillips 2007:2). As a result of the debates, feminist became afraid to discuss the issue of gender equality in minority cultures, due to how feminist rhetoric have been used to contribute racist and xenophobic discourses, especially by anti-immigration followers (Phillips 2007:2). The debates on

gender equality came include cultural stereotypes, and feminist holding back their criticism in order to not contribute to these stereotypes (ibid.).

3.0 Theoretical framework

3.1 Citizenship

3.1.1 Historical developments and T.H. Marshall's framework of citizenship

Citizenship has been one of the most popular concepts in political theory. The concepts success has resulted in vast different conceptualisations and understandings. A common understanding of the concept is that citizenship describes the relationship between the individual and the state, and between the citizens themselves (Lister 2003:3).

The idea of citizenship can be traced back to ancient Greece, where the right to be a member of the city was highly valued (Siim 2013:2). Not all individuals were provided membership; women and slaves were not considered members of the city-state. Modern conceptualisations of citizenship grew out from nation building and industrialisation in the late 18th century, where the importance of ensuring freedom and equality for the individual became central (Siim 2013:2). At that time, citizenship defined the legal status for its citizens within the nation state. It gave the individual the right to be located within the nation's borders, and citizenship constructed the limits of who were included and excluded in the national communities (Siim 2013:3). Citizenship can be both exclusionary and inclusionary in how it works.

One of the most used definitions of citizenship comes from T.H Marshall, who defines citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the right and duties with which the status is endowed" (Marshall 1950:28-29). Marshall's work was based on the vision of equal rights for the working class in capitalist society, inspired by the evolution of civil, political and social rights in Britain form the eighteenth to the twentieth century (ibid.). He developed a framework of citizenship based on principles of freedom, equality and solidarity, that gives individuals equal civil rights (necessary for individual freedom), political rights (the right to participate in the exercise of political power) and social rights (the right to economic welfare and security) (Siim 2013:3). The individuals do not only have rights, but as members of the community they have obligations, which are just as important, such as paying taxes and doing military duty.

While the emphasis in Marshall's framework is on the rights and duties of the citizen, he also highlights the importance of a common culture and experiences as an expression of the citizens's' membership in a political community (Siim 2000:27). These commonalities create solidarity that binds society together. With a rise in globalisation and migration, the idea of 'common' culture has increasingly become a discussed issue. I will discuss the connections of citizenship and culture further later in this chapter.

Participation is central in some conceptualisation of citizenship. In these conceptualisations of citizenship, citizenship is defined as a set of political practices that "involves specific public rights and duties with respect to a given political community" (Bellamy 2008:3, cited in Thun 2013:27). The participatory model of citizenship has roots back to ancient Greece, where political participation was seen as a duty (Thun 2013:27). Today an understanding of political participation is based on how citizens haves the right to vote and participate in formal politics(ibid.).

3.1.2 Feminist critique of citizenship

Marshall's citizenship theory in general has been highly criticised from various perspectives, and especially by feminists. Feminists have criticised the discriminatory mechanisms of Marshall's citizenship, which excludes marginalised groups. Marginalised groups have been excluded based on their social position in certain contexts through legal, political, and social processes. The focus of the criticism has been on how the inclusionary and exclusionary mechanisms in many cases are based on gendered and racialized patterns (Lister 2003:44).

A critique from feminist scholars has been how the concept of citizenship has been considered androcentric, due to the development of the concept is based on the development of the rights of men, and thus experiences of men (Siim 2000:13). The development of the concept has constructed a notion of citizenship as gender neutral, which in practice was modelled after the experiences of the white male. Women and other marginalised groups' experiences or rights were not considered. The androcentrism inherent in the concept is based on the disembodied individual, which once again excludes

women. Women enter the public sphere as embodied individuals, as a counterpart to the disembodied male norm, when the latter is taken for granted (Lister 2003:72-73) Women have throughout history been identified with the body, nature and sexuality. The masculine ideal for participation in the public sphere is based on ignoring bodily needs, feelings and desires. Men are considered being able to transcend these bodily 'obstacles', but women are not (ibid.).

A central part of Marshall's framework is that citizenship includes duties and obligations. Women and men have different possibilities to fulfil these obligations. Both participation in politics and wage work is connected to the public sphere. Women have traditionally been associated with the family and unpaid care-work in the private sphere. Women's exclusion from citizenship is thus a result from their relegation to the private sphere (Lister 2003:75).

The public/private split has significance for conceptualisation of citizenship when addressing participation. This association with the private sphere has made women historically underrepresented in participation in politics. Even though more and more women are participating in party politics, men are occupying the majority of parliamentary seats worldwide (World Bank 2018) However, women are more likely to be politically active in informal politics, such as various forms of community-based and social movements politics (Lister 2003:28). As a result, feminists have sought to expand the definition of politics to include informal political activities. Women's participation in informal politics should be recognised and included in the approaches to citizenship (Lister 2003:143). With a narrow understanding of politics, politics as party politics, women tend to be excluded from citizenship.

Marshall's citizenship framework did not consider these gendered conceptualisations of citizenship (Siim 2013:6). Feminist frameworks of citizenship has challenged the underlying false universalism in the concept (Siim 2013:8). According to Siim (2013), Marshall's framework was built on the premise of the second-class citizenship of women and minorities (Siim 2000:27, Siim 2013:4). As the concept has been based on the development of social rights

of (white) men, it fails to acknowledge how the rights of "women and other subordinated groups has its own history and logic" (Siim 2000:13)

3.1.3 Dimensions of citizenship – social dimensions of citizenship('medborgerskap')

The exclusionary mechanisms of the citizenship highlighted by feminist scholars have been addressed by expanding the concept to include several dimensions of citizenship. By expanding the concept, new meanings and dimensions have been included (Siim 2013:8). Scholars often distinguish between three analytical dimensions of citizenship, equal status, rights and obligations, political participation and citizens' voice, identities and belonging (Siim 2013:4). The first category is what can be considered formal membership, describing the legal status of the individual (Thun 2013:24). The latter two categories describe informal memberships, which in Norwegian would be what we call 'medborgerskap' (Thun 2013:24, Brochmann 2002:59). This mode of citizenship can include a variety of dimensions, but the most common ones includes dimensions of identity, loyalty, belonging, trust and participation (Brochmann 2002:59). Ideally, a fulfilled 'medborgerskap', encompasses "maintaining obligations and rights, and participation on different levels and in various spheres, and includes a subjective feeling of belonging and identity" (Brochmann 2002:59, my translation). What it takes to achieve membership in these categories is diffuse, but it relates more to the social mechanism of society, rather than the legal aspects. The social aspects of citizenship is just as important as the legal status. Weak forms of social citizenship contribute to ranging of individuals as second-rate citizens, marginalisation and exclusion (Brochmann 2002:59).

Recent year's conceptualisation of "inclusive citizenship is as much about recognition as about access to formal rights" (Lister 2007:51). Due the globalisation and migration, and the subsequent multiculturalization of society, a central discussion in citizenship theory has become how to develop an inclusive conceptualisation when faced with increasing difference. How can citizenship as a universalist concept address the differences of multicultural society? The

diversity of individuals' real-life experiences cannot be recognised by a universalist framework of citizenship. Discrimination faced by women and marginalised social groups is a major challenge. Moving towards multicultural societies, ethnicity tends to become an independent factor explaining differentiation in citizenship rights (Siim 2013:5).

When analysing citizenship in a multicultural context, an intersectional approach is useful. Feminist scholars have been concerned with the intersections between gender and other social categories, like ethnicity, age, sexuality, and other forms of difference and inequality (Siim 2013:8). Intersectionality has become a central concept in feminist research, after Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term, in her 1989 paper "*Demarginalisaing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics*". Crenshaw highlighted how black women in the US experienced oppression based on both their gender and ethnicity. Their experiences cannot be explained by one factor alone. An individual's position is based on how several different categories intersects in her experiences. Since then, intersectionality has become central in both feminist scholarship and movements. The concept is used in various ways in analytical processes, but it is common to refer to intersectionality as describing how different social categories intersects in "individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, cultural ideologies, and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis 2008:68). The concept of intersectionality challenges the false universalism inherent in the category of women. Women (or any other social category) are not necessarily a homogeneous group.

These intersections influence an individual's achievement of citizenship. The false universalism of Marshallian conceptualisation of citizenship does not take into account the significance of ethnicity, age, sexuality and (dis) and other social categories for the fulfilment of citizenship. Studies of women's citizenship should take into account citizenship as it works for dominant and subordinated groups, with focus on intersectional categories such as ethnicity, age and sexuality (Yuval-Davis 1997:49 referenced Siim 2000:13-14).

I will in in my conceptualisation of citizenship draw upon the feminist critiques mentioned above and conceptualisations of citizenship. Particularly, I will use feminist critique that focuses on the exclusionary effects of citizenship, and how these effects are differentiated across different social categories, like gender and ethnicity. As the Norwegian society becomes increasingly multicultural, these questions become more and more relevant for the Norwegian context. Considering how social categories produces differentiated access to fulfilment of citizenship, it is important to widen the definitions of citizenship. Feminist scholars have widened the concept by moving beyond the rights-based approaches to citizenship, through focusing not only on rights and status, but including dimensions of identities, belonging and participations, as important aspects of citizenship (Nyhagen & Halsaa 2016:3).

The concept of social citizenship('medborgerskap') will be the basis of my conceptualisation of citizenship. The social citizenship describes not only the set of social relationship between the individual and the state, but the social relationship between individuals (Lister 2003:15). Included in social citizenship, are the dimensions of identity, belonging and participation. These dimensions have been central in Scandinavian approaches to citizenship, where the focus has been on the bond between individuals. Feelings of solidarity have been highlighted as important because of long traditions of social democracy (Lister 2003:15). On the account of Norwegian society becoming increasingly multicultural, aspects of identity in approaches to citizenship becomes more important. With a stronger anti-Muslim discourse in western countries, including Norway, it is reasonable to expect that this will affect young Muslim women's sense of belonging and identity. Birte Siim argues that it has become "increasing important to study how discourses and policies affects citizens' individual and collective identities and belongings as well as their practice (Siim 2013:5)". It is important to use a conceptualisation of citizenship that include sense of belonging and identity for this project, as the public discourse represented in the debates on negative social control will impact the experiences of citizenship.

Participation is also an important dimension of citizenship for this analysis. Participation is both important for the relationship between the individual and

the state, but also the relationship between its citizens. The dimension of participation is directly linked to the other dimensions of citizenship that will be included in this analysis, which are identity and belonging. The social dimensions of citizenship that describes the informal membership includes an essential aspect that "constitutes elements of broader discourse in society, which directly or indirectly influences the state's politics and institutions (Thun 2013:30). The informal membership that includes identity and sense of belonging in society, is political, as a result of how these factors influences their abilities to participate in society(ibid.). "In order to fully exercise the right to political participation as a legal citizen, one also has to be recognised as a citizen in the informal sense of the term ('medborgerskap'), which encompasses identity and belonging (Thun 2013:29)".

In the following parts, I will address the three dimensions of citizenship, which are identity, belonging and participation, and which will be central for my analysis. I will describe how I define these dimensions and expand upon why they are important to answer my research question. The dimensions of identity and belonging are deeply interconnected and can be difficult to separate. However, I chose to separate the discussion, but will address the overlaps. In the end I will explain how the dimension of participation is important for the analysis.

3.1.4 Citizenship as identity

I will start at this part by addressing how identity is important for citizenship. Identity is multi-layered, fluid, and always negotiating. An individual has many identities, that shifts and are dependent on and negotiated in different contexts. Identities can be both individual and collective and where the collective often is a resource for personal identities (Yuval-Davis 2006:202). As the aforementioned concept of intersectionality suggests, multiple social categories intersect in the individuals lived experiences. These social categories can be ascribed as identities.

A useful concept to explain the processes of fluidity and negotiations relating to identity is identity work. Identity work is defined as the negotiations taking place "between collective identities ascribed to us from others and our own

identifications with various manifest and imagined communities of belonging"
(Andersson 2000:291). Identity work explains the dialectical process of how
external and internal forces contribute in the production of identity and how
personal and collective identities interplay in processes of identity production.
Recognition and misrecognition are central aspects of this process, especially for
individuals exposed to the stigma of otherness (Andersson 2000:292).
Misrecognition refers to imbalances between the individual identifications and
the collective identities (Andersson 2000:55). To the individual, misrecognition
of personal identity means that her specific capacities and multiple
identifications are ignored (Andersson 2000:292).

In the Norwegian society characterised by difference, identity work becomes
important. I consider that having identities recognised as parts of citizenship is
essential for informal membership. Vulnerable groups, for example ethnic
minority groups might experience process of misrecognition by struggling to get
their identities acknowledged. The misrecognition can lead to stigmatisation
and/or marginalisation to various degrees. Examining the identity work of
women with Muslim backgrounds, and if their identity work is recognised by the
majority, becomes important for their possibilities of citizenship based on
identities. The discourses on Muslim women in public debates has, as seen in
chapter 2, been characterised by stereotypes, that inflict certain identity
characteristics on Muslim women that they may or may not recognise themselves
in. The discourses presented in public debates contribute to collective identities
based on identities of being a Muslim woman.

3.1.5 Citizenship as belonging

Feelings of belonging of a community is essential for the individual. Belonging
"is about emotional attachment, about feeling home (…) and about feeling safe"
(Yuval-Davis 2006:197). It involves emotional and psychological dimensions
that are central for the well-being of the individual, and important for the
fulfilment of citizenship. These feelings of belonging are not always fixed and
have be negotiated. Certain social groups, like young people, immigrants and
marginalised groups, are more susceptible to processes of negotiating belonging
(Lister et al.2007:9). The differing experiences of social groups affect feelings of
belonging to the citizenship community.

Feelings of belongings play out on different levels. Yuval-Davis (2006) divides between three major analytical levels where the production of belonging occurs. These three levels are: social locations, identifications and attachments, and ethical and political values (Yuval-Davis 2006:199). The level of social locations describes how "social and economic locations which at each historical moment, have particular implications vis a vis the grids of power relations in society". Social locations are dependent on context and have different implications in different contexts. For instance, being Muslim in a western context where islamophobia is dominant in public discourse can have implications for feelings of belonging.

The second level of belonging entails identifications and emotional attachment. This aspect of belonging relates to the identities and identifications the individual has. Not all identities include aspects of belonging, but in many cases these identifications do relate indirectly or directly into being a member of a grouping or a collective (Yuval-Davis 2006:202). This level goes to show how feelings of identifications and identity might be important for feelings of belonging, and thus illustrates the interrelations of dimensions of identity and belonging in the concept of citizenship.

Constructions of belonging reflects emotional investments and desire for attachments: individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than position of identity as a stable state (ibid.). Constructions of feelings of belonging has a performative dimension. Specific repetitive practices in relation to specific social and cultural spaces, which link individual and collective behaviour are crucial for the construction and reproduction of identity narratives and constructions of attachment (Yuval-Davis 200:203). The identity work that individuals have to perform to get their identities recognized, are frequently grounded in a wish to belong. The different levels of identities thus have consequences for belonging. A sense of belonging does also happen on different levels. An individual can feel a sense of belonging at the local level, while not feeling a sense of belonging at the national level.

Ethical and political values are important for how the social locations and identities and attachments are valued and judged when it comes to the issue of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006:203). This level of belonging describes the attitudes and ideologies concerning where and how identity and categorical boundaries are being and/or should be drawn. These negotiations are considered the politics of belonging. The politics of belonging concerns the constructions of insiders and outsiders, the distinction between 'us' and 'them', in the political and or social (imagined) community (Yuval-Davis 2006:204). Benedict Anderson defines the nation as being an imagined community. The nation is imagined, as the members will never know most of their fellow-members, or meet them, yet in the minds of the members, there are images of community (Anderson 2006). Each national context has their own imaginations on what constructs these national imagined communities, with different boundaries dependent on people's social locations, people's experiences and definitions of self, but probably even more importantly on their values (Yuval-Davis 2006:204).

In the Norwegian national context, with increasing multiculturalization, the question of politics of belonging becomes important. The central question is what is required from a specific person for them to be entitled to belong, to be considered as belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006:209). Some highlight the importance of common descent, while others emphasize common culture, religion and/or language. In western European contexts including the Norwegian context, religion is "is deeply involved in the politics of belonging linked to the economy, migration, multiculturalism and social integrations, fear of Muslims, expressed in islamophobia, and outright discrimination, is a salient aspect of the politics of belonging" (Nyhagen, & Halsaa 2016:61). The aspect of islamophobia and general growing scepticism of immigrants leads to strict boundaries for the possibilities of belonging. The different levels of belonging do not have to correspond.

As Thun (2012b) found in her study on lived citizenship among Christians and Muslims women in Norway, she found one of her Muslim participants as feeling well integrated at the local level, but in society at a whole the experience was different. Society did not see her as well integrated due to her identity as a

woman with Muslim backgrounds (Thun 2012b:20). These findings illustrate the complexity of the concept of politics of belonging. The politics of belonging involved not only the maintenance and reproduction of the boundaries of the community of belonging by the hegemonic political powers but also their contestation and challenge by other political agents. (Yuval-Davis 2006:205). With increasing immigration, and a growing Muslim population, the dominant notions of belonging have been challenged.

