Diversity Dilemmas

Majority approaches to societal diversity in Norway and Europe

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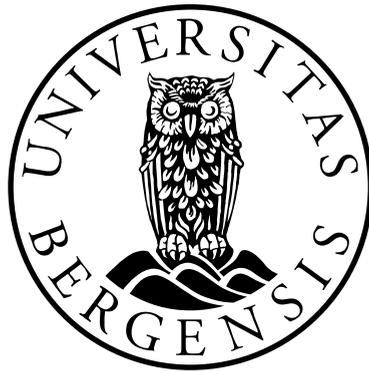
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Abstract

This thesis presents a study of majority perspectives on societal diversity. The aim of the enquiry is to make visible some of the dilemmas and ambivalence of contemporary debates on diversity. The topic is investigated through four empirically informed articles based on document analysis and qualitative interviews. The voice of the majority is presented through interviews with 19 leaders of one European and three Norwegian social movement organizations (SMOs) and documents from these SMOs and the Norwegian Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud. The analyses show that although there seems to be a definite willingness to focus on diversity issues and anti-discrimination measures related to ethnic, 'racial' and religious diversity in political strategies and within the SMOs studied here, such questions are not as easily dealt with in practice.

Although societal diversity is looked upon as something positive by the leaders interviewed for this thesis, they also make it clear implicitly and explicitly that diversity may threaten the cohesion of nations or organizations. The reaction to such a threat is made apparent through different forms of boundary work performed by the majority: for instance, by constructing minority issues as less relevant, less important or simply wrong and deviant. The findings, however, also indicate that such boundary work can change over time and become more susceptible to the claims and presence of minority voices. Inspired by Georg Simmel's sociology, the thesis concludes that in order to bring ethnic, 'racial' and religious minority voices and claims to the public and political agenda, it is necessary to challenge majority perspectives.

List of publications

Bygnes, Susanne 2012c. "Ambivalent Multiculturalism." *Sociology*, first published online 22 August 2012, doi: 10.1177/0038038512448560

Bygnes, Susanne 2010. "Making Equality Diverse? Merged Gender Equality and Anti-Discrimination Measures in Norway." *NORA Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 18 (2): 88–104.

Bygnes, Susanne 2012a. "Gender-Equality as Boundary: 'Gender–Nation Frames' in Norwegian EU Campaign Organizations." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 19 (1): 7–22.

Bygnes, Susanne 2012b. "'We are in Complete Agreement': The Diversity Issue, Disagreement and Change in the European Women's Lobby." *Social Movement Studies*, published online at iFirst, 16 July 2012, doi:10.1080/14742837.2012.703831

Contents

1. Introduction of themes, context and cases

 Ethnic, 'racial' and religious diversity[1] are some of the most fiercely debated topics on public agendas in Europe today. On the one hand, diversity has become a key policy term and is related closely to discourses of equality and anti-discrimination. On the other hand, diversity is a social fact. How individuals and communities relate to this fact is important for understanding how we live together. In this thesis, the concept 'diversity' denotes the existence of ethnic, 'racial' and religious *differences* in society. The concept is drawn on to facilitate an open and flexible approach to some of the political and societal dilemmas that might emerge when dealing with difference (see, for example, Fraser 1995; 1997). The aim of the thesis is to produce knowledge about human sociability by studying majority approaches to diversity. Majority members or voices are defined as those associated with a particular country or region's majority culture or ethnic, 'racial' or religious background. Minority members or voices are typified as ethnic, 'racial' or religious minorities in this thesis. Perspectives reflecting both oppositional opinions and those that currently have political support are included in this definition of majority perspectives. Perhaps somewhat paradoxically, I pay little attention to the actual perspectives and concerns of minority voices. Rather, inspired by Marianne Gullestad (2002a), in this thesis I study diversity and sociability by focusing on 'us'. Gaining knowledge about such majority perspectives makes it possible to challenge some of the taken-for-granted truths about diversity and equality and make way for alternative perspectives and concerns.

The contextual starting point of the enquiries is Norway and the European Union (EU). Politically and discursively, the EU is a very important point of reference for Norway, including for issues of diversity and policies about anti-discrimination.

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[1] Issues of 'race' and racism are certainly relevant to Norwegian debates and contexts but are almost never acknowledged as such (Hageland 2003; Myrdal 2010). What is most often made explicit is the issue of culture, mostly denoting 'Muslim culture' and often posing as a euphemism for 'race' or phenotype (Hagelund 2002, 2003; Razack 2008).

Although egalitarian ideals are important in societies beyond the Nordic region, these societies represent a particularly interesting context for studying equality culture because of features such as the scope of and popular support for Nordic welfare state regimes. These regimes are built on humanistic ideas of solidarity, promoting redistribution of key societal resources to ensure equality for all groups in society (Esping-Andersen 1990; Sümer 2009). Studying difference and inequality in a context that has a strong emphasis on equality also provides a well-suited platform for investigating situations where different ideals of equality challenge each other and the national self-image. I argue that the combination of a strongly held humanistic value of equality for all and a less humanistic intolerance for difference represents a dilemma. This thesis investigates how this dilemma is played out in practice by focusing on the boundaries of national and other 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983).

Empirical examples of boundary making and ambivalence are discussed in four journal articles presented in the following order: "Ambivalent Multiculturalism" (Bygnes 2012c), "Making Equality Diverse? Merged Gender Equality and Anti-discrimination Measures in Norway" (Bygnes 2010), "Gender-Equality as Boundary: 'Gender–Nation Frames' in Norwegian EU Campaign Organizations" (Bygnes 2012a) and "'We are in Complete Agreement': The Diversity Issue, Disagreement and Change in the European Women's Lobby" (Bygnes 2012b). The theoretical perspectives drawn on in the articles are wide ranging and include political and feminist theory on equality, diversity and justice; social movement theory; theories about the specifics of the Norwegian cultural context; and classic sociological theory on sociability and diversity. The thesis aims to contribute to sociological knowledge through empirical analyses of majority approaches to diversity. The first article serves to show the relevance of diversity as a basic and fundamental sociological issue. It aims to contribute to the scholarly debate about diversity by analysing ambivalent approaches to strangeness among leaders of social movement organizations (SMOs)

in Norway. The preceding articles provide empirical examples and wider theoretical discussion of the ways in which ambivalent approaches to diversity are expressed in different contexts. Article two focuses on the equality perspectives of the Norwegian state and argues that it is difficult to reconcile the equality perspective based on sameness that is drawn on by Norwegian authorities with policies focusing on diversity. In article three, it is argued that political theories of belonging are relevant for understanding how Norwegian equality perspectives are tied to the way the nation sees itself. By linking findings from the meso-level viewpoints of two Norwegian SMOs and macro-level debates and policies about equality, it is suggested that the implicit conceptualization of a 'gender–nation frame' is also present in European discourses. The fourth article demonstrates how majority members of a trans-European SMO engage in boundary making, vis-à-vis claims based on diversity. It is argued that this tendency can be related to a historical pattern whereby diverse claims are discounted as being less politically relevant and posing an inherent threat of fragmenting the common cause.

The thesis is connected to 'Eurosphere', a comparative European project led by the University of Bergen. The case selection and interview guide was defined by the Eurosphere project, but the analytical focus of this thesis differs from that of the Eurosphere analyses. The links between the thesis and the Eurosphere project will be clarified further in Chapter Three. The remainder of this introductory chapter will provide the key policy and cultural context, followed by a description of the four SMOs that were studied.

Imagining Equality

Equality and anti-discrimination policy forms an important empirical backdrop and an object of analysis (see Bygnes 2010) in this thesis. The historical precedence of gender equality law and policy over frameworks for equality related to ethnic or religious diversity in Norway and the EU is of particular relevance to the discussions, as is the link between equality traditions/perspectives and national self-image (Siim

2007; Lister 2009). Because of this precedence, meeting points between gender issues and wider diversity issues are considered particularly relevant focal points when studying majority perspectives on diversity in this thesis. In addition to policy contexts, cultural specifics tied to the Norwegian context provide another highly relevant background for the discussion of diversity perspectives. Societal diversity is an issue intrinsically linked with questions of difference, and also, more often than not, with issues of inequality. However, in Nordic and Norwegian contexts, sameness and egalitarian ideals are said to play a particularly important role (Graubard 1986; Gullestad 1992; 2002a; 2002b; 2006). Social anthropologist Marianne Gullestad has written extensively on how egalitarian ideals and practices have become an important part of understanding modern Norway and Norwegian-ness (1984; 1992; 1996). Among other questions, she has devoted attention to the implications of Norwegian egalitarian ideals and practices and repeatedly illustrated how power differentials and hierarchical relations are minimized in Norwegian contexts. Archetti (1984), Graubard (1986), Liden, Vike, and Lien (2001), Hagelund (2002; 2003) and Skarpenes (2007) are among those who have contributed to the discussion on egalitarian ideals in Norway.