3.1.6 Citizenship as participation

Participation is another dimension of citizenship, which becomes relevant for the Norwegian context. As mentioned above, participation has come to mean political participation (Thun 2013:27) However, as already mentioned, not all groups of individuals have the same prerequisites for participation. Marginalised social groups does not have the same opportunities for participation. Making the dimension of participation in citizenship more inclusive, the definitions of political participation have to be broadened. As previously mentioned, feminist critiques of citizenship have sought to expand the definitions of politics. I draw upon these conceptualizations of political participation and will for this thesis use a broad understanding of political participation, and thus participation as citizenship. Political participation will include both formal and informal politics. I will use Lister (2003) definition of participatory citizenship, which understands participation as being connected to the public sphere, but the public sphere is not separate from the private sphere, it rather interacts (Lister 2003:30). This definition includes areas outside of formal politics, such as civil society in which women are more likely to participate(ibid.).

Moreover, Lister argues that to fulfil the potential of citizenship, the individual needs to be able to act like a citizen. (Lister 2003:41-42) She argues a distinction between having a status as a citizen and being a citizen in practice. The enactment of citizenship does not only entail citizenship as a status and practice as citizen but includes the possibility to make claims that disrupt prominent definitions of citizenship (Thun 2013:30). Understanding citizenship as practice, opens a broad understanding of practices by non-citizens, and practices that challenges and transform current understandings (ibid.). The earlier women's movements can be considered an example of enacting citizenship by making

claims for full citizenship. The 1800's and 1900's women's movement challenged dominant notions of citizenship at the time. Later, in the 70's the definitions of the political became expanded, by claiming that personal is political (Thun 2013:30).

The enactment of citizenship is a relevant aspect of citizenship, for my analysis. I argue that the participation in public debates can be considered political, and a way of enacting citizenship. Are women with Muslim backgrounds challenging the dominant notions of citizenship? Are the boundaries of membership challenged through their participation in public debates? These will be important questions for my analysis.

3.2 Citizenship in the Norwegian context

Over the last forty years, Norwegian society has become a diverse society as a result of immigration (Thun 2013:33). Citizenship thus becomes an important question. What does it take to acquire membership in the imagined Norwegian community?

The formal citizenship, that describes an individual's legal status, has in the Norwegian context been based on the jus sanguinis principle, which emphasises ethnic linage and decent (Brochmann 2002:68). Immigrants that have children in Norway, do not autonomically become Norwegian citizens in a legal sense.

The informal membership is harder to define, and its boundaries are more fluid and unclear. However, the jus sanguinis principle has implications for the informal membership. To achieve informal membership (social citizenship- 'medborgerskap') which includes identity and feelings of belonging, in the Norwegian society, an individual has to conform to an ethnos-tradition of citizenship (Thun 2013:34). The ethnos-tradition of citizenship highlights "common descent, history, shared cultural traditions and customs as constitutive elements of the nation or of national identity" (Thun 2013:34). These aspects influence what is considered to be Norwegian. 'Norwegianness' becomes central in drawing boundaries in who is considered a part of the informal community. The boundaries are based on the strong ideals of what it means to be Norwegian. Gullestad (2002) found that there is a symbolic hegemony of the majority, where the ethno-nationalism and racial thinking is present. Racial discourses are

embedded in other discourses and they are normalised in common sense (Gullestad 2005:44). Gender equality is one of these symbolic boundaries in which lines are drawn between us and them (Mulinari et al. 2009).

Integration is a way for immigrants to exceed the boundaries Norwegianness. Integration can be defined as "a social process where that at some level, unites different minorities and the majority to the Norwegian society" (Døving 2009:9, my translation). It signifies process where differences are united into one unity. Within this unity there is a need for some commonalities. In the 2000's, gender equality and human rights were considered basic values of society, and these values were considered the social 'glue (Brochmann & Hagelund 2010:262-263, referred to in Thun 2013:33)' "Ethnic minorities are offered rights and cultural tolerance in exchange for accepting these values" (ibid.).

In recent years the concept of integration has become a buzzword in public debates related to immigration. With stricter regulation of migration policies, tensions between pluralist integration and assimilation have increased (Lister et al. 2007:88). The model of integration based is on greater assimilation into the nation state and its cultural traditions and less to an embrace of multicultural, post-nationalist society, even though elements of this can be seen (Lister et al. 2007:90)

3.3 Neoliberal ideology, individualisation, and being a victim

As illustrated in chapter two, there has been a strong tendency in public debate in western context, including the Norwegian, to refer to Muslim women as victims of oppression (Van Es (2016). In the age of neoliberal ideology, where freedom and individual agency are highly valued, being portrayed as a victim carries a lot of consequences. Victims are considered weak due to harm exposed to them. I argue that the negative images on victims can be attributed neoliberal ideology. I will describe further in the following parts.

3.3.1 Neoliberal ideology and individualisation

Neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices, that puts freedom and the individual at the centre (Harvey 2005:2). The ideology promotes free-market capitalism, privatisation, deregulation and withdrawal of the state from many areas of welfare provision (ibid.). By implementing these practices, the freedom

of the individual and the free market will be secured. Since the 1970's, there has been a turn to neoliberalism in political economic practices and thinking (Harvey 2005:2). Neoliberalism has become a hegemonic mode of discourse that has become increasingly dominant in the world (Harvey 2005:3). Individual freedom and responsibility are emphasised over solidarity.

The neoliberal mode of discourse influences how the individuals acts and thinks. As an ideology and worldview, neoliberalism has determined certain psychological terms for human interactions that influences individuals lives (Madsen 2011:96). The assumption gives the illusion of a full autonomous and rational subject that are fully responsible for everything that happens in her life (Van Es 2016: 77). According to Hylland-Eriksen (2007), neoliberal ideology can be described, as a form individualism where the most important factor for the individual is self-realisation (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:126). The individual has complete freedom to realise itself without any structural barriers. Freedom gives the individual the opportunity to be whomever she wants. This implies that societal structure does not exist and that there are no constraints on the individual to fully realise themselves.

The neoliberalist mode of discourse has implications for how being a victim of oppression is viewed. Since the 1980's, neoliberalism has turned being a victim into a sign of weakness (Van Es 2016:76). Being oppressed itself is now considered a stigma. The neoliberal discourse has framed being a victim of oppression as being weak, passive, and unable to keep up with the healthy competition that is essential to modern life (Van Es 2016:77). Since the rise of neoliberalism, being oppressed has become some sort of personal attribute, an undesired departure from the ideal type of neoliberal subject who is always free, independent and successful (ibid.). When public discourse presents women with Muslim backgrounds as victims, women with Muslim backgrounds are presented as deviant from the ideal neoliberal subject. However, being a victim has not always been understood as something negative. Throughout history, social movements have used the position as victim to demand rights and recognition, as it was an important part of the women's movement in the 1970's. "As long as women actively fought against their oppression, being oppressed was in itself no necessarily a stigma." (ibid.).

3.3.2 Neoliberal mode of discourse in public debates on minorities

The neoliberal mode of discourse has influenced the public debates in the Norwegian context. Thomas Hylland-Eriksen (2007) describes how the characteristics of the Norwegian debates on immigration and minorities have changed over the years. The before mentioned shift towards neoliberalism has influenced the way minorities are portrayed in public debates (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:126). Neoliberal ideologies have contributed to a discursive shift towards individualisation that has caused two prominent changes in the discussion relating to the relationship between the majority and minority (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:125). One change is that the debates have gone from focusing on racism and discrimination towards the minority groups, to a stronger focus on oppression and denial of rights inside the minority groups themselves (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:125). There is more focus on issues like arranged marriage, honour violence, religious clothing instead of problems like discrimination, labour participation etc. The public debates on negative social control can be considered a result of this discursive shift. Related to this change is the second development in which the debates have shifted from focusing on cultural rights, to a focus on the rights of the individual (ibid.). Together with neoliberal ideologies, these shifts can also be attributed by discourses of the crisis of multiculturalism, where the issues in cultural minority communities were highlighted, and group rights were deemed negatively. Both developments have pushed responsibility from society to the minority communities themselves, in which the responsibilities entail integrating and adapting to society (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:126).

The aforementioned changes can be connected to prevalent neoliberal ideology in the Norwegian society and its focus on individual rights and free choice. It is up to the individuals themselves to sort their lives out. Until recently structural explanations of problems related to issues about immigration have been accepted (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:126-127). The public discourse today has tendencies to focus on shortcomings and evil intentions when confronted with cultural differences. Diversity is positive, and even in some cases economically profitable. However, bearers of differences have become portrayed as inferior, not as an ethnicity or cultural group, but as individuals. They are individuals that oppress each other, and silently allows others to oppress them, and therefore

can't blame the society if they are failing to integrate (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:128). Difference is thus threatening to the ideas of individualisation that is underlying in the neoliberalist ideology (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:129). Individualistic values connected to freedom of choice is basic, and that difference unlike diversity is visible as soon as the community/collective is trying to overrule the individual (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:125).

4.0 Research design and methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I intend to give an overview of my research design and methodology. The chapter starts with outlining the choice of method and explaining why the method is appropriate to answer my research questions. Following, I will be describing the choice of sample, the data collection and how the data was analysed. In the end, ethical considerations and subjectivity is also addressed.

4.2 Qualitative text analysis

When conducting research, the choice of method is important, as the methodological choices affects the results (Wideberg 2001:15). To answer my research questions, I found text analysis to be the most appropriate. Textual analysis deconstructs and "actively engages with the spoken and unspoken meanings or discourses encoded within texts" (Winchester & Rofe 2016:11). Such textual analysis will help me deconstruct the visible and clear descriptions of of women with Muslim backgrounds and to uncover the underlying hidden ones in the media debates on social control. A textual analysis usually has a broad understanding of what texts are, however, for this project written text were considered the best empirical material to answer my research question (Winchester & Rofe 2016:11). Written texts contain underlying discourses that underpin and legitimate social structures (Winchester & Rofe 2016:12). Analysing written debate pieces in the debates on negative social control, provided a great approach for investigating discourses about social control, the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds within them. In general, written texts is a huge part of media debates. Written debate pieces were an important platform for the discussions on negative social control. As mention in chapter 2, many considered the article opinion piece written by Nancy Herz, "Vi er de skamløse arabiske jentene og vår tid starter nå" (we are the Arabic shameless girl, and our time starts now) (Herz 2016 Aftenposten) the starting point for the debates, which set the issue of social control on the public agenda.

4.2.1 Constructing the samples

To analyse the debates on social control, I choose to construct two samples. Initially, there were only going to be one sample, a sample with texts written by women with Muslim backgrounds themselves. After close reading and discovering the arguments of the texts in the sample written by women with Muslim backgrounds, I discovered there were similar arguments and perspectives across the sample. I decided to construct another sample, consisting of texts written by politicians to widen the scope of the analysis. Their positions as politicians puts these individuals in a powerful position in Norwegian society. How these individuals view the issue of social control and how they contribute to discourses on Muslim women has lived consequences for women with Muslim backgrounds.

The samples include texts that are considered opinion pieces, debate pieces, op-eds and similar, or other types of commentary journalism/opinion journalism. To collect these texts, searches were made in the Norwegian media database, Retriver. This is a database containing articles from both Norwegian online and paper newspapers. Searches were made in the database for 'social control', with filters so only debate and opinion pieces showed up in the search. The filtration was done to make it easier to navigate the enormous amounts of texts written on the topic during the timeframe. Without filters there were 6107 texts in the search results. When filtering the search, a filter was put in to include texts from Si;D, which is a column where youths and young adults can contribute with debate pieces in the newspaper Aftenposten(Aftenposten, not dated). A lot of texts in the debates on negative social control where written in this column, especially the texts written by young women with Muslim backgrounds. With filtration 561 texts showed up in the results. When using filter during the searches there are a risk of relevant articles not being included in the search result. However, due to feasibility of the project the filtration made the collection of texts easier, and the searches provided a decent amount of texts for both of the samples.

While conducting the search, I noticed that articles from certain newspapers did not show up in the search. Two of the biggest Norwegian newspapers, VG and Dagbladet (MedieNorge 2018), did not seem to show up in the results, probably

due to the filters. Due to their importance in the Norwegian media sphere, specific searches for articles written about social control in both VG and Dagbladet. The searches were done without filters to ensure that relevant articles would show up in the search.

When conducting the search for articles, the search was restricted to articles written between the year 2012-2018. This decision was made because similar research have been conducted in the timeframe before 2012(Helseth 2017, Van Es 2016). The limited timeframe was also chosen to limit the numbers of texts in the search results. It was also the during this time frame the issue of negative social control was put on the agenda (Herz 2016). Even though the timeframe was set from 2012-2018, in practice all the texts was from 2016-2018. The texts considered to be the facilitator of the debates, as written by Herz (2016) was published in 2016, which implies that was the year the debates started.

The results from the searches were manually gone through, looking for text explicitly about social control. In my search, a lot of the texts in the results were texts that did just include the word social control and was part of a much bigger debate on immigration and integration or other topics. These texts were excluded. This was more of a practical choice, to limit the amount of texts that would have to be sorted, as debates on immigration and integration are heated topics that engages a lot of people. Texts from both local and national newspapers were included in the samples. Since only addressing texts written explicitly about social control, I included both national and local newspapers in the samples to ensure a decent amount of texts for the samples. While constructing the sample of texts written by Muslim women, this was especially useful, since one of the criteria was that the author had to define themselves as Muslim in the texts. By including both national and local newspapers, I would argue could capture more varied and different perspectives on negative social control. The sampling process will be explained further in detail in the following section.

Sample 1. Women with Muslim background
The first sample is texts written by women with Muslim background. I chose to construct a sample consisting of texts written by Muslim women, to examine

how they themselves contributed to discourses on social control and portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds. In debates, characterised by stereotypes on Muslim women, that often describes Muslim women as victim and as being oppressed (Van Es 2016) as presented in chapter two, how does the women with Muslim backgrounds navigate these discourses on Muslim women, when participating in public debates? Are they nuancing the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds? As previously mentioned in chapter 2, there has been a somewhat increase in Muslim women participating in public debates (Van Es 2016:42). The debate on negative social control was considered started by women with Muslim/Minority backgrounds themselves and were praised for telling stories of experiences with negative social control. Since the topic itself has in many cases been brought forward by women with Muslim backgrounds, it is reasonable to assume that there has been an increase in participants with Muslim backgrounds in these debates. However, this is something that would be in need of further research.

One of the criteria for this sample was that the author themselves had to identify as Muslim or former Muslim, with a broad definition of what it means to be Muslim. A broad definition that includes being Muslim as a personal religious belief or as a cultural marker (Helseth 2016:31). The author also had to define themselves in the text directly or indirectly as Muslim. Indirectly, meaning that they refer to a collective we, when talking about Islam or Muslims, or in other ways referring to Muslim practices. This however, is solely based on my interpretations of the texts. To cope with this uncertainty, if I were in doubt the texts were not included. I made this decision so to make sure I did not wrongfully assume anything about the authors identity. As a result, some relevant texts might have been excluded from the search results. The words Muslim or Islam was not included in the searches for this sample to find texts where the author defines themselves as Muslim, since this would not have helped the sampling process, as Muslim and Islam in many cases would have showed up without the author necessarily being Muslim.

When constructing the first sample, texts written by researchers, individuals representing organisations, and texts written by several authors where not all individuals were of Muslim background were excluded from the sample. As

representatives for organisations, researchers, and with several authors, these authors are less likely to define themselves as Muslims in the texts, even if their names would imply such. To not assume anyone's identity, based on names or visible symbols, were considered more important. In the end, 11 articles were collected for the sample with women of Muslim backgrounds (Table 1):

Table 1

Text number	Author	Published	Newspaper	Headline
Text 1	Amina H. Bile	11.05-16	Aftenposten, Si;D	Hurra for skamløse jenter som står frem! Nå tør jeg også.
Text 2	Linn Nikkerud	24.05.-16	Aftenposten, Si;D	Mange kjemper små, usynlige kamper mot skamkulturen – Hver eneste dag
Text 3	Sarah Zahid	16.11.-16	Aftenposten, Si;D	Den offentlige samtalen om sosial kontroll mangler løsninger
Text 5	Sofia Srour	12.01.-18	Dagsavisen	Minoritetsmannen og oss
Text 6	Nancy Herz, Sofia Srour, & Amina H. Bile	01.01.-17	Aftenposten, Si;D	Vi er de skamløse jentene, vår tid har begynt – og det skal mye til å knuse styrken vi har bygget opp
Text 7	Sofia Srour	28.02-16	Aftenposten	Ære og skam – En farlig ukultur
Text 8	Linn Nikkerud	04.04-17	Aftenposten	Det bør være rom for å kle seg i nikab i Norge
Text 9	Tenåringsjente(anonymous)	06.12-17	Aftenposten Si;D	Anonym jente: «Jeg er en av dem»
Text 10	Sarah Zahid	12.0617	Aftenposten, Si;D	Du skal ikke skamme deg om du ikke er skamløs
Text 11	Namra Saleem	23.10-17	Stavanger Aftenblad	Den skamløse bevegelsen
Text 12	Rania Al-Nahi	23.06-17	VG	Ære – På tide med en dugnad mot sosial kontroll

Sample 2, Norwegian politicians

As previously mentioned, only one sample was initially constructed. To be able to go more in depth and widen the scope of my analysis I chose to construct another sample, a sample written by Norwegian politicians. As public servants, it's especially important to scrutinize their contribution to the debates on social control. Their role as politicians not only symbolises that they are individual who possesses power, but they possess real power and influence in Norwegian society.