As a Scandinavian country, Norway is well known for its high standing in international statistics measuring quality of life. The social democratic welfare regime conceptualized by Esping-Andersen (1990) and characterized by a wide range of policies aimed at minimizing the effects of social stratification is also well known. On the cultural and interpersonal levels, the social morality tied to being 'decent' and playing down hierarchical differences seems to echo the egalitarian values of a welfare state that is traditionally people-oriented (Gullestad 1992; Hagelund 2002; 2003; Skarpenes 2007). Moreover, the Norwegian emphasis on equality is linked closely with notions of similarity or sameness, a relation clearly displayed in the Norwegian language. *Likhet*, for instance, has traditionally been a widely appreciated value in Norway; the meaning of which includes both equality and similarity

(Gullestad 1992; 2002a; Liden, Vike, and Lien 2001). Such linguistic instances indicate an affinity for sameness implicitly included in the Norwegian egalitarian framework (Gullestad 1992; 2002a; Liden, Vike, and Lien 2001). Drawing on Anderson's notion of an 'imagined community' (1983), Gullestad has suggested labelling such framing of the social reality 'imagined sameness': a process wherein 'getting on well and holding common opinions' is of importance to the social dynamics (2001, 38). Her thesis is that people who frame situations socially and morally according to such an imagined sameness tend to emphasize equality and similarity between people as the defining trait of a wide range of social situations. The reverse side of this coin, however, is that along with the strong affinity for sameness comes a 'passion for boundaries', through which a 'demand for sameness' is produced and the space for being different decreases (Gullestad 2002b, 58, 59). As such, the affinity for sameness can turn into a prerequisite for equality: 'Nordic equality has been based on sameness to such a degree that it leaves little room [...] to recognize and appreciate difference' (Svensson, Pylkkänen, and Niemi-Kiesiläinen 2004, 4). Herein lays the dilemma of equality that is the focus of this thesis. In the articles "Making Equality Diverse?" (Bygnes 2010), "Gender-Equality as Boundary" (Bygnes 2012a) and "Ambivalent Multiculturalism" (Bygnes 2012c), I discuss how such specifics of the Norwegian case colour perspectives on diversity.

Norway and EU27

Europe comprises 44 nation states, 27 of which are currently full members of the European Union (EU27). Issues of diversity and equality form part of the co-operation that EU membership entails, and the EU's approach to such issues is an important part of the political landscape to which the organizations studied relate. The EU does not have its own programmes dealing with diversity, equality or inclusion but instead co-ordinates and encourages national governments to combat poverty and

social exclusion[2]. EU law is based on treaties agreed on by member states, such as the EC and Amsterdam treaties, which are mainly applied[3] by the courts of individual member states (Schiek 2009). These laws, which include regulations, directives and decisions, take precedence over national law and are binding on national authorities[4]. The EU Commission, in co-operation with the Council and Parliament, proposes directives on issues such as equal treatment[5] that are aimed at harmonizing legal foundations on these issues in the member countries. EU law is thus transposed into the laws and practices of member countries mainly through such directives.

Gender and class issues have had a privileged position in EU equality policy and legislation, with a particular emphasis on women as workers originating in article 141 [119] on equal pay for equal work passed in 1957 (Lombardo and Verloo 2009). According to Hoskyns (1996), gender policies are more developed than other strands of social policy in the EU because of the relatively strong impact of second-wave feminism, which placed core issues such as caring responsibilities and gender-based violence on the policy agenda. Anti-discrimination measures related to equality matters such as 'race' and ethnicity, on the other hand, were not introduced into the EU framework until 1997 in article 13 [6a] of the Amsterdam Treaty. Together with the *Charter for Fundamental Rights* (2000, article 21), two directives and an article in the Treaty of Lisbon have provided the basis for the adoption of measures combating grounds for discrimination such as 'racial' /ethnic origin, sex, age, disability, religion or sexual orientation (Lombardo and Verloo 2009). In the wake of such extensions to the legal base, there has been a tendency to merge measures against gender inequality

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[2] See http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=750 (11.01.12).

[3] The highest court able to interpret European law is the Court of Justice of the European Union (Berry and Hargreaves 2007).

[4] See: http://ec.europa.eu/eu_law/introduction/treaty_en htm (12.01.12).

[5] See http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:DKEY=473800:EN:NOT (11.01.12).

and other strands of discrimination into single bodies and frameworks and this has influenced the policy area within the EU since 2000[6] (Verloo 2006). At the time of the interviews (autumn 2008), a new directive aimed at ensuring equal treatment and non-discrimination based on gender and other grounds had just been proposed by the Commission. This is expressed in the 2008 proposal 'Directive on implementing the principle of equal treatment'[7] and the precursory European Commission Green Paper *Equality and Non-Discrimination in an Enlarged EU* (2004). The Green Paper (2004) states that the inclusion of a new article (no. 13) in the European Community Treaty to 'deal with discrimination on a whole new range of grounds'[8] (2004, 9) was built on 30 years of experience with gender-related equality measures. The proposed EU directive on equal treatment has not yet been passed.

Norway is one of three western European states that are not members of the EU. This wealthy and sparsely populated country (5 million inhabitants) situated in the north-western corner of Europe is ranked first in the United Nations' *Human Development Report* (2011). The majority of its population confirmed a preference to stay outside the EU through referendums in 1972 and 1994. Norway does however have a strong and formalized relationship to the EU through the European Economic Area Agreement[9] and Schengen co-operation. In fact, Norway is in the forefront of implementing EU directives and harmonizing national legislation (see, for example, NOU 2012, 2). Together with other Nordic countries such as Sweden and Denmark, Norway has been acknowledged internationally for its successful implementation of gender-related policies. These three countries lead international statistics comparing

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[6] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?language=EN&type=IM-PRESS&reference=20090401IPR53200. (18.10.12)

[7] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:DKEY:473800:EN:NOT (12.05.10).

[8] 'Racial' or ethnic origin, religion or belief, age, disability and sexual orientation.

[9] EEA: 'The European Economic Area unites the 27 EU member states and the three EEA EFTA states (Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein) in an internal market governed by the same basic rules. The aim of the EEA Agreement is to promote trade and economic relations between the 30 EEA states. It guarantees free movement of goods, persons, services and capital, as well as non-discrimination and equal competition rules throughout the European Economic Area' (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011, 8).

levels of gender equality and they are used as examples of best practice within the EU (Rubery and Fagan 2000; Hausmann, Tyson, and Zahidi 2011). In a move similar to that within the EU framework, Norway has recently merged its efforts to promote gender equality with intentions to address discrimination and inequality based on grounds such as ethnic background. The development resulted in the establishment of a joint Ombud for Equality and Anti-discrimination in 2006. The joint establishment was based on a new anti-discrimination Act and merged three existing institutions: the Centre for Equality, Ombud for Equality, and Centre against Ethnic Discrimination[10]. Norwegian anti-discrimination efforts thus partly derive from the more established policy field addressing inequality between women and men. More specifically, among the three institutions that comprise the recently formed joint Ombud, two hold strong ties to Norwegian gender-policy traditions. The Centre for Equality and the Ombud for Equality had a tradition of almost 60 years in launching state-run initiatives for gender equality, initiated by the pioneer formation of a Council for Equal Wages in 1959 (Borchorst 1999). The third institution is a newcomer on the national policy arena. The Centre against Ethnic Discrimination was established as a five-year pilot scheme in 1998. The project was in part a response to the criticism directed at the Norwegian state by national minority organizations, the United Nations and the European Council over lack of real protection against [ethnic] discrimination[11]. The establishment of the joint Ombud was thus based on strong initiatives against gender inequality and a substantially more limited effort against ethnic discrimination. The Ombud now has the following mission statement: 'The Ombud shall oppose

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[10] The Ombuds are merged. The (gender) Equality Law and the Anti-discrimination Law (on other grounds than gender) are still separate.

11 For instance, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) in its second report on Norway in June 2000, criticized Norway for its lack of documentation on discrimination (NOU 2002, 12).

discrimination and promote equality regardless of factors such as gender, ethnicity, functional ability, language, religion, sexual orientation and age'[12].

Four Social Movement Organizations

The term 'social movement organization' derives from the more commonly known concept of social movement. In his 2002 book *Making Sense of Social Movements*, Nick Crossley pertinently asks: What is a social movement? Crossley provides several definitions, including Herbert Blumer's 'collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life' (Blumer 1969, 99), and Della Porta and Diani's 'informal networks based on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilize about conflictual issues through the frequent use of various forms of protest' (1999, 16). What then is the relation between such 'collective enterprises' or 'informal networks' and the formal and professional organizations used as the prism in this study of approaches to diversity and equality? McCarthy and Zald coined the term social movement organization (and the abbreviation SMO), defining it as a 'complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or countermovement and attempts to implement these goals' (1977, 1218). This definition fits the highly structured and formalized organizations that identify with preferences of social movements or counter-movements studied here.

Why are SMOs relevant for enquiring about diversity and the boundaries of equality? Like the political apparatus, SMOs and their spokespersons serve as experts (Espeli 1999) and are embedded in negotiations for power and influence in society through the framing of their initiatives (Benford and Hunt 1992; McCarthy, J. Smith and Zald 1996). SMOs are also considered a principal component of civil society and can 'serve as [a] medium for broad political discourse and so have important public sphere effects such as facilitating public communication' (Fung 2003, 518). The

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12 http://www.ldo.no/en-gb/TopMenu/About-ombud/Facts-about-the-Equality-and-Anti-Discrimination-Ombud/ (25.06.08).

actors interviewed here are leaders of SMOs. Their roles are similar to others who pose as experts and claim power in public arenas. Although working to establish oppositional action and playing the roles of counteracting groups, SMOs enjoy a fair amount of recognition by the political elite in pluralist polities such as Norway (Warren 2001). SMOs and their leaders influence political life and public discourse through exercising 'policy-specific' opportunities (Tarrow 1996, 40) and through participation in the media, among other channels (McCarthy, J. Smith and Zald 1996). Because SMOs and their leaders contribute to the formation of public opinion and influence state actions (Fung 2003, 516), they are relevant for gaining knowledge about current approaches to diversity.

Only one of the four SMOs selected for this project has societal diversity as its main platform but all four organizations and their leaders contribute to public debate on issues related to societal diversity and equality. Two SMOs that focus on Norway's relation to Europe, *No to EU* and the *European Movement Norway*, were selected because of their relevance for investigating the boundaries of the national community. The third SMO selected is the *Norwegian Centre against Racism* (NCR), the largest SMO in Norway with societal diversity as its main agenda. The NCR also works with multidimensional claims, particularly the relationship between gender equality and anti-racism. The trans-European gender equality organization, the *European Women's Lobby*, was selected because it provides an opportunity to study belonging and boundary work related to issues of diversity and equality outside of a nation-state context. The following will introduce the four SMOs in more detail.

SMO No. 1: No to EU

Although Norway is not a member of the EU, the possibility of such membership and Norway's current relation to the EU is often raised in public debates and is mediated through two campaign organizations that have been active in the Norwegian public

sphere since the 1990s: the Norwegian branch of the *European Movement* supporting membership and *No to EU*, which opposes it. These EU campaign organizations are based on politically diverse platforms: *No to EU* is associated with the Left of the political spectrum, while the *European Movement* and the Yes campaign have strong connections to the Right[13] (Fossum 2010).

No to EC (European Community) was founded in 1990, but changed its name to *No to EU* (European Union) in 1994 in connection with the second referendum on Norwegian membership of the European Union (Esborg 2008). Resistance to the EU in Norway goes back to the 1960s, with Norway's first EU application in 1962 and the first referendum in 1972. The current SMO is a continuation of several previous initiatives with similar causes (Esborg 2008). The organization grew out of milieus around the agrarian Centre Party and 'leftist' parts of the political spectrum. Representatives from the Liberals, the Socialist Left Party, the Christian People's Party, the Labour Party and the main Labour Union were all involved in the establishment of the organization (Esborg 2008). Among the key supporters were people connected to the agrarian Centre Party and the political Left. Key opponents included a large faction within the Labour Party's Right wing and the Conservative Party (Høyre). Mr Kristen Nygård was the organization's first leader. *No to EU* still defines itself as a broad political coalition with one goal: '... to keep Norway outside the EU. The organization nevertheless found it useful to develop a common political platform on the questions of democracy, environment and international solidarity'[14].

No to EU is a large organization in the Norwegian context, with approximately 30,000 members. In terms of organizational structure, the *No to EU* national congress elects a leader, board members and council members. The council is the organization's decision-making body under the national congress; it has 24 members

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[13] The EU question also follows other political cleavages: more men and urban voters for instance, are pro membership (Fossum 2010).

[14] http://www.neitileu.no/articles_in_foreign_languages/welcome_to_no_to_the_eu (10.01.12).

and meets twice a year[15]. The board consists of 14 elected members with wide
ranging geographic and political affiliations. The organization also has close to 30
full-time employees. The board and council members have other professional
functions outside their organizational activities in *No to EU*: some are politicians at
the local or national level; others are academics, farmers or civil servants. Four of the
five informants from *No to EU* are currently, or have been, in local or regional
political office: two for the Socialist Left Party (SV) and one each for the Labour
Party (AP) and the Christian Democrats (KrF). The five interviewees from *No to EU*
are members of its council and board. In accordance with claims made by social
movement scholars such as McCarthy, J. Smith and Zald (1996), the interview with
the *No to EU* president revealed goal-oriented approaches to influence 'the
parliament, political parties, the government and the media'. The *No to EU* website
makes it evident that the organization figures relatively often in the Norwegian public
sphere; its leaders are active in nationwide print media, debating issues related to
international workers' rights, social dumping, gender equality and the economic crisis
in the Eurozone.

SMO No. 2: The European Movement

The 1948 European Congress in The Hague marked the birth of the *European
Movement* (Europabevegelsen 1999). Oscar Olsen, one of the Norwegian delegates
from the Liberals (Venstre), established the Norwegian chapter one year later in 1949
(Europabevegelsen 1999, 10). Several politicians from the Liberal, Labour and
Conservative parties were engaged as key supporters (Europabevegelsen 1999). A
large fraction within the Labour Party supports the organization's goals. The
European Movement has about 5000 members, organized with a central committee

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[15] http://www.neitileu.no/om_nei_til_eu (10.01.12).

and board. The board is led by the President, with first and second Vice-Presidents and 10 board members. The secretariat employs three people, including the Secretary-General. Today, the main objective of the organization is to work for 'an organized and democratic partnership between the citizens of Europe with the purpose to promote freedom, peace and democracy, to develop cultural understanding and social equalizing, and further to promote a sustainable global development'[16]. An important specification is that the 'European Movement in Norway wants these objectives to be achieved through Norway becoming a member of the European Union'. In practice, the main adversary of the Norwegian chapter of the *European Movement* is *No to EU*. This is made clear on the organization's website, the address of which used to be www.jasiden.no [the yes side]. Today the website banner reads 'Yes to EU–Europabevegelsen'. Among the topics listed on the website as focus areas for promoting Norwegian membership in the EU are climate and environment, the EEA Agreement, foreign and safety policy, health and social policy and justice and migration[17].

During the interview in his office at the National Parliament, the President of the *European Movement* regretted that the organization is not reported in the media to the same degree as *No to EU*. The organization and its leaders, however, do have political influence and are relevant actors in the national public sphere through their political affiliations: three of the five informants from the *European Movement* are Members of Parliament, two from the Labour Party (AP) and one from the right-wing Progress Party (FrP). By participating in debates and influencing decision-making the interviewees exercise their role as a vehicle for political discourse, including issues related to diversity (Fung 2003).

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[16] http://www.europabevegelsen.no/Om-Europabevegelsen (10.01.12).

[17] http://www.europabevegelsen.no/Politikk (10.01.12).

SMO No. 3: Norwegian Centre against Racism

The *Norwegian Centre against Racism* (NCR) was founded in Oslo in 1978 and grew out of an anti-racist editorial collective from the magazine *Immigranten* (Nydal 2007). The Centre was the first of its kind in the Nordic countries and included a magazine and a radio initiative. The Centre's first leader, Mr Khalid Salimi, was part of the original editorial team of *Immigranten* and was leader of the NCR for 20 years. The Centre was supported by British anti-racist leaders associated with the political Left (Nydal 2007). The NCR is not a membership organization but has a board with seven members and a secretariat with five full-time employees. It organizes a range of practical initiatives including activities for young people and a counselling office providing practical and legal advice to people who are victims of racism. The NCR's main objective is 'to fight racism and discrimination. Our vision is a culturally diverse and socially just society'[18]. The Centre is active on the political level, writing submissions and participating in expert groups. On the website it states: 'The management has a broad network among organizations and the authorities on a local, national and international level'. The NCR is also invited onto government-appointed committees. During the interview, the President talked about her participation in a committee preparing a new Norwegian anti-discrimination law. In general, the leaders of the NCR are active in the public sphere and participate frequently in newspaper, web and broadcast debates. The Centre also organizes campaigns such as Tea Time, where Muslim families invite non-Muslims into their homes for tea. The campaign was actively launched with nationwide TV commercials and gained particular popularity after the tragedy in Oslo and on Utøya 22 July 2011.

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[18] http://www.antirasistisk-senter no/english.109478.no html (10.01.12).

SMO No. 4: The European Women's Lobby

The *European Women's Lobby* (EWL) and its secretariat were established in Brussels in 1990 to ensure 'permanent representation for women at the level of the European Community' (Hoskyns 1991, 67). According to Hoskyns, the majority of the 70 women who attended the inaugural meeting in September 1990 'were white, professional and middle aged, but with diverse backgrounds, skills and politics (1991, 68). The organization was set up as a co-ordinating body for national and European non-government women's organizations in the EU. It has approximately 2500 direct member organizations, including national and international organizations. The EWL is organized with an annual general assembly bringing together delegations from the national co-ordinating committees in 30 European countries and 21 European and international organizations. The board includes 34 elected members, 26 representing national committees and eight from European NGOs. The board elects an executive committee consisting of seven members who meet regularly, represent and lobby actively on behalf of the EWL[19]. In addition, there is a Brussels secretariat where seven women prepare statements, disseminate information and lobby for the EWL on a daily basis. The three interviewees are members of the secretariat, board and executive committee, respectively. The main aims of the EWL are to work 'for the advancement of equality between women and men' and 'mainstreaming and monitoring of a feminist gender equality perspective in all areas of European Union policy and for the achievement of parity democracy at all levels'. In terms of scope, the EWL commits to 'taking into account the needs and perspectives of different groups of women and the multiple experiences of women at all stages of their life cycle'[20]. Hence, women's diversity is a key concern for the organization.

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[19] http://ewl.horus.be/site/1abstract.asp?DocID=8&v1ID=&RevID=&namePage=&pageParent=&DocID_sousmenu= (20.01.12).

[20] http://ewl.horus.be/site/1abstract.asp?DocID=8&v1ID=&RevID=&namePage=&pageParent=&DocID_sousmenu= (19.01.12).

The EWL is active in the public sphere and makes use of its 'policy-specific opportunities' (Tarrow 1996) by lobbying vis-à-vis EU institutions and national governments. According to its website, the establishment of the EWL was linked to 'the creation of a new form of public space at the European level and a new form of interaction between citizens and political officials'. This was done by lobbying at the European level and providing information to decision-makers to ensure a gender perspective, and by providing women's organizations with information to promote their participation at the EU level:

> The EWL thus plays a dual role as a link between women's organizations and institutions. The EWL facilitates dialogue and exchanges between citizens and European decision-makers. Because of its advisory status in both the United Nations Economic and Social Council and the Council of Europe, the EWL plays an instrumental role at the international level[21].

The activities of the EWL and its leaders in the public sphere are mainly focused on communication between organizations, lobbying and Internet campaigns[22], the last of which, according to the organization, represents a new form of interaction between citizens and state officials.

Thesis Overview

The thesis proceeds as follows. First, abstracts are presented to give the reader an overview of the four articles included in this thesis. Second, the methods and the

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[21] http://ewl horus.be/site/1abstract.asp?DocID=8&v1ID=&RevID=&namePage=&pageParent=&DocID_sousmenu= (20.01.12).

[22] See, for instance, No Modern European Democracy without Gender Equality http://www.5050democracy.eu/ (20.01.12).

methodology will be discussed. Third, different theoretical approaches to societal diversity will be presented. Finally, the main findings of the thesis will be discussed. The four journal articles are printed in the appendix.