Including politicians in my analysis is important, because their view of negative social control and Muslim women, can have real life consequences for Muslim women. It is also interesting to examine if the ways Muslim women portray themselves and how they navigate dominant images, are corresponding with dominant image of Muslim women in public debates. And are the politicians sample consistent with the dominant images as presented by Van Es (2016) in chapter 2?

The same search process was used in constructing this sample. This time texts written by politicians were collected, meaning that their defined themselves as part of /or as representatives for a political party, and that this information was written in the presentation of the author. This also mean that the author represents a political party, not necessarily their own personal beliefs. Both male and female politicians were included in the sample.

I want to highlight that politicians in Norway represents the diversity of people living in Norway, which does include women with Muslim backgrounds. Some of the politicians in this sample, presumably has minority background, without explicitly stating that explicitly in the texts. However, based on the limited information I have on the authors, it is difficult and unethical to assume anything about their identities. I do not have enough information about the authors to claim how their identities are shaping their views on negative social control, and Muslim women in general. Their perspectives are nevertheless important, as their role as politicians.

After excluding texts that only contained the words social control and excluding

texts that was not explicitly and solely about social control, 12 articles were

collected for this sample (Table 2)

Text number	Author	Party	Level	Published	Newspaper	Title
Text 1	Silje Hjerndal	FRP	National, member of parliament	08.03-18	Bergensavisen	Er nåtidens viktigste kvinnekamp glemt?
Text 2	Erna Solberg	Høyre	National, Prime minister, Leader 'Høyre'	26.10-17	Aftenposten	Minoritetsungdom skal ha frihet
Text 3	Gro Angell Gimse	Høyre	National, member of parliament	21.10-17	Adresseavisen	Retten til å bestemme over eget liv
Text 5	Kari Kjønaas Kjos	FRP	National, member of parliament	02.06-18	Romerikesblad	Satsning mot sosial kontroll
Text 6	David Tehrani	AP	Local,	30.11-17	Fredrikstad Blad	Flere bør stå opp for «skamløse jenter»
Text 7	Anahita Jafari	AP	Local	08.06-18	Gjengangeren	Vi må våge å ta kampen mot sosial kontroll
Text 8	Audun Lysbakken	SV	National, member of parliament, leader SV	03.06-16	VG	Kampen mot kontrollen
Text 9	Jonas Gahr Støre	AP	National, member of parliament leader AP.	25.01-18	Dagsavisen	Å bestemme over eget liv
Text 10	Hilde Mari Bjørke	SV	Local	01.10-16	Glåmdalen	En mors oppgjør med æreskulturen
Text 11	Hadia Tajik	AP	National, deputy leader AP	27.10-17	Aftenposten	Nølende statsminister
Text 12	Tina Shagufta Munir Kornmo	Venstre	National, substitute member of parliament	25.02-18	VG	Ved oppgjør får man friheten, og frihet har ingen pris
Text 13	Sarah Gaulin	AP	Local	14.02-18	VG	Kampen mot sosial kontroll og dobbeltliv

When presenting the empirical material in chapter 5, I will refer to the texts by the number given to the text presented in both Table 1. and Table 2.

4.2.2 Reflections on the construction of the samples

There are weaknesses in both of the samples that might have influenced the results. In the first sample written by women with a Muslim background it is important to note that the individuals that decide to participate in the public debates have certain resources available to them that makes it possible for them to participate in the public debates. According to Richardson (2007:152-13) participants in public debates has to conform to four criteria to be published. The first is that the topic has to be considered relevant and interesting; secondly, the text has to be interesting and/or be provoking, and thirdly, the texts has to be short. The last criteria is that the authors has to possess certain 'social or linguistic capital'. The authors have to master "culturally specific forms of competence for participation" (ibid.). Texts have to be well written, make relevant points and be "well versed in hegemonic standards of expressions" (Richardson 2007:153). Authors have to aquire certain forms of educating and conforming to able to participate. In his study where he interviewed individuals with Muslim backgrounds who has participated in public debates, Sindre Bangstad (2013:31) found his participants were highly educated and part of an aspiring middle class.

It is also important to highlight the processes that goes into the publication of opinion pieces. Editors are in charge of deciding who is published or not. The majority of Norwegian newspaper editors tend to be white, middle-class and non-religious (Bangstad 2013:358). Their background might be influential in the decision processes. There is also a commercial dimension, in which the editors have responsibility to comply with, as illustrated in the criteria from Richardson (2007) above. The texts should be considered newsworthy and provoke engaging debates.

For the authors with Muslim backgrounds, their position as Muslim creates additional demands for the authors. In his study, Sindre Bangstad (2013) found that Muslim participants in public debates had to confirm to certain ideals of the Muslim individual. There is a mediated public sphere in Norway, where some

Muslim voices are celebrated, and others are silenced and ignored (Bangstad 2013:357). In the Norwegian media, there are framings of the 'good' and the 'bad' Muslim subjects, where the good Muslim subject describes Muslims and former Muslims who are critical of Islam (Bangstad 2013:357). Those who are critical of Islam and Islamic practices are more likely to be published. Therefore, there is a risk that these exclusionary processes are hindering important voices from participating in public debates in general, but also in the debates on social control. The nature of social control itself might also prevent some voices of participating, excluding important and interesting perspectives on the issue.

It is important to note that Muslim women are not a heterogeneous group. The group consist of individuals with a vast of different backgrounds and experiences. As many postcolonial and black feminist have stated, that universalising categories of women have been a way to exert power. According to Chandra Mohanty (1988:79), many feminist texts constituted third world women as a unified, stable category of analysis. This established the third world woman as uniformly oppressed and powerless. Colonial power relations have constructed Muslim women as a unitary and homogeneous category (Mohanty 1988). I choice to refer to women with Muslim backgrounds, instead of Muslim women, to not reproduced this unified category. By referring to them as women with Muslim backgrounds, I highlight how the members of the group can has vast different backgrounds and relationship with Islam

However, constructing an analytical category of Muslim women for this project, while acknowledging these power relations and the differences inside the category, can be useful. I would also argue that Muslim women as a category is often portrayed in the Media as a unified and homogeneous category (Van Es 2016, Cooke 2008), which do not represent reality. There is a tendency to forget the several different experiences and backgrounds of women with Muslim backgrounds. I aim to study women with Muslim backgrounds experiences without reproducing the notion of a unified category of Muslim women.

There are also some weaknesses of the second sample, with the texts written by politicians. One of the potential weaknesses are that there is an uneven representation from the different political parties, as illustrated in Table 2. above.

The authors' party affiliation might affect the way they write about negative social control. The politicians most follow direction of their political part and represent the party not their own personal opinions. I would argue as representatives, their texts are valuable for my analysis. There is also an uneven representation among the politicians, when it comes to the level of practicing politics. Only four of the authors are practicing politics at the local level. This might be due to how much of the debates on negative social control, has been taken place at the national level. The issue of social control has been considered a national issue.

The issue of harassment for appearing in public debates has recently been highlighted as a problem in the Norwegian media. According to a report from the Norwegian Equality and discrimination Ombud, hateful comments on the internet is a huge problem (LDO 2018). Women and younger people reported in the study, that they abstained from participation in online debates due to the harsh debate climate. Even though this study is based on online comments sections, this illustrates how participating in public debates can produce negative reactions. Certain groups are more exposed to these harassments, ethnic minorities being one of them (LDO 2018). The often heated and passionate discussions relating to Islam and Muslims leaves Muslim participants at higher risk for receiving threats, verbal harassment and hate speech in general(ibid,). Bangstad (2013) found that his interviewees reported that many of them have received threats against themselves, or their families, and most of them have experiences some forms of verbal abuse and/or harassment on the internet (Bangstad 2013:360). Reason to believe that due to the characteristics of public debates, and the feelings debates relation to minorities, and especially Muslims, that they might experience more negative reactions than non-Muslims (Bangstad 2013:361). The risk of harassment is also highly gendered. Female Muslims participation in the mediated public sphere, experience far more verbal abuse, threats and harassment, than their male counterparts (Bangstad 2014:18). They receive reactions from not only non-Muslim males, but also Muslim males who would like to silence the public voice of women (ibid.). The threat of harassment might affect who is willing to take the risk and participate and not, thus excluding important voices.

4.3 Analytical tools

In this part of the chapter I will map out the analytical tools for my analysis and explain how the analysis was conducted.

4.3.1 Discursive approach

For my project, I chose to use a discursive approach. By using a discursive approach, I will examine discourses on social control and the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds within them.

Discourses is a diffuse and contested concept. Often, discourse is referred to as a "particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world) (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:1). It entails meanings systems that influence what and how the individuals are to talk and think. This however is a very diffuse and broad definition of discourse. For this thesis, I choice a definition inspired by Foucault, which is also central for the analytical framework I will use, described later in the text. I base my understanding of discourse on the following definition: "discourses are understood as socially produced forms of knowledge that set limits upon what it is possible to think, write or speak about a given social object or practice." (Mchoul & Grace 1993:31, cited in Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:35). Discourse are socially produced forms of knowledge that are constituted through language, which embody what is considered acceptable knowledge. Knowledge "is not truth, rather it refers to what is in the true, what is accepted as truth- and is understood to be a cultural product." (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:35). The question becomes how it is possible for 'what is said' to be 'sayable' (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:36).

Discourses are always plural; they are competing and sometimes contradictory, as a result, some discourses have greater status than others (Bacchi 2009:36). The discourses with greater status, tend to be discourses that are institutionally sanctioned and the products of the institutional (non-discursive) practices that sustain them (ibid.). According to Foucault, there is power in discourse, in the discourse that at a certain point in time and context have hegemony. In any understanding of truth or knowledge, there is a closing of the space of interpretation (Bratberg 2014:47-48).

Due to the various ways of defining discourse, there are also several approaches to analysing discourse. Carol Bacchi (2005) has identified two, among many ways to analyse discourse. She highlights two different traditions of analysing discourse; discourse analysis and analysis of discourse (Bacchi 2005:199). Discourse analysis has perspectives from social psychology where the main focus is on language. Analysis of discourse however have more of a political theoretical focus that emphasises the way particular issues are given a particular meaning within a specific social setting (Bacchi 2005:199). The focus is on the visible and the hidden meanings in the discourse. What is acceptable and legitimate knowledge, and what understandings are underlining these discourses. Uncovering the underlying understandings of social control and the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds within them, is central for my analysis. By basing my analysis on analysis of discourse, and using Carol Bacchi's 'What's the problem represented to be?' I will answer my research questions.

4.3.2 Carol Bacchi – What's the problem represented to be?

I am adapting Carol Bacchi's approach to analysis of discourse 'What the problem represented to be?' (From now on referred to as the WPR approach) (Bacchi 2009). This post-structural framework inspired by Foucault, was developed to analyse policies and problematisations. Policies represents a problem that are in need of solving. Through the development of policies, policies give shape to the problem, and problems become constructed as certain kind of problems (Bacchi 2009:1). Constructing policies assumes that there is a problem in need of solving and that implies certain representations of the problem (ibid.). How the problem is represented has implications for how the issue is thought about, and of the individuals involved are treated, and how they think about themselves(ibid.)

I will adapt Bacchi's framework in this thesis to study media texts rather than policies. The WPR framework uncovers these underlying meanings that gives room for certain understandings or problem representations (Bacchi 2010:63). These problem representations are embedded in discourse (Bacchi 2010:35). In the WPR approach, discourse is defined as "socially produced forms of knowledge that set limits upon what it is possible to think, write or speak about a given social object or practice" (McHoul and Grace 1993:3, cited by Bacchi

2010:35,). The goal is to discover the deep-seated ontological and epistemological commitments within policies (solutions) that are probably hidden to policy makers and planners. (Bacchi 2010:63, Bacchi 2009:35). Therefore, the approach is suitable to uncover the underlying assumption and understandings of the issue of social control itself, and how these understandings leads to portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds.

The WPR approach consist of 6 questions that uncover how the problems are understood, and the production of the problems:

1. What is the problem represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?
6. How/Where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted replaced?

4.4 Analytical process – utilizing the WPR approach

Several of the questions in the WPR approach will be used for answering my research question, of how portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds. All of the questions except for question three and four will be utilized, as the questions question are exceeding the scope of my analysis. Question 1, what is the problem represented to be in a specific policy? was used as an entry point for the empirical material. This question aims to uncover identify implied problem representations in a specific policy (Bacchi 2009:4). Applying this question for my project, was done in two different ways. First, the question was applied to uncover the general arguments of the texts, which was a great way to familiarise myself with the texts. While close reading, I used NVivo, an analysing software to code and get an overview of the samples.

Bacchis framework has also been central in creating my research question. As stated in the introduction, the overall aim for this thesis is:

What potential consequences might the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds in Norwegian media debates have for citizenship?

To answer the above question, three research question were developed:

- What are the discourses on negative social control?
- What portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds is present in the discourses on negative social control?
- What are potential consequences of these portrayals for women with Muslim background's negotiations of citizenship, based on identity, belonging and participation?

My research questions have been developed from Bacchis (2009) framework together with the overall research question. I will in the following parts describe how I developed the questions and how the framework was used in the analytical process.

The first research question of '*What are the discourses on negative social control?*' Were developed both by Bacchis first and second question. Both 'what is the problem represented to be?' and 'what are the underlying assumptions?' becomes central for this question.

Question number two in the WPR approach looks into the underlying understandings of the problem in question. The question uncovers the presuppositions and assumptions that underlies the identified problem representations, and if there is any background knowledge that is taken for granted (Bacchi 2009:5) By looking at the shape of arguments, the forms of knowledge that arguments rely upon, the forms of knowledge that are necessary for statement to be accordingly intelligibility, these underlying assumptions is uncovered (ibid).It is important to note that this approach does not try to uncover biases or strategies of the author, but the underlying meaning of the issue in question. The goal is to "identify and analyse the 'conceptual logics' that underpins specific problem representations. The term 'conceptual logic' refers to the meanings that must be in place for a particular problem representation to cohere or to make sense (ibid). This question searches for the deep-seated cultural values that are rooted in discourse. To reveal these conceptual logics, engaging in a form of discourse analysis, uncovering the underlying

assumptions, binaries, key concepts and categories is useful (Bacchi 2009:7). The question will be used to uncover the differing understandings and representations of social control in media debates.

I will analyse how the two samples understands social control, and what are the underlying assumptions that leads to these discourses. I will also analyse which other important concepts the issue is connected to. Social control is used as a nodal point which other central concepts are defined from. Nodal is "a privileged sign around which other sings are ordered (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:26). Other central concepts were scrutinized by analysing how these concepts were understood in relation to social control. There were many concepts that were deemed important in relation to social control, but due to the limited scope of this project, a few were chosen. The ones which were chosen were considered the most relevant ones for my research question. These concepts were chosen because they frequently showed up in the texts, and I considered them being central concepts in the debates on social control, those were, culture, religion, integration, together with social control itself.

Bacchis second question was also used to answer the research question of '*What portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds is present in the discourses on negative social control?'*. Here, Bacchi was used to discover the underlying assumptions of women with Muslim backgrounds within the discourses on negative social control. Thus, revealing the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds

To answer my last research question of '*what are potential consequences of these portrayals for women with Muslim background's negotiations of citizenship, based on identity, belonging and participation?'*, I am inspired by Bacchis question 5 and 6, and will use theories of citizenship to discuss negotiations.

Discourse as having real life effects, therefore, I consider question 5 to also be relevant for my project. Question 5 ask what the effects are produced by this representation of the problem. The approach presumes that the effects of policies creates difficulties for members of certain social groups than others (Bacchi 2009:15). Effects can be divided into three types of effects that are

interconnected and overlapping: Discursive effects, that are effects which follow from the limits imposed on what can be thought and said, Subjectification effects, which describes the ways in which subjects and subjectivities are constituted in discourse, and lived effects which has impact on life and death (Bacchi 2009:15).

Question 6 in Bachhi's framework is important for the development of the last research question. The sixth question 'How/Where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted replaced?'. This question seeks to uncover how certain understandings have become legitimised and become dominant (Bacchi 2009:19). The possibility of resistance is central here. Discourses are multiple, complex and conflicting, as a result discourses can be seen as resources for resistance and resources of re-problematizations (ibid.). The second part of the question, addressing how the representations can be questioned and disrupted is relevant for this thesis.

 The discourses of social control and the portrayals of Muslim women have both discursive and subjectification effects. Both effects have implications for identities and belonging, which I have stated in chapter three will be central in the conceptualisation of citizenship. Discursive effects can make reflections about identities and belonging, unreflective and have clear limits on what is possible to state (Bacchi 2009:15). Subjectification's effects can put Muslim women in certain subject positions that affects their citizenship. Of course, these discursive and subjectification effects can have lived affects that contribute to lived effects of Muslim women, meaning having a material impact on their lives (Bacchi 2009:17). Bacchis sixth question addresses resistance and the possibility of disrupting dominant representations is relevant in how the sample of women with Muslim backgrounds are negotiating citizenship.

4.5 Subjectivity and ethical considerations
4.5.1 Subjectivity and reflexivity
Self-reflexivity has been central in my project and is important at every stage of the research process. Reflexivity involves "attempting to make explicit the power relations and the exercises of power during the research process" (Ramazanoglu

& Holland 2002:158). It is striving to uncover the basis of knowledge, how the research process has been performed and to socially situate the researcher. These aspects of reflexivity become central while doing a qualitative text analysis, which in this cases are based on selection of texts and interpretation. There are interrelations between society, the researcher and the research project, the subjective experiences of the researcher might impact the results (Dowling 2016:30). Reflexivity is also incorporated in the Bacchi's WPR approach. She considered self-reflexivity to be an essential part of the framework (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:24).

I have aimed to be aware of both my own position as a researcher and my own biases and assumption in every part of the research process. The debates on negative social control are part of a larger debates on integration and immigration that are provoking and engaging, that many individuals have opinions on. As an individual aware of these debates, I have not escaped these discussions, and have as many others made up my own opinions. To cope with my presumptions, I have become aware of them and reflected upon them, while constructing the research questions and when conducting my analysis.

Reflexivity has especially been important for interpreting the meanings of the texts. When interpreting texts there's always a risk of misrepresenting the intended meanings of the texts. "Interpretation is a key process in the exercise of power" (Ramazanoglu & Holland 2002:116). When interpreting texts, I am making connections, connecting ideas, experiences, and realities. These connections are in many cases influenced by my own experiences and knowledge. To surpass the presumptions, I have attempted to exceed them by being self-reflexive. However, being fully objective is impossible while executing a (qualitative) research project (Dowling 2016:39). Thus, executing a qualitative research project like I have, offers limited possibilities for generalisation but seeks to uncover multiple meanings and interpretations (Ramanzanoglu & Hollander 2002:155).

Reflexivity has not only been important for the interpretation of the content of the texts, but also when translating the quotes and their meaning into English. There are processes of interpretation of occurring when translating a Norwegian

context into English. To cope with this challenge, I attempted to translate the quotes as close as possible to its original wording and thus maintaining its original meaning. However, this is of course, my interpretation of the texts. The authors might not agree with my interpretation of the content of the texts. A researcher cannot be certain whether their connections and meanings can be justified or what epistemological, ethical and political effects follow (Ramazanoglu & Holland 2002:116).

One of the ways self-reflexivity can be practiced is by reflect on my position as a research in relation to my research which in this case is Norwegian Muslim women. Powerrelations in within the research process is necessary to be aware of while practicing reflexivity. (Ramazanoglu & Holland 2002:118) As a white middleclass woman, I have certain privileges that shapes my understandings of the world. As mentioned previously in this chapter, I do not wish to contribute to a process of reproducing a unified category of individuals with Muslim backgrounds. In relation to the sample written by politicians, an important strategy was to be aware of my own biases, when it comes to the politics they represent. As follower of the debate, I am fully aware of the politics the different parties represent, and these presumptions were left behind, and attempted not to influence my interpretations.

4.5.2 Ethical considerations

There are several ethical considerations to be made when conducting research. Ideally, when conducting research, informed consent is essential (Dowling 2016:32). However, due to the characteristics of this project, it did not seem reasonable to ask the authors of the texts for consent. Contacting the authors providing texts for my samples would be severely time consuming. The texts are published for the public and can be considered a public domain. The issue of anonymity has also been an ethical concern. As the empirical material is published for the public and is available for everyone to access, securing their anonymity would have been difficult. The potential harm caused by me using these texts are considered limited. Not anonymising the authors and not asking for consent, was approved by Norwegian Centre for research data (NSD).

Another ethical consideration is the interpretation that goes into a discourse analysis. There is a risk that the authors of the texts do not recognise my interpretations and feel misinterpreted (Widerberg 2001:154). A possible solution would to let the authors of the texts read my interpretation and give feedback, but this would be time consuming.

5.0 Discourses of social control

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I answer the first research question of "What are the discourses on negative social control?". As described in the previous chapter, I am applying Bacchi's WPR framework to analyse the underlying assumptions about social control. I will be mapping out the understandings of social control and describing what other central concepts the issue is connected to. As mentioned in chapter 4, I will use social control as I nodal point in which other central concepts are defined by. Important concepts like, culture, integration, will be addressed.

5.2 What practices are understood as social control?

The issue of social control can be defined as a social mechanism that holds society together (Ugelvik 2016:14). Even though the issue of social control has been heavily debated recent years, there are still various understandings of what practices is understood as social control. Social control is a complex issue that manifest itself by a wide range of practices. Consequently, there is no clear definition in public debates of what practices constitutes social control. The ambiguity of the concept is visible in both samples. However, there are some dissimilarities. In the sample of texts from the politicians, there is a tendency to focus on the serious and potentially violent forms of social control:

"62 children were last year left abroad against their will. These are children who are exposed to strong social control, threats, violence and forced marriage – and the majority of them are girls. (Text 1, sample 2)

"Social control is about lack of freedom and about violence. We have to dare to say out loud that this happens in Norway to help the victims, and to be able to prosecute the ones responsible." (Text 5, sample 2).

"We have to help boys and girls that are beaten and subjected to serious physical and psychological violence because they do not accept social control". (Text 9, sample 2)

These three quotes represent a general trend in the sample written by the politicians. A trend that understands social control as something to be taken

seriously because of its potentially violent and deadly consequence. The threat of violence is imminent in this understanding of social control. As mentioned in chapter two, the earlier debates on the issue, tackled the issues of the more serious forms of violence, forced marriage and genitalia mutilation (Bredal 2013, Teigen 2013). The practices can be considered social control, but they were debated as issue on their own, and the concept of social control was not commonly used in the debates regarding these issues. In the sample of texts written by the politicians, I would argue that these trends are still visible due to focus on these serious forms of violence, and the focus on the potential seriousness of the issue. The focus on the serious and potentially violent forms of social control can contribute to processes of victimisations of Muslim women (and others) exposed to the issue. I will address how this understanding of social control has implications of portrayals of Muslim women in the next chapter.

In contrast, the sample written by women with Muslim background, social control is understood as a complex issue that involve a variety of practices:

> *"We don't talk about the most common form of social control. Is not the control that includes threats, violence and similar, but manipulation and strong control from parents, role models, imams and people you love"* (Text 10, sample 1)

> *"What I find especially positive about the discussion we have had the last couple of years is that it's no longer the extreme forms of control that are in focus, like for instance forced marriage and genitalia mutilation, but the everyday social control that are much more common."* (Text 12, sample 1)

These quotes illustrate a shift in the debates the recent years, especially with the emergence of the 'shameless' girls, forms of the everyday social control have been put on the agenda. The strong control that is invisible and that does not necessarily turn violent. Focus on the 'less' serious forms of social control were one of the ground-breaking aspects of the new debates presented by the shameless girls, and the other young minority women speaking out on the issue. New aspects of the issue were brought forward, which brought to attention the complexity of the issue. The control is something that happens every day, in a variety of forms:

"Norway is a country of freedom where everyone has the right to have agency over their own lives. Still, not everyone lives freely. It is like living house of glass: You can see the freedom, but it does not apply to you. For you, social norms in your local community apply. The control happens through the most obvious (criminal) offences like forced marriage and genitalia mutilation, but also as less visible constraints in everyday lives that are not always regulated by law, but still have huge consequences. The family's honour and 'what will people say?' is more important than giving you freedom. You're robbed from freedom of choice, self-determination, and freedom of movement."
(Text 5, Sample 1)

"I am one of the girls that have been and still are exposed to social control, where it has been used violence, threats and isolation for us not to disgrace the family." (Text 9, Sample 1)

What these quotes exemplifies is that social control is an issue understood as a complex issue, which involve different practices. I found that the sample written by women with a Muslim background both recognises severe and potentially violent forms of negative social control as well as the less visible constraints in everyday lives that also affects people's lives in serious ways. Since the shameless girls and other girls and women talking about the issue of social control were the ones bringing forward the less obvious forms of social control the emphasis is on these types on control. As the authors states themselves, it is important to get the whole picture on how social control manifests itself in everyday lives.

Despite the victimisations tendencies and the focus on the serious forms of social control of the first sample, the understandings of what social control is also broadening in the second sample:

"I have been asked to delete pictures where my friends are dressed in party wear and without the hijab. Boys and alcohol in the same room is okay, as long as their relatives does not find out about it. (...) Pictures that are supposed to capture good memories, rather gives them anxiety, stress and puts them in danger of consequences."
(Text 13, Sample 2)

"Social control is concerning more than violence. To say no, can mean the end of all contact with the family or that mom will go on hunger strike, or kill herself if the boy or girl does not give in. I am listening to the police that wants a clarification of the

legislation. They want the lawmakers, us at Stortinget to elaborate on what we mean by unjustifiable pressure." (Text 9, sample 2)

These two quotes from the sample written by politicians, shows that the understandings of what social control is broadening. Social control is more than practices of physical violence. It is also psychological and manifests itself in everyday life, in a variety of different ways that constricts the freedom of the individual. Even though, the number of texts in this sample that expresses this explicitly is limited, I would suggest that there the understandings of social control in public debates might be starting to broaden.

5.3 Social control as a question of gender and sexuality

In both of the samples, the issue of social control is connected to gender and sexuality. However, I would argue that even though they agree on the connection, it used in different ways. In the first sample, the sample written by women with Muslim backgrounds, the connection is to a bigger extent connected to honour and shame:

> *"A community of rumours and gossip that always have something to say about women: how she is, what she does, how she is dressed and who she socializes with. The concepts of honour and shame is often reserved for her. She represents the so-called honour of the entire family and it is her responsibility to maintain it."* (Text 7, sample 1)

> *"Why is it that the boy can live freely just the way he wants, without feeling shame, but the girl has to be ashamed for shaking hands with the opposite gender or for being seen with a friend outside of the home, or that the skirt was a little too short?".* (Text 9, sample 1)

> *"I have been afraid to be seen with male friends. If some of my dad's friends saw that, they might have assumed the worst and called me a whore."* (Text 1, sample 1)

This is also visible in the second sample of texts written by politicians:

> *"It is about honour connected to girl's sexuality. The 'sex-honour' is part of a collectivist culture, and in the worst-case scenario can also family in their home countries be punished if a female family member gets a boyfriend in Norway."* (Text 3, sample 2).

The before mentioned quotes highlights an understanding of negative social control, that recognises social control as a question of controlling women's and girls' sexuality. By controlling whom she has contact with and what she wears, the honour of the family's honour is protected. As mentioned in chapter 2, honour culture is based on a gendered division, in which men and women meet different normative expectations, where the control over women's sexuality has been central (Wikan 2008:9, Ugelvik 2019). This control leads to strict rules that prevents the individuals exposed to negative social control to live freely.

Rules and norms about how a woman should be or behave is something that is not limited to one certain culture. In the so-called Norwegian culture as well, there have been and still are certain ideals that women are supposed to live up to, also when it comes to women's sexuality. Studies have shown how the use of the 'whore' is commonly used in Norwegian schools (Slåtten, Anderssen & Holsen 2009), which suggest there are still strong norms seeking to shame sexually active women in attempting to control women's sexuality.

The connection of social control to honour and shame were prominent in sample 1, while in sample 2, the texts did not make this connection to the same degree. Many of the texts briefly mentions honour in relation to social control, without expanding upon the use, or the connections. However, gender and sexuality are still highly connected to social control:

"When individuals, from they are children are thought that there are different rules for boys than for girls in the minority communities, and that girls should not play with or talk to boys, that creates subtle limits on how these girls should dress, who they can have as friends, and what ambitions they can allow themselves in the choice of a future husband. Boyfriends are in their parents' eyes not an alternative for minority girls, while they are less strict with the boys." (Text 12, sample 2).

"Thank you for standing together with the young girls who fights for the freedom many of us in Norway takes for granted. The freedom to own your own body and sexuality, and to participate equally in all arenas of society, independent of gender, culture, or religion." (Text 10, sample 2).

Sample 2 with texts from politicians understands social control as a manifestation of gendered practices that reproduces gender hierarchy. A gender

hierarchy that limits the freedom women and girls have to decide over their lives. This hierarchy is reproduced through processes of socialisations that teaches girls and boys different norms. This comes from the notion that girls are to be protected from the boys, meaning that girls' sexuality should be held under control, and to be protected. This is not as highly connected to honour and shame as in sample 1. Gender inequality more generally referred to in sample 2 without clearly connecting it to honour culture. This does not mean that they dismiss honour culture and shame completely, some texts do mention this, but this connection might be more diffuse. However, the issue is clearly connected to minorities (which will also be addressed later in this chapter).

The lack of attention to honour culture and the way social control is connected to minorities might be a result of the public debates being characterised by a form of crisis emancipation (Siim & Skjeie 2008:323). The notions of crisis emancipation are based on an assumption of achieved gender equality in the Norwegian context (Mulinari et al. 2009). The non-focus on honour and shame in the second sample might be a result of the ideas of crisis emancipation that has characterised public debates.

5.3.1 A feminist approach to social control

When speaking about gender and sexuality (and honour and shame), I have interpreted sample 1 as using a feminist approach to address the issue of social control. A few of the texts in sample 1 uses central concepts from feminist movements and theory. Two of the texts in this sample explicitly mentions patriarchy as a driving force behind negative social control:

"*The battle against social control is first and foremost a battle against the patriarchy, a societal structure that builds on a gender hierarchy where the man is the head of the family and that dominates on the social, economic and political arena.*" (Text 5, sample 1)

"*In the patriarchal system, women especially are exposed to a control, just because the honour of the whole family is carried on her shoulders. A way that several women navigates themselves to highly valued freedom internally, is through maintaining control over other women in the community and to rat on the ones who breaks the norm. By doing this, one is seen as an honourable and respected woman who gets more freedom than many others.*" (Text 12, sample 1)

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The authors of these quotes understand social control as a result of a patriarchal system that oppresses and seeks to control women and girls, but also men and boys who have expected to be guardians of their female relatives honour. Patriarchy is a well-known concept within feminist theory, that can be defined as "a system of social structures and practices where men dominates, oppresses and replaces women (Solbrække & Aarseth 2006:68)". It is such systems that reproduces and maintains ideals of honour and shame that seeks to oppress women by imposing control. A control that in many cases can have severe consequences for women. Even though patriarchy in only mentioned in a few of the texts, there is an underlying understanding of social control as result of gender inequality.

5.3.2. Men and boys as victims of social control

Patriarchy can also be a source of social control of men and boys. Patriarchy includes ideas of masculinity that affects the way genders interact with each other. This was something that was brought up in a few of the texts across both of the samples:

"Honour. A small word, so much trouble. The word honour. The word that is used by families and men to control women, but also men. The word that ruins lives." (Text 9, sample 1)

"While the social control of girls is more sexualised by the way that it is important to limit her social life and activities from puberty, the control of boys is more based on masculinity. Boys and girls are simply set against each other as two opposites. (…) The masculinity is also dependent on honour, as boys can be pushed into the role as guardians of their sisters' honour and into the role as the patriarch, for example. If the sister has done something that is considered shameful and gets the label as 'bad girl' or 'shameless', that leads to the brother being views as 'not man enough'." (Text 5, sample 1).

"Boys are also expected to be good and look after their sisters; to make sure they (the female relative) behave, do not play with boys, because they are bearers of the family's honour". (Text 12, sample 2).

As the above quote illustrates, some of the authors also understand men and boys as being victims of social control. However, the control affects men and boys differently. Gender influences how social control affects the individual. The

social control of men and boys are connected to their sister's or other female family members' honour (Wikan 2008:9). As the quote from text number 5 states, this is part masculinity ideals that is important for the honour culture.

5.4 The use of 'skamløs': "If being free is to be skamløs, then I am skamløs"

As mentioned in chapter two, the use of the term *'skamløs'* (Shameless) was a central word in the debates during this timeframe and therefore important for the texts written in this sample:

"The term 'skamløs' has been used to convey that one does not own the shame that certain people attempt to inflict upon us through dirty looks, comments and harassment. This has been an enormous step in the modern women's liberation: we own ourselves". (Text 10. Sample 1)

"The term 'Skamløs' was meant ironically, said Nancy in a conversation that was arranged at Litteraturhuset in connection with the launch of the book. She explained that it is about taking the word back from the ones who called girls like her 'skamløs'. "If being free is to be shameless, then I am shameless".." (Text 11, sample 1)

These to quotes from sample 1 with texts from women with Muslim backgrounds, illustrates what the term 'skamløs' meant for them. The authors are rejecting the shame that external forces are trying to impose on them. By resignification of the term and the changing of its meaning, the so-called 'skamløse' girls, and others, has been a way for the users to reject the shame external forces are trying to inflict upon them. As the quote from text number 11, states, Nancy, one of the 'skamløse' girls, stated that the word was use ironically. By taking back the word, and changing the meaning of the word, they are rejecting the shame and thus the control external forces have over the receiver. There is a sense of empowerment in this rejection, by taking back freedom to define one's self, using the rejection of shame to reclaim ownership over their own lives.