2. Abstracts of journal articles

Article 1: "Ambivalent Multiculturalism"

ABSTRACT   Multiculturalism is a fiercely debated subject. This article argues that *ambivalence* is a central feature of people's perspectives on societal diversity. Data are interviews with leaders from three Norwegian social movement organizations. Qualitative analysis reveals that despite leaders' very different organizational and political vantage points, they share a common ambivalence towards multiculturalism. This perspective on political and organizational leaders' views on diversity provides an important supplement to analyses aimed at classifying specific political preferences on multiculturalism. Considering ambivalent multiculturalism is therefore key to understanding those elements of public debate that are not 'either/or'. In addition to showing the wider relevance of ambivalence, the concluding discussion speculates on the link between ambivalent and extreme expressions in the Norwegian case.

Article 2: "Making Equality Diverse? Merged Gender Equality and Anti-Discrimination Measures in Norway"

ABSTRACT   This article enquires into a shift in policy work related to equality and discrimination by examining the extent to which gender equality has been complemented by a focus on ethnic discrimination in a report issued by the Norwegian Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud. The empirical analysis illustrates how the discrepancies between the report's intentions and its content reveal

tough conditions for new categories of inequality in a country leading the international statistics on gender equality. The article argues that a substantial part of the report builds on political strategies, the main aim of which has been to include women into public spheres and that such strategies do not correspond to intentions to include difference and diversity into the framework of the examined reports.

Article 3: "Gender-Equality as Boundary: 'Gender–Nation Frames' in Norwegian EU Campaign Organizations"

In: *European Journal of Women's Studies* 19 (1), 2012

ABSTRACT   This article examines how women's and gender equality issues form part of social movement organizations' ideological framing and discusses how this tendency is mirrored in discourses at European and nation-state levels. Starting with one of Western Europe's few non-EU member countries, the article compares how two Norwegian social movement organizations draw on gender issues in their argumentation. The analysis is empirically based on written material produced by the organizations and takes recourse in a feminist methodological approach rooted in the tradition of discourse analysis. The analysis suggests that gender-related issues discussed by the organizations are coloured by an implicit North–South hierarchy, which frames some areas, nations and cultures as more gender-equal and women-friendly than others. By drawing on notions conceptualized by Nira Yuval-Davis (2006), it is argued that social movement organizations' tendency to frame women's issues and gender equality in a way that implicitly marks and maintains symbolic boundaries between North and South is coloured by a 'politics of belonging' at the macro level. The final discussion suggests some of the ways in which it may be problematic to see Nordic gender equality traditions and current EU initiatives as universal solutions that fit all women living in Europe.

Article 4: "'We are in Complete Agreement': The Diversity Issue, Disagreement and Change in The European Women's Lobby"

In: *Social Movement Studies*, iFirst pp. 1–15

ABSTRACT   This article analyses how leading members of a social movement organization talk about a controversial topic and looks at how the leaders relate to internal disagreement. By using the issue of women's diversity as point of departure, the article shows how European Women's Lobby (EWL) leaders engage in boundary making vis-à-vis multidimensional equality claims. The interviewed leaders identify women's issues as a majority issue and contrast them with minority issues and women's diversity. It is suggested that the arguments applied by the EWL leaders are similar to those historically articulated when issues such as women's emancipation were marginalized within the traditional class-based labour movement. The presence of diverging opinions among the leaders with regard to how this controversial issue should be framed is subsequently used as an empirical illustration of the dynamism in movement claims. The conclusion of the article suggests that multidimensional equality claims are controversial and disputed within the organization, but that differences in opinion among the leaders coexist and form part of a continuously ongoing framing process.

3. Data and methodology

In this thesis, I study majority approaches to diversity. The voice of the majority is represented by 19 leaders of one European and three Norwegian SMOs and documents from these SMOs and the Norwegian Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud. In addition to the main data sources, information from participation in meetings and events held by the organizations provides background and context. The investigation was exploratory and open-ended to allow the empirical findings to guide the research process. The analyses have resulted in four articles published in academic journals. In each article, the analysis was done separately, guided by the findings and ideas generated through four specific empirical foci. Although there is theoretical overlap between the four articles, the theoretical frameworks used in each article were developed gradually throughout the process of data analysis. The project builds on qualitative interviews and document analysis. As is often the case in empirical analyses, the methodological approaches drawn on in this project have been employed eclectically (Vassenden 2008).

This methodology chapter proceeds as follows. First, the research design will be presented. Second, the process of data collection will be outlined. Third, the different analytical strategies employed will be discussed. This part will provide a more comprehensive discussion on the implications of different approaches to document analysis. Finally, I discuss the methodological strengths and weaknesses of the project.

Design

This research project was originally designed to investigate the paradoxes and ambivalence of contemporary debates on gender equality and societal diversity. It was developed partly within the research frame of the Eurosphere project, a 6th framework

programme focusing on diversity and the public sphere[23]. The design of the Eurosphere project governed the selection of SMOs and the decision to interview the leadership of each organization. The interview guide was also designed by the project in order to co-ordinate interviews in 16 European countries. I was responsible for gathering background data related to questions regarding diversity and Europe from one transnational and three Norwegian SMOs, and for interviewing a specified number of leaders. During the background research and before the interviews, I saw that my knowledge and previous research on gender equality issues could provide useful insights into how majority members of society draw boundaries against other forms of societal diversity (Bygnes 2008). This particular aspect seemed to be an effective way to tease out the central paradoxes and ambivalence of contemporary debates on diversity. Because the design of the Eurosphere interview guide did not facilitate a primary focus on this issue, I decided to add an analysis of documents with the particular aim of looking into the paradoxes between frames of equality and possibilities of diversity. The first article (Bygnes 2012c) is based on interview material from the three Norwegian SMOs. The second article (Bygnes 2010) presents an analysis of a policy change in the Norwegian context with regard to issues of diversity and equality, using reports issued by the former Centre for [gender] Equality and the current Ombud for Equality and Discrimination. The third article (Bygnes 2012a) reports analyses of printed materials from the two Norwegian EU campaign organizations, *No to EU* and the *European Movement*. Data include reports, pamphlets, member bulletins, press releases and media clips from the two organizations. The documents were selected using key word hits from the organizations' web-based search engines and the method is specified in the appendix of article two (Bygnes 2012a). The fourth article (Bygnes 2012b) is based on

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[23]The aim of the project 'Eurosphere: Diversity and a European Public Sphere' is to 'create innovative perspectives on the European public spheres' through 'elite interviews' with leaders of political parties, media actors, think tanks and social movements http://eurospheres.org/ (08.02.12).

interview data and printed materials from the *European Women's Lobby* and focuses on how the controversial topic of women's diversity is dealt with and talked about within the organization.

Recruitment, Access and Data Collection

Interviews

The Eurosphere interview schedule[24] was divided into five parts, but I have mainly focused on answers to the following questions from the first two parts of the questionnaire: 'In your own understanding of diversity, which groups do you believe are relevant for defining a diverse society?', 'What do you think about ethno-nationally diverse societies?' and 'In what ways do you see ethno-national diversity as an advantage or challenge in society?'. In addition, answers from other parts of the interview schedule have been included where relevant, specifically: 'What do you think of international migration?' and 'Which benefits and problems for the receiving and sending countries do you recognize?' from part four of the interview schedule. In the analysis of the EWL interviews, answers to questions regarding EU policy on diversity issues were also important to the analysis. In addition, in both articles based on interviews, answers in response to questions that arose dynamically during the course of the interviews were used. The analytical approach has been inductive, looking for similarities, differences and recurring themes in the answers provided by the interviewees about approaches to diversity. The focus was mainly on the convergences and divergences between issues of equality and diversity. In a broader sense, the thesis is driven by a sociological curiosity inspired by Georg Simmel: how is diverse society possible?

In political and social science, interviews with political or organizational leaders are often labelled 'elite interviews' (see for example, Dexter 1970; Zuckerman

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[24] Unpublished Eurosphere Research note 30.

1972; Moyser and Wagstaffe 1987; Hertz and Imber 1995). The social dynamic in elite interviews is a part of 'researching up', often described quite differently in the literature on elite interviewing than in the classical literature on power relations and research ethics in interviews that involve 'researching down' (Briggs 1986; Kvale 1996; S. Taylor and Bogdan 1998). Methodological literature addressing issues such as gender, 'race' relations or colonialism, for instance, often aims to raise awareness about researchers' cultural or social power vis-à-vis the research subject (D. E. Smith 1990a; 1990b; 2005; Patai 1991; Maynard and Purvis 1994). The power structure in elite interviews, on the other hand, is experienced by many as 'reversed' because of the high social status of the interviewee (Zuckerman 1972; Hertz and Imber 1995; Desmond 2004). However, my previous research experience in India had taught me that youth and lack of experience can be far more central to the power dynamic in an interview than the 'cultural power' ascribed to researchers from the 'West' (Bygnes 2008). After reading the literature on elite interviewing, therefore, I was not clear about what would be special when interviewing 'elites' or indeed whether I should consider my prospective informants as 'elites' or 'ordinary people'. They were members of parliament and SMO leaders with considerable political influence, so perhaps I should expect them to be demanding conversational partners with whom it would be difficult to schedule appointments. However, such traits could probably be ascribed more widely than just to 'elite members of society'. The egalitarian ideals that so colour Norwegian social relations and ways of conduct were another issue (Archetti 1984; Graubard 1986; Gullestad 1992; 2002b; 2006; Liden, Vike, and Lien 2001; Hagelund 2002; 2003; Skarpenes 2007), and I wondered whether this would cause people otherwise understood as elites to behave like 'ordinary informants'.