Shame is understood as being a central mechanism in the processes of social control. There is an underlying assumption that it is the shame that prevents

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women and girls from defying the control external forces are trying to inflict upon them and restricts women and girls' freedom. I have interpreted that the sample 1, and the use of shameless in the debates on negative social control, connects the issue of social control to gender inequality. An inequality that is understood to largely afflict women and girls. Sample one, with texts from women with Muslim backgrounds are positing the issue of social control, in the general gender equality agenda, and refusing to accept the divide in the Norwegian women's movement between majority women and minority women (Thun 2012a:52)

The resignification of 'skamløs' has been a powerful tool and has been empowering and important. It has brought attention to the issue of social control itself but has been a way of taking ownership over own lives, and demanding freedom. Throughout history, resignification has been an important tool for several social movements. By taking back the meaning of a word that was meant to be hurtful or degrading, movements have been able to demand recognition. This was especially important for the queer movement. Queer originally had a degrading meaning, by signifying something weird, different and deviant (Eng 2006:140). However, the queer movement started using the words as a way to be achieve pride and strength to face homophobia and hate crimes. It was also used to be more inclusive, than the word homosexual. The broad word of queer could include many different identities and practices, as well as including individuals unsure of their identity and/or preferences (Eng 2006:142).

5.5 Culture and 'ukultur' as explanations for social control – understandings of culture

In both of the samples, a majority of the texts considered culture as the source of social control. I will first present how culture is understood and understood as connected to social control in the first sample:

We live in a culture where our value is measured on how obedient we are, and where women are seen as a threat. As the activist Faten Mahdi Al-Hussaini said, I have never experienced my religion as oppressive, but I have experienced my culture as that, many times. (Text 7, sample 1)

As this quote from the first sample illustrates, social control is a result of a culture that seeks to oppress women. A culture where honour is important and valued. The author also rejects the notion of religion, in this case Islam, as being the source of social control. I interpret this as a response to dominant anti-Islamic discourses in public debates. Dismissing the notion that Islam is the sources of women's oppression.

A word commonly used when talking about social control, was *'ukultur'* (translated to bad culture). Negative social control is seen as bad practices as a result of 'ukultur':

"By going to the media, more people will become aware of the battle, and that this has motivated more women and men to confront 'ukultur'. It's important to remember that this is a dialogical process, where the strong voices in the media also reflect an internal debate that already has existed for a while." (Text 2, sample 1)

"Shame associated with Christian culture is something a lot of people experiences with. Just as with imported 'ukultur' from other countries. Long before us, ethnic Norwegians as well as immigrants, has battled this 'ukultur'. It is not a new phenomenon that emerged this spring. We want to educate, especially younger generations, about this. We do not want 'ukultur' encouraged in a country as Norway." (Text 6, sample 2)

In my interpretation the authors in this sample uses the word 'ukultur' describes cultural practices deemed negatively and desirable. Of course, what is considered undesirable cultural practices are context specific. It is depended on what is considered culture, and what is deemed positive and good culture. As the above quotes implies, social control is not compatible with Norwegian culture. In a Norwegian culture, practices of excessive social control are considered a form of 'ukultur'. Social control has to be battled, as it does not correspond with Norwegian values.

The above quote from text 6, 'ukultur' is not something that only exists in minority cultures/communities. Social control also exists in Christian cultures,

and historically social control have been battled in the Norwegian majority population. I interpret this as an underlying assumption that in most cases social control has been combated in so-called Norwegian culture.

I interpret the focus on social control as a problem in many different cultures, and the underlying assumption about the issue of social control being battled in the so-called Norwegian culture, as being a result of an understanding of culture and 'ukultur' as being possible to change:

"A lot of us are getting an education and works hard to make a change in society. Personally, I approach the fight against 'ukultur' through organisational work and legal education. And I am not the only one." (Text 2, sample 1)

"It warms the soul that two girls from the same culture as I, talks like they do and proudly calls themselves feminists. It is bitter sweet to know that it is not only me who experience this. This means it is time for change." (Text 1, sample 1)

Change and culture or 'ukultur' is frequently mentioned in the same context in sample 1. I have interpreted this connection that the dominant trend in this sample is that both culture and 'ukultur' is something that can be battled and changed. By mentioning examples of how culture previously have battled social control, as brought forward by the quote from text 6, how the 'ukultur' represented by social control have been battled before and can be battled in the future.

There is an underlying understanding of culture all across the sample which understands culture as 'processual'(Prosessuell) view of culture (Døving 2009:53). A 'processual' understanding of culture, is a view of culture as dynamic, and always changing (ibid.). This understanding of culture sees individuals as members of several different cultural communities (ibid.). With this understanding, social control is possible to fight against social control, and the issue can be battled. For the authors speaking out on the issue, sharing their experiences are the first step to raise awareness and contributing to change. As the above-mentioned quotes from text 2 and 1 states, they are active participants

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in the drive for change.

Culture was also seen as a source of social control in the second sample written by the authors of sample 2:

"Dialog and some counselling do not change this negative social control. Women and some brave men over most parts of the world has had this dialog for generations. And executions are carried out by regimes we don't want to compare ourselves with, and that has not made changes to cultural practices." (Text 7, sample 2)

As this quote illustrates social control is considered a cultural practice, an undesirable cultural practice. As in the first sample, 'ukultur' was also in the second sample frequently used to describe social control:

"Everyone who takes steps away from the rules of the community, are disdained and experience everything from harassment to threats. But in the long run it's worth it to stick your head out and confront the 'ukultur' and the ones who har part of it spreading." (Text 10, sample 2)

As the quote illustrates, social control is a form of 'ukultur' that needs to be battled. The understanding of 'ukultur' is the same as in the first sample, meaning negative cultural practices. However, the use of the word has different implications and connections. One way the perspectives differs from the first sample is how both 'ukultur' and social control is explicitly connected to tradition:

"It is about the fight against negative tradition. Tradition changes through political struggles. Girls that fights against honour and social control shall know that they find allies on the political left (venstresiden)". (Text 8, sample 2)

"In conflicts between children and youths rights to make own decisions and parents' cultures or traditions, the Norwegian society will always be their uncompromisingly for the rights of the child to choose for him/herself." (Text 2, sample 2)

The above quotes demonstrate how 'ukultur' is connected to traditions. The 'ukultur' that results in social control, is characterised by traditional authority. Authoritarian family relations are brought up as a culturally specific trait, that emphasises authoritarian family rule that is linked to previous times and a

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traditional way of thinking. There is an underlying assumption of a contradiction between tradition and modernity that underpins these understandings.

The issue of social control itself connected to a traditional way of living and parenting that are not highly valued in the Norwegian culture. Immigrants and specifically Muslims represents a culture that value these traditions in a much stronger sense. These understandings are in line with colonial images, that presented the colonised as backwards and traditional, while the colonisers were modern (Van Es 2016:12). These understandings contributes to a dichotomy between us and them, creating a divide between who belongs and who does not. Between 'Norwegian' culture and the culture of 'the others'

As a part of this us/them thinking, I would argue that the authors in this sample tend to have a more essentialist view of culture. There is an underlying assumption of culture as a fixed unit, that is static, and consisting of traditional notions and values (Døving 2009:13). Culture is like a container with certain ideas and practices that to a strong degree impacts the individuals of the group (Døving 2009:53). Culture is something you have, not something you do.

These understandings of culture by sample 2, is consistent with a tendency in Norwegian debates on immigration and integration that explains the wrongdoing of individuals with minority backgrounds as a result of culture. Whenever individuals with these backgrounds do something wrong or bad, culture is the explanation. There exist forms of 'ukultur' that explains their negative actions. Culture tend to be used in two different ways in public debates. One when referring to 'us' and one for 'them'. The 'us' refers to culture when talking about anything like food, art etc, while the 'others' are portrayed as having one culture that explains all of their actions and is viewed as the same as for same for people from for example Pakistan, Turkey, and Somalia (Mikkelsen 2007:251.

There is a consistent underlying assumption in both of the samples that the 'ukultur' social control represents does not correspond with the dominant gender equality discourse in the Norwegian context. The difference between the samples are how they view how the unculture threatens gender equality. I would argue that again the first sample are taking a feminist approach to the issue. Gender equality is for the authors in this sample not necessarily connected to a

Norwegian self-identity, but more as a universal feminist fight. Therefore 'ukultur', like negative social control needs to be fought everywhere. This is also illustrated in how a few of the texts in the first sample, also mentions how social control exist in several communities, not only immigrant/minority communities. In contrast the authors of the second sample, emphasises that this 'ukultur' does not belong in Norway. I interpret this sample as connecting 'ukultur' to a much bigger extent to ideals of Norwegian gender equality. It as part of a process of delimitation, contributing to a divide up between us and them.

I argue that these differing perceptions is a result of dominant ideas of gender equality. Minority women's challenged has been in the Norwegian women's movement been constructed as different, and therefore excluded from majority representations of feminisms (Thun 2012a). I argue the authors of sample one, are attempting to expand the notions of gender equality, and bring minority women's issue into the general gender equality agenda.

5.6 Religion's connection to social control

Even though religion was not considered as the sole source of social control, it is still mentioned in many of the texts across the samples. This is done in several ways, where one of them is how religion have been used to legitimise practices that exerts social control:

"There is an 'ukultur' in our communities that brings down our girls, that is protected in the name of religion even though that's not correct. We need to talk more about this, as Nancy Herz and Sofia N. Srour do now." (Text 1, Sample 1)

"We know that excessive social control is often connected to conservative religious attitudes/values. It's therefore important to put pressure on religious communities. (…) The goal has to be changes that makes it possible to cut subsidies when a religious community is encouraging social control that oppress women." (text 8, sample 2)

"Religious marriage shall not be used as a tool for social control and to maintain the man's dominance over the woman. Legislations have to be made to protect

the girls against the violation of demanding that they and their families should give proof of their honourability or that they are virgins before marriage." (text 9, sample 2).

As the above quotes exemplifies, religion is connected to social control by being used to legitimise oppressive practices. Religious arguments have been utilized to justify the oppression caused by social control. The above examples do not specifically refer to a particular religion. However, there are visible trends in both of the samples in what religion social control is connected to. In both of the samples, social control is connected to Islam and Muslim communities:

> *"As a Muslim I see a lot of it (meaning social control) in the Muslim communities. I do not like everything I see. Social control is common in some communities, the Muslim communities included".* (Text 7, sample 1)

> *"The political left(venstresiden) has responsibility for these girls. SV is Stortinget's only feminist party. We have always fought against patriarchal structures, conservative religion and traditions. We still do. In conservative Christian communities, as well as in the Norwegian society at whole. Conservative Muslim communities has to be met with same demands for change, for respect for women's freedom and equality."* (Text 8, sample 2)

In these quotes the issue of social control is connected to Islam and Muslim communities. Even though social control in Christian communities as well is mentioned as illustrated in the quote from text 8, sample 2, the common trend across the samples is how the issue is connected to Muslims and/or minorities. Even though, they do not explicitly state this connection, there is an underlying understanding that social control is something that only happens in minority communities, which in many cases minority signifies Muslims. There is an underlying assumption that social control has already been battled in Christian communities. This achievement has not been made in Muslim communities. The conservative Muslim communities needs to be met with the same demands for battling negative social control.

The two samples differ in how they understand the relationship between culture and religion. I interpret sample 1 as viewing the relationship between culture and religion as diffuse and fluid with no clear boundaries:

"For many young and elderly, the honour is about maintaining and reproducing social norms/societal norms connected to religion and faith". (Text 3, sample 1)

"In reality, many parents are subjected to pressure from the bigger community, and many youth/young people experiences their peers as being just as judgemental as the parental generation. Here both culture and religious practice plays in." (Text 11, sample 2).

These quotes demonstrate how the samples understands religion and culture as connected. The first quote from text 1, illustrates how religion creates societal norms and are therefore connected to culture, while the second quote explains how both culture and religion creates practices that constitutes social control. The above quotes illustrate a belief that both culture and religious practices interplays in the production of negative social control. Even though culture is brought forward as an important factor in the issue of social control, the connection to religion is still mentioned. The line between culture and religion is not stated, as a result it is reasonable to believe that there is no line between. The above-mentioned quotes and the view on relationship between religion and culture might be a response to prevailing discourses about negative social control in the debates. The frequent use of the word 'ukultur' and the connection of social control to culture, might be interpreted as a way of answering Islamophobic discourses that has characterised public debates on immigration and integration (Van Es 2016:3-4). This is especially important for the first sample, that by resisting the view of Islam as oppressive, the authors in this sample are expressing agency and nuancing the picture on Muslim women in public debates. The authors might be trying to not contribute to Islamophobic and discriminatory discourses, which was important for the authors, as will be further described in the end of this chapter.

5.7 Social control as a minority issue

As touched upon in the previous parts of the chapter, the issue of social control is understood as being a phenomenon that is associated with minority communities. This association is clear in sample 2:

"I expect that these communities clearly distance themselves from these types of actions, and that they prevent the children in their communities being subjected to these actions. It the least we can expect, both from imams, religious leader and the rest of the community. Not the least does this include the parents and the children's families. There's no honour in neglect." (Text 1, sample 2).

"FRP has long been a driving force to contribute change in attitude and practices in the affected communities. That's why it's important to strengthen the organisations that knows the communities well and knows what works." (Text 5, sample 2)

These quotes are good examples of how the issue of social control is understood as a minority issue, and thus the minority communities themselves have the responsibility to fix the problem. The issue of social control is something that only happens to individuals with minority backgrounds, not addressing that different communities among what is considered the majority, also struggle with issues of negative social control, as Kosuta (2018) have presented in her research. The understandings produce a divide between 'us' and 'them', which has strong implications for who belongs to Norwegian society and who are excluded.

5.8 Social control as failing integration

As culture is understood as one of the main causes of social control, integration also becomes central, mainly in sample 2, and this is explicitly stated in a few of the texts in the sample:

"FRP strongly states that this honour culture is not only a form of 'ukultur' but also a form of integration sabotage. Girls in Norway's should not be exposed to negative social control because they live their lives according to their own wishes". (Text 1, sample 2)

"In the end, it is all about integration and inclusion and that we as a society are uncompromising when it comes to human rights and women's and men's possibility to have control over their own lives." (Text 3, Sample 2)

As the above quotes show, there is and understanding on how lack of integration is connected to the occurrence of social control. In text number one this is stated explicitly, that social control is a form of 'integration sabotage'. The children of immigrant parents want to be integrated but are prevented by their parent's authoritarian control. Not only is social control itself seen as a form of failing integration, but social control itself is seen as preventing further integration into the Norwegian society. How can one be integrated into a society that social control prevents you to participate in? The minority communities that struggle with social control have not adapted to the Norwegian culture enough to lose these oppressive practices. These practices are not consistent with Norwegian values based on individual freedom and human rights, that are central in Norwegian culture.

Social control is also connected to integration, by being viewed as results of individuals becoming too integrated in Norwegian society:

"The repercussion against the boys and girls who want to integrate themselves and free themselves of social control has to stop. We know stories about children who are sent back to their origin countries because they are too integrated or too 'western'." (Text 9, sample 2)

"Young women and men tell stories of social networks/ that keeps watch. Often, the control is much stronger than it would have been in their home country because of the meeting with western culture". (Text 3, sample 2)

As the above quotes from texts from sample two illustrates, being 'too integrated' in Norwegian society can cause social control. The authors referrs to stories of children being sent to their origin countries for being too integrated into the Norwegian society and implying that this is because the child is being to Norwegian. Being too integrated in the Norwegian society can put individuals at a higher risk of experiencing social control. There is an underlying assumption of an unwillingness to integrate as a cause of social control. In a sense this unwillingness is a result of a generational divide, in which most young children wants to integrate, but are victims of their parents' unwillingness. This creates an image of individuals exposed to social control as being passive victims of their parents lacking integration into the Norwegian society, and they are suffering because of it.

The above quotes illustrate a trend among the texts in sample two, which views the problem of social control as a result of failing integration. Through the process of integration, the issue of social control will disappear. Once again, the binary of us and them becomes visible. There is a contradiction between two differing cultures. The way integration is used in the texts differs from general use of the concept of integration. Integration is usually defined as "a social process where that at some level, unites different minorities and the majority to the Norwegian society" (Døving 2009:9). It signifies process where differences are united into one unity. I want to argue that in the discussion of social control, the meaning of integration has a different meaning. In Norwegian society, practices of negative social control are considered unacceptable. Thus, when talking about integration in the debates on negative social control, there is an underlying understanding of integration is assimilation. However, In western contexts in general, integration has increasingly become understood as assimilation (Brubaker 2001, referenced in Strasser 2012:26). Assimilation are process of making something similar, that minorities conform to the majority's norms, values and lifestyles (Døving 2009:9). When talking about social control, minorities are expected to adapt to the values of majority, which deems social control as unacceptable. The notions of assimilation also imply an essentialist view of culture (Døving 2009), and in a sense encouraging a switching of culture.

As a part of this connection of social control and integration, there is an underlying understanding that social control is a threat to 'Norwegian' values in sample 2:

"We as professionals or politicians need to be at the forefront, we will have the racism card played against us, but we have to withstand that, negative social control is in fact an injustice that affects us all. It affects the very foundation on which we build society, therefore it has to be opposed." (Text 7, sample 2)

Especially because when elderly generations talk about honour, or thinks that their children are 'too Norwegian' (as if that is something negative), there is a need for a brave mother who stands up for the youth and for the Norwegian values most of us

highly appreciates: openness, diversity, respect and equality" (Text 10, sample 2)

"Everyone living in Norway should be able to decide over their own lives and make their own decision. Our task is to support them in their fight for freedom". (Text 5, sample 2)

The above quotes exemplify how social control is considered incompatible with Norwegian values. Values of freedom, (gender) equality, diversity and openness are all values central in the Norwegian society and are values the Norwegian society are built upon. This is a general trend across the sample. Several other texts are mentioning the same values, without directly connecting the values to being Norwegian values:

"The individuals freedom, (gender) equality and the right to make own free decision are basic in our society. But for some, social control and physical and psychological honour violence are in the way/preventing this." (Text 9, sample 2).

"Conservative Muslim communities has to be met with the same demands for change, and for respect of women's freedom and gender equality". (Text 8, sample 2)

"I hope the battle against social control and honour culture is also a fight for our values as freedom equality, justice and solidarity." (Text 13, sample 2)

The underlying assumption in these quotes are that values of freedom are (gender) equality are important values in Norwegian society. Social control is a threat through these values. It is a threat to one of the ideals the Norwegian society is built upon and only through a process of 'good' integration will individuals adapt to these values. The importance of equality, and in this case, gender equality, is contributed by a Norwegian self-image of being one of the world's gender equal countries (Mulinari et al 2009). The perceived threat to 'Norwegian' values contributes to a perceived dichotomy between 'us' and them.

5.9 Challenges of being multicultural
Being multicultural and the possible challenges it might bring, is something that is also addressed in sample 2:

"To be part of two cultures is demanding. Rights we think are fundamental for all Norwegian youth, challenges their parents' culture and traditional authority roles. Between their parents' wishes – and parents who experience pressure from their families both in Norway and abroad – and own wishes of freedom and own choices, are many young people standing in an inhuman dilemma (krysspress)." (Text 2, sample 2)

"To be standing in a cultural split is a concept a lot of young people with minority background can relate to. Children and youths can have one upbringing at home but meeting other norms in the society at large. The models for which society is organised and how people and gender are plays out/woks, is different." (Text 3, sample 2)

There can be experiences of contradicting expectations from different cultures that can be difficult to navigate. The concept of the cultural split, implies a definition of culture as static and culture as an entity that one are either part of or not (Døving 2009). The cultures referred to in the quote from text 3, are considered something completely different from each other. Therefore, I want to argue that this implies an essentialist view of culture. Culture are entities separate from each other. This understanding of culture contributes to a perceived image of us and them.

The challenges of being part of several cultures were also a theme in the first sample, written by women with Muslim backgrounds, but it is spoken about in a different way which also highlights the strengths:

"I have been afraid to wear pants. If some of my mum's friends would see that, I would be considered western – A word that has negative connotations in several Muslim communities. To be western is almost like being an unbeliever" (Text 1, sample 1)

As the above quote illustrates, there is a pressure from different external forces putting pressure on the individual to conform to these expectations. In some cases, these expectations are contradictory, which creates an enormous amount of pressure for individuals experiencing this conflict. This conflict was in the first sample also connected to shame:

"It is natural to feel both western and non-western shame if you are multicultural. Therefore: There is no shame in not being shameless. You're stuck in a

much worse double bind if you respect and appreciating two contradicting cultural values and feel pressured to choose one over the other." (Text 10, sample 1)

This author states that it is normal to feel both western and non-western shame if you are multicultural. Therefore, there is no shame in not being shameless. The feeling of shame can come from not managing to balance the multicultural position one is put in as a minority in a society. There is pressure from minority and majority communities in keeping certain values, act in certain ways. Feelings of shame and feelings of not being able to fulfil external expectations, affects the feelings of belonging. The public debates on negative social control in itself is about being forced to choose.

In contrast to the second sample, who makes the connection of the challenges of conforming to two different cultures, the connection of culture in the first sample written by women with Muslim backgrounds, is mostly done referring to differing western and non-western expectations. These expectations can be interpreted as signifying different cultures. They are experiencing pressure from western societies, in this case the Norwegian society, and at the same time expectations from the Muslim community. By highlighting the possibilities of both western and non-western shame the author of text 10 are challenging a dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' which has been present in the debates on negative social control

By not making a clear connection to culture, and not positioning two cultures as opposites, one can assume that also here, the first sample has a more dynamic view on culture, and not viewing culture as having strict boundaries, and that it is possible to live within two cultures, but still acknowledging the possible challenges it can create.

5.9 Speaking out about social control without contributing to discrimination and xenophobic discourses

A distinct difference between the samples, is how sample one (written by women with a Muslim background) is occupied with not letting their experiences and contribution to the media debates negative social control, contribute to a xenophobic, islamophobic, or discriminatory discourse:

"Strict curfews, partybans and dresscodes are examples on the loss of agency that rules many Norwegian homes. But the focus on these issues have been abused – especially from islamophobes that see this as an opportunity to express demeaning comments on a whole culture or religion. It weakens the debate and makes it hopeless to think solution-oriented about social control. The road towards racism and hate has become shorter, and the shameless girls gets the opposite result of what was intended." (text 10, sample 2)

When young women with Muslim background (and other minority backgrounds) started to address the issue of social control publicly, the issue of social control gained a lot of attention.

One thing, which especially was important for the 'shameless girls' and other debaters, was that when they spoke out on issues of negative social control, that their experiences was not to be used for legitimising Islamophobic and xenophobic rhetoric (Bile, Srour, Herz 2017)

They did not want their experiences to be taken hostage for other purposes. They are expanding the space of what it is possible to say in the debates. The space is expanded to include both critique of the minority communities, but the majority. The majority is critiqued for using their experiences of social control to legitimise xenophobic, Islamophobic, and discriminatory discourses that are built upon the idea of women with Muslim backgrounds women as passive victims of their cultures which seeks to oppress them.

Some of the authors in the first sample expresses how social control also can be experienced from the majority and society as a whole:

"Comments like: Muslim women are incompetent to define their own reality, that we suffer from Stockholm syndrome, and that we might as well just go back to the Middle East, is common. First and foremost, such comments express that independent Muslim women cannot think for themselves, and that they need someone to think and talk for them. When angry debaters express these attitudes/positions, this is also a form of social control." (Text 8, sample 1)

In this quote the author illustrates that she is well aware of the public narratives of Muslim women. The authors do not recognise from their own lives the way Muslim women often are presented as victims in public debates. They are

presented as victims of an oppressive culture that represent the other. The misrepresentations in public debates are understood as another form of social control, a form of social control that can be experienced from the majority and society as a whole.

6.0 Negotiating portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds by claiming citizenship (identity, belonging and participation)

In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds present in discourses on social control in the media debates. I argue that there are three dominant dichotomies present in the understandings of social control presented that I have presented in the previous chapter. The dichotomies are 'Norwegian' culture vs. the culture of the 'others', Active agents vs. passive victims, and feminism vs. antiracism. These dichotomies have discursive effects that contribute to images on women with Muslim backgrounds.

In the second part of the chapter of this chapter, I will discuss the significance the portrayals have for women with Muslim backgrounds' citizenship. I will analyse the potential consequences of these portrayals for women with Muslim background's negotiations of citizenship, based on identity, belonging and participation.

6.1 Images of women with Muslim backgrounds in discourses on social control

I will in this part of the chapter discuss how the discourses of social control influences portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds in public debates. The dichotomies characterising the understandings of social control, have discursive effects on the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds. I argue that the texts from the second sample are contributing to discourses reproduces the dichotomies, even though there are some nuances within the sample. I consider sample one with texts written by women with Muslim backgrounds, as challenging the depiction, and thus challenging the dichotomies. The following discussion will be structured around the dichotomies of 'Norwegian' culture vs. the culture of the 'others', active agents and passive victims, and feminism vs. antiracism.

6.1.1 'Norwegian culture' vs. the cultures of the 'others

The dichotomy of 'Norwegian' culture vs. the cultures of the 'others were present in understandings of culture. As presented in the previous chapter, the

practice of negative social control is explained by an oppressive culture. 'Ukultur' is used to describe undesirable cultural practices when connecting the issue of social control, both by the Muslim women themselves and the politicians. However, the sample differs in how they understand the concept of culture. Both of the samples mention 'ukultur' when connecting social control to culture.

In sample 2, there was a tendency for the politicians to view Muslim women (and other women minority women) as victims of an oppressive culture, where practices of excessive social control is acceptable. Muslim women are perceived as passive victims of an oppressive culture in which resistance is difficult and are as a result portrayed as lacking agency. I have interpreted these images as a result of a tendency of having an essentialist understanding of culture, which understands culture as a static entity (Døving 2009:53). Essentialist understandings of culture easily leads to stereotypical depictions of minority cultures, in multicultural societies (Phillips 2007:8). According to Phillips (2007) there are tendencies of representing individuals from non-western minority groups as drive by their culture. I argue that this representations of minorities are visible in the discourses on negative social control, which contributes to the dichotomy between 'Norwegian' culture and cultures of the 'others'.

The essentialist view of culture is also expressed by, hoe some of the authors of sample two are connecting social control as an issue of failing integration. The women exposed to social control are considered victims of failing integration. As already, mention in the previous chapter, the issue of integration can in the context of social control be understood as assimilation. Social control is such an unacceptable practice that does not correspond with what is considered Norwegian values. Therefore, 'they' have to become more like 'us' to defeat the practice of social control. In western context, integration has in many cases become to signify assimilation (Brubaker 2001, referenced in Strasser 2012:26). The underlying tendencies of us vs. them, contributed by essentialist understandings of culture and how cultural/ethnic minorities has to become more like the majority, creates big challenge for multicultural individuals. When the expectation is that individuals have to conform to the majority, there is not much

room left for individual agency. Women with Muslim backgrounds and others with multicultural identities might be faced with an impossible choice of choosing between cultures.

I argue that the prevailing crisis emancipation frame prevalent in Norwegian public debates regarding minorities are visible in the understandings of culture (Skjeie & Siim 2008). Minority cultures are considered oppressive and too traditional, and thus not in line with the Norwegian gender equality frame. Gender equality is considered a Norwegian value (Mulinari et al. 2009), and there is a perception of achieved gender equality in the Norwegian majority society. The possibility that some Muslim women might want to live according to traditional gender norms is not addressed. Individuals are expected to conform to a certain definition of gender equality that is present in the Norwegian context. Individual choice is not an option in this case, and the individual is expected to adhere to certain values and norms, even if means restricting the individuals freedom. A crisis emancipation frame and its following policy implementations might be restricting to women's individual rights instead of enhancing them (Skjeie & Siim 2008:232). The crisis frame is producing a divide between 'us' and 'them'. Through processes of integration, the women and their communities have to become more like the majority. The boundaries of Norwegianness becomes visible here. Gender equality is a symbolic value important in defining who belongs and who does not in Norway, and in the Nordic countries generally (Mulinari et al. 2009:5). To be Norwegian means to have gender equality as ideal and practice (Bredal 2013:119). The crisis frame of gender equality therefore reproduces the dichotomy between 'Norwegian' culture and the culture of the 'others, which again produce images of women with Muslim backgrounds as oppressed.

In the sample written by women with Muslim backgrounds, there is a tendency of understanding culture as processual and dynamic (Døving 2009:53). Many of the authors of this sample understands culture as fluid and always changing, therefore as cultural practices, social control can be battled. Both of the samples do address the challenges of being multicultural. However, by having a dynamic understanding of culture, sample one highlights the positive aspects of being

multicultural and how it strengthens them as individuals. These understandings of culture include an underlying assumption that the individuals themselves have the agency to contribute to processes of change within a culture. I have interpreted these understandings as being a way to express their agency and resist persistent images of Muslim women as passive victims. They also refuse to acknowledge the dichotomy between 'Norwegian' culture vs. the culture of the 'others. Cultures are fluent and intersecting, and by creating multicultural identities, they are taking ownership over their own lives.

In the sample of texts written by politician, the connection to Islam is much more prominent, though this does not apply to all of the texts in the sample. Sample 2 has to a much bigger extent connected the issue of social control to minorities and in many cases, minority signifies Muslims. Not only are women with Muslim backgrounds victim of an oppressive culture, but an oppressive religion that are used to legitimise these practices. The focus on Islam as oppressive might be a result of islamophobic discourses that is prevalent in public debates in the Western world (Van Es 2016).. The connection to religion is not as visible in in sample 1, which might be a response to these islamophobic discourses, and a wish to not contributing to stigmatising statements about Muslim.

6.1.2 Active agents vs. passive victims

I found that a central theme in the discourses on social control, and the subsequent portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds was the dichotomy between active agents vs. passive victims. This dichotomy was expressed both explicitly and indirectly. I will start this part by presenting how the dichotomy indirectly have been addressed, and later explain how the sample explicitly addresses the dichotomy.

I argue that the understandings of what practices constitutes as social control and how the issue is connected to gender and sexuality, are contributing dichotomy between active agents vs. passive victims. Sample two have tendencies of presenting an oversimplified understanding of social control. Social control is understood as the most serious practices; practices that are potentially violent and deadly, like honour related violence, forced marriage and genitalia

mutilation. When connecting the issue to gender and sexuality, the issues is connected to the wish to controlling women's sexuality. Their understandings are based on a perception of a universalised gender hierarchy that is to a huge extent considered been combatted in the Norwegian culture.

With increasing migration and an increasingly multicultural society, gender equality is perceived as being under threat, with the arrival of migrants that are viewed as participating in practices oppressive to women. Once again, I have interpreted both of the above understandings in the second sample as being part of a crisis emancipation frame that have characterised debates regarding minorities (Skjeie & Siim 2008). This understanding of social control has implications for how Muslim women (and others exposed to social control) are portrayed in the public debates. It contributes to a stronger sense of victimisations and is part of reproducing discursive effects of framing of Muslim women as victims, very much in line with dominant images on Muslim women in public debates, studied by Van Es (2016). Dominant images that tend to portray Muslim women as passive victims and lacking agency.

Not only can it contribute to a discourse on Muslim women as victims, but also the definitions of social control as violent can be excluding. It can exclude individuals with 'less' serious or non-violent forms of social control or men and boys being exposed to social control. However, as highlighted in the previous chapter, there are nuances in this sample, and that there are changing perceptions on what constitutes social control, including what can be considered 'less serious' practices.

The women with Muslim backgrounds in sample 1 are responding to these oversimplifications and are attempting to, and from my interpretation, succeeding in nuancing the picture on what practices can be understood as social control. Not only are the serious and potentially violent forms of social control addressed, but the non-violent, but also still excessive social control that happens in everyday life highlighted. By focusing on the 'less serious' forms of social control, the authors in the sample of text written by Muslim women are expanding the space of what is acceptable to say and contributing to defining the debates. Further, I argue that the women of sample one has exerted nuancing

when addressing how social control is connected to sexuality and gender. Some of the authors are nuancing the picture by including boys and men, and expressing how they as well, but in a different way as well are victims of social control.

The sample has a stronger tendency to connect the issue to honour and shame, which can imply that only minorities has issue of social control related to honour and shame. They are contributing to notions of Muslim women having challenges that are specific to their communities. However, for some of the authors in this sample do emphasise how the issue of negative social control is not limited to minority communities but can happen in any community in the Norwegian society.

I argue these findings as a way for the authors of sample one to challenge the dominant discourse about Muslim women. By nuancing the debate about social control, the authors are challenging dominant discourses about Muslim women. They are defining the way of how the issue of social control are talked about in the debates. I would argue that this is a way of the authors' way of expressing their agency, and thus defying a discourse on Muslim women as passive victims. Through nuancing the issue of social control, the authors of sample one are claiming and expressing agency and empowerment.

Sample one, with texts written by women with Muslim backgrounds, does address the dichotomy directly. The authors present themselves as both victims of negative social control, as well as active agents for change:

"We are many, independent, young voices who demands to be heard when we talk about our experiences. We are not victims; we are strong, standing up for ourselves and speaking up." (Text 6, sample 1).

This quote describes how the author rejects the label of victim, which is an overall trend across sample one. A few of the texts explicitly state it in the texts. The women with experiences of social control are not passive victims but are active individuals that demands to be heard, are speaking up for themselves,

contributing to defining the perimeters of the debates. They defy present stereotypes in public discussion that construct women with Muslim backgrounds as passive victims and oppressed. By speaking out on the issue, they resist these notions. They are strong individuals who stands up for themselves. The refusal of the label of victim is in line with neoliberal ideologies characterising western society that produces negative connotations of being a victim (Van Es 2016:76). Neoliberal ideologies have influenced images of the ideal individual, an individual that lives freely in accordance with its own wishes and desires (Van Es 2016:77). Consequently, being a victim is believed to have negative connotations, creating images of the individual as weak and passive, therefore not being able to comply with ideals of neoliberal ideology. The authors are challenging the dichotomy and the images presented by them, by highlighting the strength of individuals that themselves experience social control.