Katherine Smith (2006) and Nirmal Puwar (1997) are among those who question the widely agreed upon commonalities between elite interview experiences. By questioning some of the clearly drawn differences between interviewing elites and non-elites, K. Smith (2006) addresses the unpredictable character of power in social

relations. Reflecting on the process of interviewing women Members of Parliament in Britain, Puwar (1997) similarly sheds light on the micro politics of interviews by addressing questions of power and rapport when relations tied to gender, age, , social status and belonging interplay and colour the interview experience. Based on a comparison between the power relations in her own interviews with policy makers and interviews conducted by a colleague with people from a socially deprived area, K. Smith (2006) concludes that it cannot be assumed as a given as to which informants are perceived as more or less powerful vis-à-vis the researcher. Interviewees from the socially deprived groups approached by her colleague were neither easily accessed nor did they fail to use social power techniques in the interviews. Meanwhile, K. Smith perceived her own experience with 'elite' informants as relatively easy and not very stressful (2006, 651). K. Smith thus invites researchers to question what has been portrayed by some as an inevitable asymmetric relationship in favour of the interviewee in elite interview situations (Schoenberger 1992; Desmond 2004). Similar to Smith's experience, most of the people I interviewed were easy to talk to, welcoming and not particularly difficult to contact and to make appointments. Many of the issues raised in the literature focusing on the specifics of elite interviewing therefore became less relevant to the project.

One aspect of interviewing leaders that did become relevant to address was the question: Who does the interviewee represent or speak on behalf of? The interviewees were selected because of their leading roles in different SMOs and as contributors to public debate and policy development. However, they are also individuals with particular backgrounds and affiliations. These individual particularities form part of the diversity of each organization and colour the contribution of each SMO leader. The issue of individual voice is an underlying theme in the articles based on interview analysis. "'We are in Complete Agreement'" (Bygnes 2012b) focuses specifically on disagreements within the SMO studied. The interview analysis illustrates how being representatives of one organization does not necessarily mean agreeing on all issues and shows how personal standpoints and background colour their status and role performance as SMO leaders. In "Ambivalent Multiculturalism" (Bygnes 2012c), one

of the informants puts into words the internal hierarchy of his statuses as SMO board member and MP, with the latter being more important to his standpoint in the interview than the former. Therefore, while interviewing elites or leaders means gaining access to representatives of an organization, the act of sharing conversations with them for up to three hours also means getting access to personal accounts and individual standpoints that do not necessarily match those of the organization.

In total, I conducted 19 interviews with people in leading roles in *No to EU* (five leaders), the *European Movement Norway* (five leaders), *Norwegian Centre against Racism* (six leaders) and the *European Women's Lobby* (three leaders). Informants were recruited through official invitations sent by the Eurosphere project. I followed up the invitations by email and appointments were made through email correspondence or telephone. All leaders contacted in the *Norwegian Centre against Racism* and *No to EU* agreed to be interviewed. In the *European Movement Norway* and the *European Women's Lobby*, one potential informant did not reply and four did not wish to give interviews because others within the organizations had already done so. In four instances, the stated two-hour time frame was initially negotiated down to 1.5 hours by the interviewees beforehand. However, during the interviews, some informants indicated their willingness to spend longer than proposed. The interviews were conducted in offices, lobbies, canteens, private homes and restaurants in Bergen, Brussels, Oslo, Stavanger and Stockholm during the autumn of 2008, and the final interview was conducted in Bergen in January 2009. All except one of the 19 interviewees agreed to be cited by name. To ensure his or her anonymity and confidentiality, I chose to conceal the identities of all informants in the article that includes extracts from him or her (Bygnes 2012c). In each SMO, the leaders of the organization recruited for interview were board members, members of committees or working groups particularly relevant to the project, and a leading member of the secretariat of each SMO. Among the board members of the four SMOs, several leaders held political appointments at international, national, regional or local levels.

Three of the five informants from the *European Movement* were MPs, four of the five informants from *No to EU* were or had been in local or regional political office, and the President of the EWL has been a candidate for the European Parliament. The 19 interviewees comprised 11 women and eight men. Three of the informants were born outside Europe. I am a younger white female, born in Norway. These social statuses may have influenced the social dynamics of the interview situation and might have contributed to a particular way of framing answers. In one interview, for example, an interviewee expressed relatively conservative opinions about gay marriage and adoption but became self-conscious when he realized that the interviewer might be a member of the gay community and thus insulted by his opinions.

In general, the informants expressed great interest in the themes raised during the course of the interviews. Several stated that it was important to them to make their organizations' outlook visible through research. Some informants did seem slightly hesitant or critical before and/or during the course of the interview. This can be attributed to at least two issues: (a) the introduction of topics they believed they had insufficient knowledge about, and (b) the link between the Eurosphere project and the EU. The latter issue, of course, was particularly relevant for leaders representing *No to EU*. On the other hand, together with the *Norwegian Centre against Racism*, *No to EU* invited me to meetings, conferences and dinners held for members and interested parties while the Euro-friendly SMOs did not. At the start of each interview, I was conscious of not creating any perception for the interviewee that I was representing the EU.

Interview analysis

The transcription and reading of the interviews provided a good overview of the data. Reading them several times generated ideas about what to investigate further. The interview analyses were done after completing two articles based on analysis of texts (Bygnes 2010; 2012a), and the results generated in these articles informed the analysis of the interviews. The analysis was topic based; I looked for patterns in the interviewees' approaches to issues of diversity and was particularly interested in the

presence of implicit and explicit boundaries. After first considering all the material, I decided to examine data from the EWL and the NCR to compare how an anti-racist organization framed gender-related issues with how a women's organization framed diversity issues. However, the most interesting parts seemed to be statements made by EWL leaders and I decided to focus only on the three interviews with EWL leaders in the article (Bygnes 2012b). This material pinpointed several topical issues related to boundary work and social movement framing processes. The next step of the analytical process was more theoretically informed. My first intention was to analyse the topics in relation to theories of justice, but because I wanted to make a contribution to the field of social movements I decided to focus on social movement theory. At this stage of the process, I also decided to support the findings of the interviews with written material produced by the EWL.

For the analysis used in "Ambivalent Multiculturalism" (Bygnes 2012c), I scrutinized the entire interview material again. I looked for patterns of difference in how the interviewees related to gender and diversity: Were there particular similarities between leaders of one organization or particular differences between leaders that could be classified as different political or sociological approaches to diversity? After repeatedly reading the transcripts, I could find no such patterns of particular interest and resorted to physically cutting up relevant interview extracts, putting them into boxes and scattering them onto the floor in different patterns. Unfortunately, no interesting analytical results came out of these efforts. I could only see similarities and it seemed impossible to group them in any way that was relevant to my focus on the boundaries of diversity. As a result, I turned to reading classic sociological literature in the hope of gaining inspiration to continue the analyses. On reading Simmel, it occurred to me that the interviewees' commonalities might actually be analytically interesting. The analysis in this article (2012c) was thus driven more by a theoretical starting point than the analyses in "Making Equality Diverse?"

(Bygnes 2010), "Gender-Equality as Boundary" (Bygnes 2012a) and "'We are in Complete Agreement'" (Bygnes 2012b).

Handling interview data

In Norway, researchers are required to notify the Data Protection Official for Research. Before the process of recruiting informants, the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD) was informed by the Eurosphere project about the content of the interview questions. The data collection procedures were approved by the NSD. According to the NSD's terms and conditions, all information that may identify informants will be destroyed when the project ends. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed, with 16 interviews being conducted in Norwegian and three in English. The Norwegian interviews were translated to English, while the English interviews were quoted verbatim. The level of detail in the transcriptions was adjusted to capture the meaning and content of what people said, and does not represent an exact conversational analysis. Moreover, the quotes presented in the articles were slightly edited to translate the conversation format into written text. I have analysed the meaning and content of the interviews and concentrated relatively little on the exact wording of the informants.

Texts

This thesis draws on two principal sources of text: (i) reports issued by the Norwegian Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud and the Centre for Equality, and (ii) written material produced by the SMOs. The reports are relevant documents for enquiring into how equality and anti-discrimination discourse and policy on grounds such as ethnicity, 'race' and religion are approached in the Norwegian context and how such an approach is related to gender equality measures. The *SaLDO 2007* was the first report of its kind issued by the Norwegian Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud, a new Ombud established in 2006. The *Barometer of Equality* was, however, published annually by the Ombud's forerunner, the Centre for Equality, between 2000 and 2005.

"Making Equality Diverse" (Bygnes 2010) focuses on how the new Ombud approached its mandate by looking at how inequality and discrimination parameters were treated in the first SaLDO report (2007). The findings are compared with the forerunner reports and the SaLDO report issued in the following year (2008). The aim of analysing these reports was to provide an empirical example of how intentions to include new categories of inequality were dealt with in practice. The analysis draws mainly on Carol Bacchi's methodology 'What's the problem?' (1999) and takes the contextual embeddedness of organizations and policy makers as a point of departure. The idea for the article was inspired by Holst's (2007) analysis of the *Barometer of Equality* where she points to the relevance of an analysis of the forthcoming SaLDO report.

The second principal source of text is written material produced by the SMOs (see Bygnes 2012a; 2012b). These documents were selected using key word hits from the SMOs' web-based search engines and were the primary data source in Bygnes (2012a). They were chosen to allow greater emphasis to be placed on issues related to gender and diversity than was possible using the interview material alone. The idea for this arose during a discussion at a *No to EU* women's committee dinner, and the initial plan was to use written material to investigate how *No to EU* and the *European Movement Norway* differed in their approach to the question: Is the European Union good for women? The initial analyses of how the SMOs represented gender issues evoked an interest in the ways that descriptions of gender equality were related to images of place in the documents. From the initial 490 key word hits from a search for documents containing 'gender', 'women' or 'equality', 24 were selected for in-depth analysis. The analysis focused on the question: How are images of place related to gender equality in the material? (For a detailed description of key word hits, see Bygnes 2012b.) By applying Bacchi's (1999) problem approach, the selected documents were used to show how gender equality issues play an implicit but

important part in maintaining the boundaries of the imagined Norwegian national community.

In "We are in Complete Agreement" (Bygnes 2012b), written material was used to contextualize interview material and identify discursive development within the EWL regarding diversity issues. This allowed the interview analysis to be strengthened by additional data to show the developments in EWL discourse about diversity over a period of time. Therefore, the web-based search engine was used to look for documents featuring words including 'diversity', 'anti-discrimination' and 'multiple discrimination'. The documents indicated a development that could be related to changes in this policy area within the EU. This finding strengthened the conclusions of the article.