In texts where the label of victims is not explicitly rejected, the authors are rather disagreeing with the connotations of the word:

"To us, it is important to express that girls who experience social control, are not a pitiful group: They are among the strongest we have ever met. The stories of everyone who finally have space to express themselves, is what creates further change. This is our fight. It is about showing that it is possible, and necessary, to take ownership over one's own life." (Text 6, Sample 1).

"The shameless debate has been important and ground-breaking. Mostly because it arose from Muslim women themselves. It was about acquiring the power of definition to dress, act, and behave based on own wishes and needs, and to highlight hypocritical tendencies. It has in many ways been a battle for women's rights with focus on women's role in minority communities, but it also has had an impact on what is seen as the stereotypical Muslim woman." (Text 10, sample 1)

The above quotes illustrate how the authors claim being a victim does not automatically make you weak and does not take a way individual agency. The focus on their strength and agency was visible across the sample. Despite being exposed to social control they are active agents for change, by for example participating in public debates. I have interpreted the emphasis on strength and agency, as a way for the authors of sample one to challenge the dichotomy

between being a victim and active agent and proving the falseness of the dichotomy.

Their resistance of the dichotomy is about taking ownership over one's own life. The authors are reclaiming their own identities and redefining what the debates are about, being the ones who initiated the debates. They are resisting the misrecognition of their identities, and resist processes of othering. This goes to show that a big part of the debate itself is the right to define one's identity. No one is to talk about what Muslim women are, and what they are supposed to be except for Muslim women themselves. That includes not being controlled in their everyday lives, or not being misrepresented in the media. I argue that the resistance of the dichotomy is a way for the authors conducting identity work (Andersson 2000). The authors are providing alternative discourses on women with Muslim backgrounds, negotiating their identities, and defying the misrecognitions done by public debates. They are presenting themselves as independent individuals that possesses freedom. Freedom that gives the individual possibility to define one's own identity. In a way the authors draw upon neoliberal ideology where individuals are central in producing their identities and realising themselves (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:126).

In a way, the texts from the second sample does in a way address the dichotomy as well, but in a different way. Some texts in this sample does highlight and praises the young women with Muslim backgrounds who has spoken out on the issue of negative social control:

"In 2016 we have witnessed numerous brave young girls who have confronted honour culture and social control in Muslim communities. Nancy Herz, Sofia Srour and Amina Bile were some of them". (Text 10, sample 2)

"Iram Haqs new movie 'What will people say (Hva vil folk si?) is a touching story about honour, shame and what it like to struggle between two cultures. The movie is important because it gives insights into issues that many youths/young people lives with (…). Iram Haq is courageous for making a movie about experiences with honour culture that she herself has experienced." (Text 3, sample 2)

These quotes illustrate how some texts in the politicians sample, emphasises the agency young Muslim women speaking out on the issue of social control. The texts mention among others, the before mentioned 'shameless' girls and also the Norwegian Pakistani filmmaker and actress Iram Haq, who in 2017 released a movie based on her own experiences with social control and honour culture. I interpret highlighting of the braveness of women with Muslim backgrounds, that the politicians are recognising their claims and their refusal to accept the dichotomy.

Despite highlighting the braveness of the women and girls speaking out on social control, there are some texts in sample 2 that contributes to stronger sense of victimisation, exemplified by the following quote:

"Social control is a disease and it is a threat to girls' freedom and independence. Society cannot sit still and watch, because social control does not disappear on its own. That is why we have to do something about the core of the problem. Parents must understand that there is no honour in trying to make their daughters weak, and the communities need to understand that there is no honour in harassing women who dress however they want." (Text 6, sample 2)

The quote from text 6, understands social control as a sickness, and as a threat to girls' freedom. The lack of freedom and independence that social control creates makes the individuals exposed to this control weak. Victims of social control are in this quote understood as weak because of their experiences. In a sense, the quote represents neoliberal ideologies in which being a victim has negative connotations that signifies that the individual lack agency. This understanding of being a victim leads to reproducing the false dichotomy of active agent vs. being the victim. It also leads to images of Muslim women as passive victims that are in need of helping.

As presented in chapter 2, the focus on brave girls speaking out on issues in minority communities and their braveness is nothing new in the Norwegian public debates. When the issues of forced marriage and genitalia mutilation became visible on the public agenda in the late 90's, early 2000's, the women who spoke out about the issues and put the issues on the agenda, where praised as heroines for daring to speak out (Van Es 2016:71). The young women were

praised for being able to break free from their oppressive families and for becoming assimilated into Norwegian society (ibid.). I argue that some of the texts of sample two has a tendency to view the Muslim women speaking out on social control in a similar way. Figenschou (2004:38) uses the term victim heroines (offerheltinner) to describe how immigrant women tend to be portrayed in public debates. Women with immigrant backgrounds becomes portrayed as both victims and heroines at the same time. The term describes how just like in modern storytelling, the victim heroines have limited space for action, and it is the villains and helpers that brings the story forward. The victim heroines are passive agents that is reacting to these acts (Figenschou 2004:38). I want to argue that there are tendencies in sample 2 of presenting the women with Muslim backgrounds that have spoken out on social control as victim heroines. This does not mean that their agency is not valued or highlighted, but there are conflicting views within the sample. Some of the texts presents images of Muslim women that portray them as lacking agency, while other do as focus on the women as both victims and heroines.

Figenschou (2004:52) also uses the term 'media heroines' (medieheltinner) that might be more fitting for the images presented by sample 1, and some of the texts in sample 2. 'Media heroines' describes immigrant women who are exceeding the limits of what it means to be a 'victim heroine' in public debates. The media heroines are described as young rebellious girls that are taking matters in their own hands. They are presented as heroines that are not in need of saving like before. The new media heroines are loud, active individuals, that has put a mark on Norwegian public debates (ibid.). I argue that the term 'media heroines' can be used to describe many of the texts from sample one and especially the young women referred to as the 'shameless' girls. They are opposing the tendencies of victimisation and are expressing their agency. As with the 'media heroines, they can be described as individuals possessing agency, and individuals that possesses power to contribute to change.

6.1.3 Feminism and antiracism

In the debates on negative social control, the images of Muslim women are also supported by a dichotomy between feminism and antiracism. The dichotomy is in accordance with findings from Helseth (2017) as described in chapter 2, that

women with Muslim backgrounds has to balance the dilemma of speaking out on oppressive practices, without contributing to discriminatory, xenophobic and/or islamophobic discourses. The authors of sample one are refusing to accept the dichotomy and are understanding feminism and antiracism as compatible and possible to unite. The refusal is done explicitly, by stating in the texts that they do not want their texts and their experiences to be used for the purposes of legitimising discriminatory, xenophobic and islamophobia discourses, as presented in chapter 5.

The authors of sample one are refusing to have to choose between feminism and antiracism. When demanding that their experiences will not be used for legitimising discriminatory discourses, the authors does recognise that oppression is multifaceted and intersects across several social categories (Crenshaw 1989). They considered their experiences a result of being both women and ethnic minorities. They are uniting both feminism and antiracism that has been a struggle within feminist movements and has been a prominent issue for feminist scholars.

By refusing to let their experiences with social control be used for discriminatory purposes, they are emphasising their agency. This is also done by resignification of the word 'skamløs' and using the term to reject the shame external forces are trying to inflict upon them. External shame coming from their own local communities and shame coming from what is considered majority communities. As one of the authors from sample 1, presented in the previous chapter, she claims as a multicultural individual it is normal to experience both western and non-western shame. The shaming from majority community can be based upon the discriminatory, xenophobic and islamophobic discourses. Being shamed for not complying to what is considered ideals of the majority. The women with Muslim backgrounds are refusing to accept this shame and by doing so they are taking back the ownership over their own lives.

Another important aspect relating to the dichotomy of feminism and racism was how the women of sample 1 highlighted a sense of community. The importance of a sense of community to be able to speak up was repeated across the sample:

"Every time any of us gets a message from a girl who says because you dare, I dare, or you say what I'm feeling, then we know the fight is worth taking". (Text 6, sample 1)

When these young women spoke out about their experiences with social control, it made it easier for other women and girls with similar experiences to express themselves. It is empowering to know that one is not alone in the struggle, and that there are several individuals with the same experiences of social control. They are also together in not wanting their experience to be used for legitimising discriminatory discourses. It is producing a collective identity based on experiences of negative social control and the wish to disprove negative images based on women with Muslim backgrounds as victims. Conducting collective identity work, resisting images presented in public debates (Andersson 2000).

Some of the authors also explicitly claimed the shameless girls became a social movement:

"2016 was the year the shameless girls became a movement. A movement consisting of many   individuals who dare to resist the wrongdoings in their communities, who dare to challenge and let them know we do not own the shame others are trying to inflict upon us". (Text 6, sample 1)

The 'shameless girls' have together created a movement based on a collective identity that bases itself on common experiences of social control, and the refusal to comply to the shame that external forces are attempting to impose on them, both from minority and majority communities. Being part of a group and sharing an identity and values can be liberating, which might help individuals argue for participation and social rights (Lister et al. 2007:49).
Producing a collective identity is important to mobilize around the issue of social control. The above quote illustrates the importance of a collective effort to make a change, and how being part of a community is empowering. The social movement are uniting feminism and antiracism by refusing to let their experiences and shame contribute to legitimise discriminatory discourses. The authors of sample on are claiming their experiences are a result of their intersecting identities as both women and Muslims, thus uniting feminism and

antiracism.

I would argue that even though the number of Muslim women speaking out on the issue of social control still is limited, the number of individuals speaking out on the issue adds strength to their claims, by being several individuals in these struggles. Most likely there are individuals in every community, that can identify with the experiences expressed in the debates. Social media has provided new platforms for individuals to share their experiences and creating new ways for social movements for organising and mobilizing. These discussions have the potential to reach many individuals in need of support. This also shows that these texts, and debates on social control have been influential and that the women to one extent have succeeded in getting their message across. However, there has been no formal organising from individuals of this movement for political processes.

Some of the authors of sample one are using well-known feminist concepts like patriarchy, which I interpret as a way of exerting agency and empowerment. The use of patriarchy suggests that inequality based on gender is something that all women experience, and gender inequality is not a phenomenon only specific to minority communities. The use of this universalist concept thus creates an image that one is not alone in the battle, and that social control is just one of the way gender inequality is expressed in societies. Through the use of concept like patriarchy, I have interpreted the women of sample one as aiming to get their struggles of social control acknowledge by a general gender equality agenda, not viewing the issue as a minority issue (Thun 2012a). Resisting a divide between minority women and majority women, thus uniting feminism and antiracism.

6.2 Negotiating citizenship based on identity, belonging and participation

In this part of the chapter, I will discuss the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds and the potential consequences of these portrayals for negotiations o citizenship. I have found that the dichotomies and the subsequent images produces discursive effects which has implications for citizenship as identity, belonging and participation. The portrayals affect the way women with Muslim

backgrounds negotiate citizenship and on what basis they make claims for citizenship.

As Van Es (2016) have stated, women with Muslim background themselves are aware of stereotypes and the public discourse on Muslim women, which has tended to view women of Muslim backgrounds passive victims of oppressive cultures and/or religion. As presented above, the portrayals in the debates on social control are supported by three dichotomies. However, I interpret the sample of women with Muslim backgrounds resisting the dichotomies supporting the images of women with Muslim backgrounds, by claiming and negotiating citizenship. The women with Muslim backgrounds are making claims and negotiating citizenship based on citizenship as identity, belonging and participation.

The following part will be discussing how the authors of sample one claim and negotiate citizenship. I will start addressing how they claim citizenship based on belonging, followed by identity, and conclude the chapter by addressing citizenship as participation.

6.2.1 Negotiating citizenship based on belonging

The images presented by the dichotomy between 'Norwegian' culture and the culture of the others becomes central here. Boundaries between 'us' and 'them' affects how individuals belong to the imagined community or not. As illustrated in chapter three, processes of belong occurs on three different analytical levels social locations, identifications and attachment (identity), and ethical and political values (Yuval-Davis 2006:199). These analytical levels are negotiated by the politics of belonging. The politics of belonging describes the processes of constructing insiders and outsiders, the distinction between 'us' and 'them' in a political and/or social (imagined) community (Yuval-Davis 2006:204). I will use these analytical levels of belonging, to discuss how the authors of sample one are claiming and negotiations of citizenship as belonging.

The authors of sample one has a social location as women with Muslim backgrounds, which carry connotations for their possibility for belonging, and thus citizenship. In the debates on negative social control, the women are constructed as being part of an oppressive and culture that they must leave

behind to be able to integrate, and fully belong to the imagined community, which in this case signifies the nation (Anderson 2006). Their social location is based upon being constructed as the other.

As the examples from sample two has presented, the debates have been characterised by and us/them dichotomy, especially when addressing culture. There are tendencies of this sample to have an essentialist view of culture and 'ukultur'. An essentialist view of culture leads to strict boundaries of who belongs and who does not (Døving 2009). When women with Muslim backgrounds are constructed as being victims of an oppressive culture, they are not included in the community, due to how gender equality is presumed a Norwegian value (Mulinari et al.). The ethnos tradition of citizenship, and its emphasis on common descent and history, shared cultural traditions and customs, does together with gender equality produce the boundaries of Norwegianness (Thun 2013:34). These boundaries of Norwegianness has been visible in sample 2. I argue that the notions of Norwegianness are in the at the centre of the politics of belonging into the Norwegian community. The politics of belonging describes the attitudes and ideologies concerning where the boundaries of belonging are drawn (Yuval-Davis 2006:203-204).

These understandings of 'ukultur' and culture has led to understandings of viewing integration as a solution to the challenge. Through processes of integration, minorities are to be included into the imagined community and attaining citizenship. By complying with the ideals of 'Norwegianness', women with Muslim backgrounds can attain membership. The women of Muslim backgrounds have to integrate, meaning assimilate (Brubaker 2001, referenced in Strasser 2012:26I).

Since gender equality is such a central part of 'Norwegianness', evaluating the belonging of women with Muslim backgrounds has been based on the amount of emancipation she has achieved. Stereotypes in public debates, that bases itself on constructing women with Muslim backgrounds as oppressed and victims, thus has implications for women with Muslim backgrounds possibility to achieve citizenship based on belonging. According to Van Es (2016:77) evaluating emancipation is a way of measuring how well integrated the individuals are.

Being a victim does not correspond with the contrasting images of the emancipated Norwegian woman. The Norwegian woman is constructed as being emancipated, free, independent, and participating in society. In contrast, the Muslim woman is constructed as submissive and isolated. These images represent how in public discourse integration and emancipation has merged and become synonymous(ibid.). Muslim women are constructed as deviating from the norms and considered outsiders of society, thus producing Muslim women as the other. When emancipation becomes the measurement of how well integrated the women with Muslim background are into the Norwegian society and how well they belong. "The stereotyping of women with a Muslim background as oppressed thus deprives them of their citizenship in terms of their perceived belonging to the Norwegian nation" (Van Es 2016:77). As presented in the previous chapter, I have interpreted the debates on negative social control as being characterised by a frame of crisis emancipation (Siim & Skjeie 2008:323).

I argue that the emancipation of women with Muslim backgrounds are measured against a form of gender equality and feminism that bases itself on experiences of majority women. In her study on Norwegian women's movements, Thun (2012a) found that minority women were excluded from majority representations of feminism (Thun 2012a:52). The minority woman was constructed as different and there are boundaries between 'Norwegian' women and immigrant/minority women. These notions might be present in public gender equality discourses, as the Norwegian women's movements have been central in contributing to gender equality polices, as 'state feminism' has been a result of mobilizing from below together with facilitation from the state above (Siim & Skjeie 2008:232). The definitions of feminism and gender equality does not take into account the differences of women's experiences. When emancipation becomes the measurement for women with Muslim backgrounds integration, the women have to comply to narrow definitions of emancipation and gender equality.

Based on these understandings of culture and integration being a multicultural individual in the Norwegian context can be challenging. As I have presented in the previous chapter, both of the samples that there is a perceived difficulty of

being part of several cultures. Incompatible expectations from two different cultures, is creating an enormous pressure on the individual. The challenges also produce difficulty of belonging. With essentialist understandings of culture, it can be seen as impossible to belong to several cultures, especially when the different sometimes have contradictory expectations. Women with Muslim cultures has to leave their culture behind, to not be victims. The process of change does not occur within the perimeters of the culture of the others but leaving the 'previous' culture behind. A switching of culture has to take place to achieve membership.

The women of sample one are challenging these boundaries of belonging based on their social locations as a multicultural individual. In one of the quotes from sample 1, exemplifies how the boundaries between the cultures are connected by Norwegianness, and values of women's rights. When addressing how Muslim women can experience social control from majority community, the author of text 8 (sample 1) connects social control to Islamic clothing and how public opinion prevents wearers of Islamic clothing from being a complete citizen:

"Several debaters write among other things, that in Norway, we do no dress like this, in Norway we show our face, and we don't want this in Norway. This contributes to a categorisation of Muslim women as non-Norwegians and as second-rate citizens, just because they dress differently and belongs to another type of religion". (Text 8, sample 1)

The author explicitly talks about the exclusionary practices of citizenship. How Islamic practices is automatically deemed oppressive to women, and therefore not welcome in Norwegian society. The quote explains illustrates the above discussions, how the boundaries between who gets to belong or not is produced and maintained.