Analysis of text: epistemological considerations

In this research project, the process of analysing written data has eclectically drawn on approaches deriving from discourse analysis (Bacchi 1999; 2005) and the framing analysis developed by social movement scholars (W. Gamson, Fireman, and Rytina 1982; Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988). Authors such as Bacchi (2005) have argued that these approaches have different epistemological starting points and might be difficult to combine. In this section, however, I will argue that approaches from both social movement theory and policy studies can be relevant for an analysis of problem constructions in the written materials produced by state organizations and SMOs.

Social constructivist social movement theory focuses on the production of knowledge within movements. The two most influential authors within constructivist social movement framing perspectives are David Snow and Robert Benford (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; 1992). In their work, Snow and Benford make a link to Erving Goffman by reviving a concept coined in his 1974 book *Frame Analysis.* Goffman focused on the cognitive organization of everyday life, using the term *frame* to describe the largely unconscious processes that help make sense of

everyday interaction (Goffman 1974). A few years after W. Gamson, Fireman and Rytina (1982) suggested using *injustice frame* to describe how the subjective perception of injustice influences social movement actors' potential for mobilization, Snow et al. (1986, 464) used the concept *frame alignment* to describe a similar process, namely the linkages and concordance between the frames of social movements and the frames of their current and future supporters. Like Goffman, Snow and Benford use the verb *framing* and the noun *frame* to conceptualize movements' signifying work (1988, 1992). For Snow and Benford (1988), the verb denotes active agency at the level of reality construction; members of social movements engage in *framing* through negotiating understandings of problematic conditions. The results of such negotiation are *collective action frames.* Thus, a frame is a concept used to label the ways in which actors, such as movement members and supporters, choose to interpret issues of importance to the movement. According to Snow and Benford, collective action frames are constructed through three *core framing tasks*, including common agreement on what the relevant problems and victims are, what needs to be done about these problems and provision of a motivational impetus for participation (1988, 199).

Snow and Benford's approach is relevant to research on gender and diversity issues in SMOs because it pays particular attention to the identification and analysis of organizations' signifying work and concerns itself with the social construction of political problems. The concept of diagnostic framing, for instance, is useful when addressing the use and display of women's issues and gender equality in organizations' outputs. Snow and Benford (1988) offer this concept to capture the social construction of which problematic conditions are drawn on by social movements and how they do so. Relevant questions to investigate SMOs' gender-related diagnostic framing would study the ways in which women's issues are made relevant or how and to what extent gender inequality is framed as a problem by the organizations. On the other hand, organizations' prognostic framing can be analysed

by looking at the solutions they propose. By searching for key words in written material—for instance, 'women' and 'gender equality' (*likestilling*)—it is possible to outline the issues and themes relevant to gender that are considered significant by the organizations (see Bygnes 2012a). According to Snow and Benford's approach, the issues and themes that arise are the results of active negotiation within the organizations (see Bygnes 2012b).

A somewhat similar analytical approach has been formulated by Carol Bacchi in the field of political science, tellingly entitled "What's the problem?" (1999). Aimed at assessing the formulation of problems, Snow and Benford's (1988) concept *diagnostic framing* is the part of framing theory that is most closely related to Carol Bacchi's approach. Like Snow and Benford, Bacchi's aim is to examine critically the construction of political problems. Her approach is relevant to research on gender and SMOs because it concentrates on what is silenced in constructions of gender policy. It is tailored to look at the implications of problem construction and how these relate to larger social mechanisms. This latter issue is a key point in this thesis. The approach was first formulated in *Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of Policy Problems* (1999). According to Bacchi, the act of interrogating an issue by asking 'What's the problem?' should involve a refocus. In her analysis of gender policies, the refocus is a shift from thinking about policies as solutions to problems to understanding them as competing interpretations of political issues (1999, 2). As in Snow and Benford's framing analysis, Bacchi also focuses on the element of competition or negotiation between actors in the construction of relevant problems and solutions. However, Bacchi places her approach within a so-called 'policy-as-discourse tradition' to distinguish it from 'traditional approaches to policy studies' (1999, 17–31). She emphasizes that although the policy making process contains obvious strategic elements, it is important to consider how *discourses* limit what can be talked about (Bacchi 1999, 48, 49). Discourse is defined as the way language or bodies of knowledge define the terrain and complicate attempts at change (Bacchi 1999, 2). Her approach builds on the assumption that it is not possible for social actors to position themselves outside these limiting structures. As a result, Bacchi

focuses particularly on the presuppositions taken for granted in problem construction and their effects on policy outcomes (1999, 2). This taken-for-grantedness has been another aspect of Bacchi's approach that has played a key role in this thesis (see for instance, Bygnes 2010; 2012a).

Key words such as 'women' and 'gender equality' can also be used to operationalize the 'What's the problem?' approach and generate data about which issues organizations find relevant to discuss in relation to women and gender equality. When comparing *No to EU* and the *European Movement*, 'the problem' (Bacchi 1999) or 'organizational framing', the issue that the organizations essentially aimed to change through their endeavours (Benford and Snow 2000), was very different (see Bygnes 2012a). Empirical analysis showed that the themes that appeared in key word searches for 'women' and 'gender equality' (*likestilling*) were quite similar between the organizations. The preliminary findings indicated that the SMOs differed minimally in their descriptions of what gender equality ought to entail. At such an early stage of the analysis it seemed to make relatively little difference whether Snow and Benford's concepts 'diagnostic' and 'prognostic framing' or Bacchi's 'What's the problem?' approach was applied. Both approaches provided analytical tools to investigate signifying work, and both approaches showed that although the exemplar SMOs expressed radically different opinions on the EU, by and large they seemed to agree on which issues were relevant to gender, what gender equality entails and the means to address the problem of gender inequality. Thus, the approaches both seemed to offer the opportunity to enquire into that which is silenced, a theme particularly emphasized by Carol Bacchi. In the exemplars, one such silence seemed to be an apparently implicit agreement on what is good for women (Bygnes 2012a).

Although it is not difficult to find similarities between the approaches, considerable attention is given to the differences between them (Bacchi 2005). These differences are linked to the status of agency and structure: to what degree influence and power should be ascribed the actors who frame or play a role in forming policy

proposals. Bacchi (2005) herself contributes to this theme by discussing the frame concept and social movement framing theory. Others discuss the differences between framing analysis and approaches building on other aspects of discourse theory in debates on the role of subject agency in social movement studies (Steinberg 1998; 1999; Sandberg 2005).

In the research conducted for this thesis, the question of taken-for-granted presuppositions and the links between the material and broader societal tendencies played major roles. In the analysis of the link between notions of equality and visions of Norway and the Nordic, for instance (see Bygnes 2012a), social movement frames were related to more widely applicable understandings of gender and imagined communities. Such understandings are better grasped by an approach that focuses on how social movement frames are constituted in discourse, or how discourse uses people, rather than the goal-oriented choices between master frames offered by social movement theory. Therefore, in the analyses of texts in this thesis, Bacchi's approach was a necessary addition to the tool offered by social movement framing analysis. Her 'What's the problem?' approach partly bridged the gap between the specifics of the documents studied here and the more generally applicable conclusions of the analysis.

Methodological Strengths and Weaknesses

In this methodology chapter, I have attempted to describe how the research project was conducted and to provide an account of some challenges faced and the methodological and epistemological considerations that were taken into account. In this final section, I will discuss some of the strengths and weaknesses of the research project and discuss key ethical issues.

A central concern has been how the project should relate, or not relate, to the framing of the larger Eurosphere project. I was committed to collecting interview and background data on Eurosphere's terms and conditions, but I could integrate the data as I pleased into my research project. One example is that Eurosphere defined the

interviews I conducted as elite interviews, while I did not find this the most relevant standpoint from which to approach the analyses. Another is that the Eurosphere interview schedule was designed on deductive principles, with the different categories for coding respondents' answers identified beforehand. My strategy, on the other hand, was to work inductively and to treat informants' answers as conventional open-ended interview material. Because I collected the material myself, I was able to influence the way in which the interviews were conducted. For instance, I chose to focus more on the general questions rather than on ensuring that every sub-question in the Eurosphere schedule was answered.

It is probable that some of the main strengths and weaknesses of this project are related both to the way I chose to develop it according to the purpose identified at the beginning, rather than shaping it to fit the Eurosphere research agenda. One strength is the inclusion of several additional data sources to provide a fuller picture of what I set out to investigate. Another strength is that I have tried to work as inductively as possible with the interview material in an attempt to allow myself to be open to and guided by the data, rather than using theoretical concerns to decide beforehand how it should be categorized and analysed. The original plan was to base the project mainly on analysis of qualitative interviews. However, the additional data on the relevant policy and legal background and the reports and written material from the selected NGOs facilitated a focus on the dilemmas found in the intersections between approaches to gender equality and approaches to ethnic, 'racial' and religious equality.

Nevertheless, there are some limitations arising from the specific ways in which perspectives and data were combined. Because it was part of a larger concurrent research project, this thesis suffers from being based on many pragmatic choices. For example, one might ask whether leaders of organizations for and against the EU in Norway are the most relevant people to talk to in order to get the fullest picture of majority approaches to diversity. The answer is quite simply: no. Had I

interviewed or done fieldwork in different workplaces, schools or local communities in Norway during the same time period, it is probable that the voices of the majority would be drastically different from those analysed here. However, it has proved possible to say something of sociological interest and relevance about diversity based on the current material.

The limited scope of journal articles also shaped the analyses quite substantially. Although qualitative research should, of course, be judged on different criteria than those used for quantitative approaches, basing an entire journal article on three interviews (Bygnes 2012b) can still be considered empirically weak. After careful consideration, however, I decided that an in-depth analysis of a limited set of data would make a relevant contribution to the field.