I argue that the sample of women with Muslim backgrounds are negotiating the limits of belonging set by Norwegianness, and the dichotomy between 'Norwegian' culture vs. the culture of the 'others'. As discusses earlier in this chapter, the authors of sample one understands culture as dynamic and being possible to change (Døving 2009:53). These understandings negotiate the implied notion of the need of assimilation to 'Norwegian' culture. Undesirable

practices like social control can be fought, and cultures can be combined. Being multicultural is a strength rather than a burden. The boundaries for belonging are negotiated. An individual can be multicultural, and for example Muslim, and at the same time be part of the nation.

The women of sample one are also negotiating belonging on the level of identifications and attachments. Their identities are not recognised by the politics of belonging. Identities are in some cases important for belonging. Their personal identification which as the previous part of the chapter has illustrated, constructs them as active individuals, that are strong and contributes to change, is not recognised within these limits. They are disproving dominant images of women with Muslim backgrounds in the public debates. Women with Muslim backgrounds are often put in a category despite their different backgrounds. External forces, including public debates, are ascribing the category of 'Muslim women' to individuals with these backgrounds. The category of 'Muslim women' contains meanings in the Norwegian public sphere that often are associated with oppression (Thun 2012b:20). Women with Muslim backgrounds has collectively become the 'Muslimwoman', which ignores the individual and difference between individuals (Thun 2012b:20, Cooke 2008:91). The 'Muslimwoman' becomes constructed as the 'other', the ones who do not belong to the Norwegian nation. The women of sample one are negotiating and making claims of citizenship as belonging by presenting alternative images and identities, different from those depicted in public debates. They present alterative images that negotiate the borders that the politics of belonging maintains. The women of sample one are negotiating, pushing the boundaries of what it means to belong. Being multicultural, or of ethnic-minority descent does not exclude from citizenship. The women with Muslim backgrounds are claiming citizenship by rejecting the stereotypes, and therefore affirming their belonging to Norwegian society.

6.2.2 Negotiating citizenship as identity

Negotiations and claims of citizenship based on identities were also present in the texts from sample two. These claims and negotiations were mostly present when addressing the dichotomy of being an active agent vs. being a victim. Women with Muslim backgrounds represented by the authors of sample one, are

refusing to accept the dichotomy and are offering alternative ways of understanding the relationship between being victims as well as an active agent. The authors are negotiating and claiming citizenship by emphasising their identity work, and struggle of getting their identities recognised.

It is apparent in the empirical material that the authors of sample one are expressing struggles of defining their own identities and are executing identity work (Anderson 2000). I argue that current debates, including the debates on negative social control, are characterised by stereotypes about Muslim women (as illustrated in chapter 2, by Van Es 2016), that to some extent is reproduced in the second sample of texts written by politicians. As previously mentioned, these portrayals tend to portray women of Muslim backgrounds as passive victims. In western contexts, where neoliberal ideologies and the emphasis on the individual is prevalent, being a victim does not correspond (Van Es 76-77).

The sample of women with Muslim backgrounds does, as seen in the previous part of this chapter, not necessarily view themselves as victims, and if they do, it not making them weak. As a result, the dominant portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds reproduced by some of the texts in sample 2, leads to misrecognition of the identities expressed by sample one. Due to this misrecognition, women with Muslim backgrounds in sample are struggling to define themselves, and getting their identities recognised. I have interpreted the texts from sample one as having a clear message of the authors wanting to disprove of the dominant images of Muslim women in public debates. The authors of sample one are well aware of the public images of Muslim women, and are constantly resisting these images, and negotiating their personal identities in relation to them. The authors want to prove that they are active actors, not passive victims as stereotypes in the media suggests. By highlighting their agency and taking back the possibility to define and decide over their own lives and defining themselves through processes of identity work.

The identity work is done at a personal level, as their texts can be interpreted as highly personal. The personal character of the texts coincides with findings from Helseth (2017) that found that Muslim women participating in public debates are expected to be personal when participating in public debates. She found that in

the debates on women's rights, women with Muslim backgrounds were expected to use personal experience to legitimise their arguments at an individual level. At the same time, they were expected to represent Muslims as a group (Helseth 2017:9). Their background as Muslim and/or their identity as Muslim gives the participants certain expectations.

Considering the personal character of the texts I argue that the texts can be understood as expressions of identity work at the personal level. The focus on how themselves and other women with Muslim backgrounds that do experience social control, are strong individuals that contribute to processes of change in society is a way of the expressing their identities through processes of identity work. Public depictions of women with Muslim backgrounds does shape women with Muslim backgrounds self-images and their identities. In her study, Van Es (2016) found that the stereotypes of women with Muslim background feeds into these women's self-representations (Van Es 2016:293). She also found that these women have had a growing urge to change the dominant image of their minority group(ibid.). I argue that this might be relevant for the authors of sample one, that the public images on women with Muslim backgrounds are affecting the negotiations within their identity work. By expression their identity work they are claiming and negotiating citizenship based on identity.

In one way, the authors of this sample are rejecting ideals about the individual in neoliberal ideologies. The misrecognition of their personal identities prevents Muslim women from obtaining citizenship based on identity. The authors are struggling to get their individual aspects of their identity legitimised and refusing to accept the external imposed aspects of identity. At the same time, the authors of sample one does at the same time use ideals of neoliberal ideology to express their agency and demanding to be able to define their own identities. As a part of neoliberal ideologies self-realisation is the goal for the individual, which includes defining ones identity (Hylland-Eriksen 2007:126). The right to be able to define one's own identity is central in neoliberal ideology.

It is not only the negotiations regarding personal identifications of being a woman with Muslim backgrounds that are visible in sample one. The collective identity of women with Muslim backgrounds is also addressed. I argue that at a

personal level, their identifications as strong individuals are expressed but also recognised to some extent in the debates on negative social control. Does the success in negotiating their own personal identities produces changes in how the collective identity of women with Muslim backgrounds are perceived at a societal level/more abstract level? I claim that the authors are managing to offer alternative portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds, resisting dominant discourses on these women, and simply nuancing the collective category of the 'Muslimwoman' (Cooke 2008). Despite the struggle to offer alternative images, I considered the authors of sample one as not fully being able to change dominant images in the public debates, that represent images at a societal level. The power relations within the discourses on women with Muslim backgrounds are complex, and the discourses on Islam and women with Muslim backgrounds have become persistent and difficult to challenge. Their resistance is nevertheless important, and their voices are providing important voices and are contributing to change.

The perceived contradiction between being a victims and active agents has implications for the possibility of citizenship based on identity. As mentioned in chapter 3, citizenship as identity describes the relationship between the citizens. Having your identity recognised is essential in this framework of citizenship. The identity work conducted by some of the authors of sample one, reveal how Muslim women's identities might not be recognised at whole in society. There is a misrecognition of their identities that leads not being fully recognised as members of society or the community because of this misrecognition. They resist public discourses that portray Muslim women as passive victims by taking back ownership over their own identities and expressing themselves the ways they want. They are empowering themselves by defining their own identities, and thus negotiating and claiming citizenship based on identity.

6.2.3 Negotiating citizenship as participation

The women of sample one are claiming and negotiating citizenship as participation. One of the ways the sample are by challenging the dichotomy between feminism and antiracism. As discussed in the previous parts of the chapter the authors of sample one is resisting this false dichotomy by combining these two feminist projects. They are refusing to accept the dichotomy.

I argue that by refusing to accept the dichotomies and the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds the authors of sample one are negotiating and claiming citizenship As stated in chapter three, I draw upon a broad definition of participation which also consider participation political, including both formal and informal political participation, however the main focus of this thesis will be on the informal practices of informal citizenship(Lister 2003:30).

From such a definition citizenship the struggle and negotiation by the authors of sample one to disprove of the false dichotomy between feminism and antiracism can deemed as a political act. The authors are combining feminism and antiracism which as previously mentioned has been a persistent question within feminist scholarships and movements, and in public debates relating to women with Muslim backgrounds' rights (Helseth 2017:16). Redefining the contents of the debates is expanding understanding of what is acceptable feminist and antiracist practices. They are attempting to contribute for change in society, which potentially has political consequences and real influence in society. They are participating in Norwegian society on their own terms and claiming membership on their own terms. The emphasis of sample one and how the expressed a sense of community of individuals with the same experiences of social control, I interpret the authors texts as contribution to a starting point for a social movement.

As already mention, I have interpreted the texts of sample one as having personal characteristics which coincides with findings from Helseth (Helseth 2017:9), who found that women of Muslim backgrounds were expected to be personal, as well as representing women with Muslim backgrounds as a group. Being personal have been important for women's movements, especially for the women's movement of the 1970's where it became a political slogan (Thun 2013:30). Expressing the personal experiences thus becomes a political act, and a way of enacting citizenship.

When combining feminism and antiracism, I interpret the authors of sample one as practicing intersectionality in practice. The authors view their experiences as a result of their multiple and intersecting identities. Their expression corresponds with what Crenshaw (1991) calls political intersectionality. Political

intersectionality describes how racism and sexism intersects in the experiences of women of colour (Crenshaw 1991:1252). These considerations are rarely addressed within the antiracist movement and within the feminist movements, which in some case does pursue conflicting political agendas(ibid.). Thus, this can create subordination within both movements. However, the women of sample one are practicing political intersectionality, by combining the two political projects. As a result, some of the authors of sample one is applying intersectionality to claim citizenship. The claims for citizenship are redefining and expanding the space of what is acceptable to state in the debates.

The authors have expressed themselves as active agents that are participating in Norwegian society. Participating in public debates has proven that their active agents possessing agency. Not only are the women of sample one participating in the debates, but the debates on social control was initiated by women with Muslim backgrounds, some represented with texts in sample one.

By participating in the public debates, the women with Muslim background are proving that they are fulfilling the aspects of citizenship that includes participation. They are expressing participation by participating in the debates itself, but they are also contributing to expanding upon the limits of what the debates should include. However, as mention in chapter 4, the Norwegian public sphere is mediated, and the participants has to comply to certain norms to be able to participate (Bangstad 2013:357). In particular do individuals of Muslim backgrounds have to apply to norms of the good Muslim, that in many cases are critical of Islamic practices (ibid.). Therefore, the expressions of struggle and alternative contributions to discourses on women with Muslim backgrounds, might not represent all women with Muslim backgrounds.

I argue that the authors of sample one, are claiming citizenship based on participation through the enactment of citizenship. The enactment of citizenship is not only about the status and practice of citizenship, but also about the possibility to make claims that disrupt prominent definitions of citizenship (Thun 2013:30). The authors of sample one are expanding the definitions and are negotiating citizenship. Their enactment is also present in how they negotiate the boundaries of citizenship as belonging and identity. The above-mentioned

rejection of the dichotomies between being a passive victim and an active agent, and between 'Norwegian' culture vs. the culture of the 'others, is a form of enactment of citizenship, which negotiates the boundaries of citizenship based on identity and belonging is a form of political participation. Through processes of identity work and challenging expanding the politics of belonging they are enacting citizenship. It is possible to interpret this participation as a political struggle, and a form of participation by claiming membership.

7.0 Conclusion

In this study, I have analysed the discourses of social control in the recent year's Norwegian media debates. Within these discourses I have found portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds, which are supported by three dichotomies. They produce discursive effects that affect the portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds. The dichotomies of:

- 'Norwegian' culture vs. the culture of the 'others'
- Active agents vs. passive victims
- Feminism and antiracism

The portrayals of women with Muslim background present in the discourses on social control have tended to depict women of Muslim backgrounds as passive, victims of social control in the context of an oppressive culture and/or religion (Van Es 2016). As a result, the issue of social control can be solved with better integration, which implies minorities becoming more like the majority.

In sample two, with texts written by politicians, there are tendencies of reproducing the dichotomies and the subsequent portrayals. However, women with Muslim backgrounds have themselves participated in the media debates on social control. I found that in their contributions to the debates, they seek to challenge the before mentioned dichotomies, and I argue that they are succeeding in doing so. The women with Muslim background of sample one are navigating these depictions and are providing alternative portrayals.

The texts from sample two are reproducing the dichotomy of 'Norwegian' culture vs. cultures of the 'others'. In the sample, social control is understood as 'ukultur', which is understood as undesirable cultural practises. Thus, a solution to the issue is 'better' integration. Muslims have to become more integrated into Norwegian society, which in the debates on negative social control has connotations of *"you have to become like us"*. Women with Muslim backgrounds are by default forced to comply with certain ideals of identity to be able to belong. The women of Muslim backgrounds of sample one are negotiating these notions, by nuancing the understandings of social control, They nuance the understandings of social control, by mentioning how social control is an issue in some ethnic majority communities as well, and explaining the

complexity of the issue, by including less violent practices in the definitions of social control.

The dichotomy of active agent vs. passive victim is to some degree reproduced by sample tqo Sample two presents oversimplified understandings of social control, which in its discursive effects leads to portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds as victims. However, the women of sample one, are challenging these images by refusing to accept the perceived contradiction between being a victim and an active agent. Being a victim does not make an individual and passive without agency, and the authors of sample one highlights that.

The last dichotomy between feminism and antiracism have contributed to the same discursive effects that has led to images on women with Muslim backgrounds as victims. However, the authors of sample one challenge the dichotomy by highlighting their agency. They refuse to let their experiences being used to legitimize discriminatory, xenophobic and islamophobic discourses. They also emphasis a sense of community, which is based on the unification of antiracism and feminism. The women with Muslim backgrounds possess intersecting identities which makes the women seeking to unite these two political movements, and in argue they are succeeding in their unification.

An important finding was how the sample of women with Muslim backgrounds attempted to and succeeded in providing nuanced and realistic portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds images. Even though, some of them are victims of social control, they highlight that their experiences do not make them weak. They still possess agency and are active agents over their own lives which is central in societies characterised by neoliberal ideologies (Hylland Eriksen 2006). By emphasising these aspects, they provide nuanced images of women with Muslim backgrounds, which has implications for citizenship.

I argue that the women of sample one are providing nuanced portrayal by negotiating and making claims of citizenship based on identity, belonging and participation. By negotiating these dimensions of citizenship, they have expanded the boundaries of membership into the 'imagined' Norwegian community (Anderson 2006).

Their negotiations of these dimensions of citizenship was done in several ways. When addressing the dimension of belonging, the women with Muslim backgrounds of sample one are negotiating, the politics of belonging which are setting strict boundaries of who gets to belong to the Norwegian community (Yuval-Davis 2006). Being a multicultural individual does not exclude women of Muslim backgrounds belonging to the Norwegian community. They refuse to let their cultural backgrounds exclude them from the imagined community. Cultural oppressive practices in their communities, can be battled and is not a reason for exclusion from the Norwegian society. They are challenging notions of being oppressed and dominant definitions of gender equality, by highlighting alternative images, which includes their experiences as minority women in the Norwegian community.

When addressing citizenship as identity, the women of sample one express processes of identity work (Andersson 2000) through their texts. Through identity work, their personal identities are expressed, and also misrepresented in the debates on negative social control. In the debates, there exists a collective identity based on the 'Muslimwoman', that overrides their own personal identities (Cooke 2008), which in many cases are built upon stereotypes of women with Muslim backgrounds (Van Es 2016). The authors of sample one negotiates these notions, by providing alternative portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds. Some of the authors with Muslim backgrounds refuse the label of victims, while some do not accept the preconceived notion that being a victim automatically makes you weak.

The women of sample one also claims and negotiates citizenship as participation. In their negotiations of identity and belonging, they refuse the dichotomy between feminism and antiracism. By highlighting that their experiences can be viewed as a result of their intersecting identities, I argue that this is intersectionality put into practice (Crenshaw 1991). The way some of the authors highlight a sense of community, and how the 'shameless girls' were considered the starting point of a social movement.

Their negotiations and claims for citizenship can be considered political acts and enactments of citizenship (Thun 2013:30). Their negotiations of the politics of

belonging and their identity work, can be understood as practicing citizenship. Through these acts, they are expanding the space for what it is acceptable to express in public debates and providing alternative portrayals of women with Muslim women.

Future research could examine if the nuanced portrayals of women with Muslim backgrounds in the debates on negative social control, and the negotiations of citizenship, have lasting and influential effects on public debates. How does the changes manifest itself in everyday lives? The claims and negotiations of citizenship, pushes and expands the definitions of citizenship. Are the women's claims and negotiations of citizenship expanding and/or changing the definitions of citizenship in the Norwegian context?

This study has shown that discourses on negative social control, representations of women with Muslim backgrounds and negotiations of citizenship are all connected. Discursive effects present in public debates has real-life consequences and can be exclusionary. The boundaries of informal citizenship (social citizenship, 'medborgerskap') are built upon discursive notions on who is to be included and who is excluded from the imagined community.

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