Another critical reflection relates to the extent to which the analyses were guided by theoretical starting points rather than being truly inductive. In hindsight, the two articles published first (Bygnes 2010; 2012a) were perhaps more guided by the analytical focus I had taken than I realized at the time. I certainly had a particular starting point that influenced the direction in which I was looking. Exactly how much this influenced the direction of the analyses, I do not know. While contemplating this matter, the article published last (Bygnes 2012c) became an attempt to look at the data anew. My aim for the project was not primarily to contribute to research on the intersections between gender equality and ethnic, 'racial' and religious equality, but rather to say something more general about the paradoxes of living together in diversity. Articles two, three and four (Bygnes 2010; 2012a; 2012b) show that looking through the lens of discourses and politics of gender equality can be one way of effectively teasing out important aspects and presuppositions of majority perspectives on diversity. The first article (Bygnes 2012c) shows another possible angle.

With regard to the analysis in "Ambivalent Multiculturalism" (Bygnes 2012c), I would also like to highlight the potential benefits of including longitudinal qualitative data into the analyses. The occurrence of an extremely relevant critical event during the course of the project, namely the terrorist attack by Anders Breivik

on 22 July 2011, would make a highly interesting point of departure for a 'before and after' analysis of majority approaches to diversity. In this article, I speculate on the Norwegian situation and the 22 July tragedy. This publication could have been followed up by an analysis of approaches to diversity after the event and a discussion of how the terrorist's ideology can be related to other majority voices in Norway. An in-depth analysis of this theme would be a relevant topic for further research on majority approaches to diversity.

Finally, this project has raised matters of ethical concern that ought to be mentioned. The SMO leaders agreed to be taped and cited by full name and have considerable experience with providing their views to actors such as the media; hence, the transcribed interviews were not sent to them for approval. In some cases, interviewees' statements were compared with those of other interviewees to show disagreement within an organization or to illustrate ambivalence. There is a danger that the leaders who kindly shared their time and energy on this project may feel that the emphasis in the articles is uncomfortable for them or misrepresents their views.

In some articles I compared and contrasted diversity issues, rights and equality with gender equality ideals and initiatives. There is a danger that this is taken as making a case for removing the focus on gender equality issues or undermining the immense importance that such initiatives have for people's lives. This project probably would not have been completed were it not for current gender equity policies. I enjoyed both paid maternity leave and kindergarten subsidies during the course of the project. Current and previous generations have fought for these rights and the importance of these initiatives should not be undermined. My aim has been to acknowledge these efforts while asking critical questions and pinpointing situations where rights related to diversity are being downplayed or marginalized.

4. Theoretical perspectives

This is a sociology thesis. While this theory chapter will take into account theoretical developments in fields such as political and feminist theory, its enquiry into diversity will start from an approach deeply rooted in sociology. As point of departure, the chapter presents a classic source for studies of societal diversity: namely, Georg Simmel. The sociology of Simmel provides opportunities to examine what societal diversity is and look into the relation between the individual and the social. In addition to being a basic social fact, the issue of societal diversity is also deeply political. Issues of diversity are related closely to discourses and policies of equality and anti-discrimination. They are related to the maintenance and boundary work of national and other imagined communities and are regulated by regimes of citizenship and belonging (Anderson 1983; Yuval-Davis 2006). A significant part of this chapter is therefore devoted to perspectives from normative political theory about how societal diversity should be managed. This will include approaches to the issues of justice and equality, and an account of collective action injustice frames and state-centred conceptualizations such as citizenship and multiculturalism. Such approaches can be described by three characteristics, among others. They typically provide normative stances or political solutions to diversity in society, the relationship between individuals and the state is taken as the point of departure, and the focus is mainly on system and regularity. Simmel's conceptual framework is based on a different approach to these three issues. He looks at diversity as a social fact, takes social relations as point of departure and acknowledges ambivalence.

First, Simmel approaches diversity as a social fact rather than focusing on strategies to regulate diversity or minimize injustice. Looking at diversity as a fact, Simmel's concepts represent a relevant theoretical vantage point because they describe general patterns of how people live with diversity. Second, a basic idea in classic sociological theory, as in political science, is to look for system and regularity, but rather than focusing specifically on the relationship between states and

individuals, in sociology the objects of study are social relations. Simmel's works offer vantage points from which it is possible to focus on societal diversity as a broader social phenomenon than the state–individual relationship. Third, Simmel's conceptual framework offers the possibility of capturing the general and common, but he also acknowledges ambivalence as a basic social feature. For Simmel, ambivalence is at the core of social relations, a condition captured clearly in social forms such as 'the stranger' and 'the poor'. Such forms therefore, are particularly apt for looking at diversity as a social fact and the ambivalence with which it is connected.

Georg Simmel

This section will link three of Simmel's key essays and use them as the basis for a discussion of individuals' relationship with society and the group[25]. The first essay is the seminal "How Is Society Possible?" from 1910. One of the central ideas in this essay is the individual's double position vis-à-vis society; individuals are positioned both outside and inside society simultaneously. They are individuals on the one hand and societal beings on the other. Configurations of such double situations can be identified in the social forms presented in the essays "The Stranger" (1950a [1908]) and "The Poor" (1965 [1908]). These three essays are useful for a theoretical enquiry into the role of strangeness in the relation between individuals and society. The discussion will be supplemented with reference to other works by Simmel.

According to Simmel (1910), there is a tension between the individual and society, a split between the individual as a societal being and the individual as an individual (see also Symons 2009). This split is considered a condition for any

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[25] Simmel (1950a) refers to groups as larger collectives marked by boundaries analogous to spatial boundaries.

society[26]. In spite of saying that an individual's potential can only be realized *in* society, Simmel claims that each individual holds a core which is beyond socialization (1910, 390). It is this core beyond socialization that makes the individual an individual and leads to her or his position as partly outside society. It is because of this that every group member has an element of strangeness in them. The urge to socialize and the ability to reach one's full potential as a societal being, on the other hand, is realized inside society, as a group member. The line between the familiar and the strange is therefore not always completely clear. This double situation described by Simmel in "How Is Society Possible?" can be further studied in his conceptualizations of the stranger (1950a [1908]) and the poor (1965 [1908]).

The following quote from "The Stranger" taps directly into the central ambiguity of strangers and the poor as both insiders and outsiders: 'The stranger, like the poor and like sundry "inner enemies", is an element of the group itself. His position as a full-fledged member involves both being outside it and confronting it' (1950a [1908], 403). Simmel's 'stranger' is both a description of a position or situation related to certain individuals or 'strangers' in society and a description of an aspect of the way that we are together: the 'strangeness' present even in the most intimate of relationships.

The stranger encompasses a range of double situations: she or he is both near and distant, inside and outside; she or he belongs to the group as an outsider and is a potential traveller who stays put:

> He is fixed within a particular spatial group, or within a group whose
> boundaries are similar to spatial boundaries. But his position in this
> group is determined, essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to

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[26] It is interesting to note that similar ambiguous situations are also described elsewhere in Simmel's writing. In "The Sociology of Conflict" (1904) for instance, he uses the language of societal harmony, but holds that conflict positively contributes to this harmony by resolving tension between differences.

it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and
cannot stem from the group itself. (1950a [1908], 402)

Simmel describes the stranger as a positive element of the group; she/he is someone
safe to confide in and brings an element of objectivity that full members lack. To be a
stranger in Simmel's sense does not entail total exclusion. Inclusion can be based on a
general similarity between the stranger and the rest of the community. As such, the
human tendency to differentiate is an all-important condition for relationships with
the stranger. This is particularly described clearly in the essay "The Social and the
Individual Level" (1950b [1908]):

[T]he interest in differentiation in fact is so great that in practice it
produces differences where there is no objective basis for them. (…) It
is as if each individual largely felt his own significance only by
contrasting himself with others. As a matter of fact, where such a
contrast does not exist, he may even artificially create it. (1950b [1908],
31)

This tendency so accurately described by Simmel marks the sociological basis for
why the study of the boundaries surrounding social difference is so interesting and
necessary. It is not so much because difference exists, but because humans so
enthusiastically embrace actual and imaginary contrasts that our relationships with the
'stranger' are of such sociological relevance.

According to Simmel, we tend to be connected weakly to the stranger. The
similarities connecting the group and a stranger are those shared with everyone—a
general connection based on social distance. However weak the connection might be,
the group does have a relationship with the stranger. Simmel illustrates this point by
comparing it to the non-relationship between Greeks and Barbarians. In this non-
relationship, general human qualities are denied to the other and the 'the stranger' no

longer has any positive meaning: 'the relation to him is a non-relation: he is not what is relevant here: [the stranger as] a member of the group itself' (1950a [1908], 407). Within this double situation, however, in this between-ness wherein the stranger is located, tension can arise because the consciousness of having only the absolutely general in common has the effect of putting special emphasis on that which is not common.

> In the case of the person who is a stranger to the country, the city, the race etc., however, this common element is once more nothing individual, but merely the strangeness of origin, which is or could be common of many strangers. For this reason strangers are not really conceived as individuals, but strangers of a particular type. (1950a [1908], 407)

The simultaneous positive and negative elements of strangeness, for the stranger and the group alike, are central to Simmel's conceptualization, and important to this thesis. Simmel describes the stranger as adding desired qualities to the group; she or he is someone safe to confide in, provides an outsider perspective and engages in dialogue with the group. In spite of Simmel's positive vision of the stranger, he describes a possible tension between the stranger and the collectivity that arises from the danger of being perceived no longer as an individual but as only symbolizing mere strangeness. Simmel exemplifies this by referring to medieval tax laws in Frankfurt, under which Christian citizens were taxed according to their fortune, while for citizens of Jewish origin, taxation was fixed. A Jew's tax was based on his social position as a Jew; all other variations were considered irrelevant. In contemporary theoretical approaches to societal diversity, the relationship between strangers and the state has become a central issue. In this essay (Simmel 1950a [1908]), the example from medieval taxation practice represents the only reference to the stranger as citizen. In the essay "The Poor" (1965 [1908]), however, Simmel comments more extensively on the relationship between the individual and the state and polity .

Simmel describes 'the poor' as a social form made possible by the poor's relationship to the group (1965 [1908], 140). In the sociological sense, asserts Simmel, the descriptor of 'poor' is based not on objective lack of means, but on being treated as poor and provided with means by the group, based on the status as poor. According to Simmel 'the poor' share some similarities with 'the stranger': for instance, in their relationship with 'the group'/society:

> The poor are approximately in the situation of the stranger to the group
> who finds himself, so to speak, materially outside the group in which he
> resides. (…) Thus the poor are located in a way outside the group; but
> this is no more than a peculiar mode of interaction which binds them
> into unity with the whole in its widest sense. (1965 [1908], 124–5)

This description is connected closely to the dichotomy in the individual and her/his relation to society, first described in "How is Society Possible?" The double situation of the poor entails, like that of any individual, being both an insider and an outsider of the community. There are additional similarities between the social form of the stranger and the poor. For example, both are interpreted as somewhat distanced from the group: 'Where do the poor belong? (…) The poor belong to the largest effective circle' (1965 [1908], 127). As in the case of the stranger, solidarity is based on humanistic principles and universal similarities between the group and the poor: 'The poor individual can address demands not to other specific individuals, but to the individual on the basis of solidarity of mankind, or to individuals who appear as representatives of the totality' (1965 [1908], 127). This is one of the elements of this text that touches on the relationship between the poor and the state. Simmel asserts that the aim of states in taking from the rich and giving to the poor is not to equalize their individual positions or suppress social difference, but rather that social assistance is based on the structure of society and upholds it: 'The goal of assistance is precisely to mitigate certain extreme manifestations of social differentiation, so that

the social structure may continue to be based on this differentiation' (1965 [1908], 122). Here Simmel comments on the balance between social cohesion and vertical/horizontal differences; making small adjustments because of the diversity of citizens is necessary, but only to ensure social cohesion and maintenance of societal patterns. Like many contemporary authors, he also acknowledges that the equality of democracy is more real for some than for others. The poor, for instance, stand in a different position vis-à-vis the state than wealthy residents:

> Undoubtedly, the functions of the state, which formally stand at the same ideal distance from all citizens, have, insofar as content is concerned, very different connotations, in accordance with the different positions of citizens. (1965 [1908], 124)

In his work, Simmel attempts to describe social forms in order to systematize the social in a similar way to that of philosophers like Kant, who attempted to work on questions like 'How is nature possible?' (see Simmel 1910, 372). Through his endeavours, Simmel managed to explicate basic traits of human sociability, such as how societies relate to and treat their strangers and poor and how these social forms affect societies. In his essay on the poor, Simmel touches on a range of themes central to political theories on diversity, including issues of democracy, justice and redistribution. During the last few decades, theories that attempt to explain state structures and nation states' relation to strangers have given rise to a large body of scholarship. Today these theories play an important role in our understanding of contemporary societal diversity. The following sections therefore will introduce key concepts for understanding the issue of societal diversity from some of these theoretical points of view.

Normative Approaches to Diversity and Social Justice

Theories of the ways states relate to societal diversity differ from Simmel's descriptive approach in being largely normative, often advocating better ways to live with difference or aiming to increase justice for all groups living in society. Citizenship and multiculturalism are among the most central concepts of theories that address the relationship between the individual/community and the state[27] (for excellent overviews see Isin and Turner 2002; Nash 2010). Normative political approaches to the ways in which diversity and democracy can be reconciled are also central in perspectives on social justice. Key tensions between justice and equality, on the one hand, and diversity on the other are central to this thesis. The aim in the following pages is to anchor theoretically and make more explicit some of the key social justice dilemmas present in the empirical material and analyses in this thesis: namely, the tension between 'universal' equality based on commonality and issues of justice that deal with particularities and difference.

During the last two decades, feminist scholarship has become a pioneer in theorizing issues of justice and challenging the search for a universal standpoint

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[27] Within the discourse on citizenship and inclusion, the debate between liberals and the republicans/and or communitarians is made central and the division between these approaches serves as a theoretical starting point for numerous analyses of societal diversity (e.g., Oldfield 1990; Peled 1992; C. Taylor 2005; Lister and Pia 2008). The division between these different ways of approaching citizenship stems from a dispute between different normative models of democracy based in liberalism or republicanism/communitarianism; these models are also at the core of discussions centred on concepts such as 'multiculturalism' (Kymlicka 1995; Okin 1999). Although the centrality of this theoretical debate has been criticized—for instance, by scholars focused on the citizenship of women, migrants and minorities (e.g., Soysal 1994; Yuval-Davis 1991; 2006)—it frequently appears as a taken-for-granted theoretical backdrop in analyses of diversity issues. It is important to note that the division between liberal, republican and communitarian approaches to citizenship or multiculturalism is far from clear-cut. Liberal political philosopher Will Kymlicka, for instance, advocated the need for group-specific rights in his 1995 book *Multicultural Citizenship*. As Delanty (2002) notes, however, Kymlicka's (1995) position 'is closer to communitarianism [than liberalism] in its strong advocacy for special rights for large-scale territorially defined communities' (Delanty 2002, 192).

(Calhoun 1995, 164, 165). Feminist political philosopher Nancy Fraser has had particular impact on the development of a theory of justice, with her contributions inspiring other influential scholars such as Axel Honneth. In her theory of justice, Fraser discusses some of the key dilemmas related to different claims for justice. Such dilemmas are at the heart of this thesis. The starting point of Fraser's political philosophy is a materialist framework focusing on economic redistribution as a primary means to obtain justice. However, as her 1995 contribution to the *New Left Review* shows, she is also concerned with the political imaginary centred on notions such as 'identity', 'difference' and 'recognition'. She exemplifies her approach by showing how, in the political economy, injustices related to 'race' and gender are linked to similar structural principles as class issues, but in addition have 'cultural–valuational dimensions' that bring them into the realm of recognition (Fraser 1995, 79–81). Gender, for instance, is not merely a 'political–economic differentiation' but a 'cultural–valuational differentiation', which means that it 'encompasses elements that are more like sexuality than class' (1995, 79).

Fraser's concept of socio-economic justice is 'informed by a commitment to egalitarianism' (1995, 71). As I have argued, this is a commitment that can clearly be recognized in cultural spheres such as the Norwegian one. Fraser also focuses on a second kind of injustice that she labels cultural or symbolic and that includes harms such as 'cultural domination', 'non-recognition' and 'disrespect'. However, such a focus on justice has gained less traction in strongly egalitarian societies such as Norway. According to Fraser, in order to remedy economic injustice, actions such as redistributing income or reorganizing the division of labour are called for. The remedy for cultural injustice, on the other hand, can be recognition and valorization of cultural diversity (Fraser 1995, 73).

While separating recognition and redistribution on the conceptual level, Fraser insists that the two should not be politically disassociated. Rather, her aim is 'to connect two political problematics that are currently dissociated from one another' (1995, 69). In the real world, she insists, 'virtually every struggle against injustice,

when properly understood, implies demands for both redistribution and recognition' (Fraser 1995, 70). Because the axes of injustice are most often both cultural and socio-economic, social movements frequently mobilize around 'cross-cutting axes of difference'. Their struggles thus encompass the redistribution–recognition dilemma. The argument that claims based on recognition often call attention to the specific issues central to particular groups and sub-groups, while redistribution claims tend to promote group de-differentiation and shun arguments based on group specificity (Fraser 1995, 74), is important to the discussion in this thesis. In other words, Fraser notes that arguments focusing on the redistribution of economic resources tend to draw on universalist notions such as women's commonalities, while recognition struggles are more often based on the importance of diversity. This particular form of argument is identified as 'internal boundary making' in the interview material analysed for this thesis (see Bygnes 2012b).

Fraser underlines the importance of investigating how a politics of redistribution can help support a politics of recognition and *vice versa* rather than one undermining the other (1995; 1997). One of her key points is that a *critical* theory of recognition is 'one that identifies and defends only those versions of the politics of difference that can be coherently combined with the social politics of equality' (1995, 69). The particular ways in which struggles based on difference are conceptualized are a key concern for Fraser. In a similar vein to several of the interviewees cited in "'We are in Complete Agreement'" (Bygnes 2012b), Fraser makes her opposition to what has been labelled 'identity politics' quite clear (2003). Fraser's critique of identity politics is twofold. On the one hand, identity politics potentially displaces and marginalizes struggles of redistribution, and on the other, it has a tendency to reify group identity and thereby obscure struggles within groups and the multiplicity of people's identifications (Fraser 2003). Despite these critiques, however, Fraser maintains that struggles for recognition can 'represent genuinely emancipatory responses to serious injustices that cannot be remedied by redistribution alone' (2003,

22, 23). She aims to situate injustices related to lack of recognition within a larger societal frame; rather than understanding misrecognition as 'free floating cultural representations', it should be treated as a question of 'social status' (Fraser 2003, 27). Instead of approaching difference from the point of view of group-specific identities, her theory of social justice focuses on remedying the harms inflicted on the status of individual group members. The justice dilemmas that Fraser discusses and the apparent internal struggle in her theory of recognition of how to relate to difference both correspond very well with the internal disagreement and challenges discussed in "'We are in Complete Agreement'" (Bygnes 2012b).

Partly because of her approach to claims based on difference, Fraser's theory of recognition has been critically scrutinized by several key feminist thinkers who theorize social justice (see, for example, Butler 2008; Young 2008). In her essay on unruly categories, for example, Young (2008) takes issue with the central dichotomies such as recognition–redistribution in Fraser's conceptual framework. Young states that such analytical distinctions tend to 'devalue and obscure the phenomena that do not easily fit these categories' (Young 2008, 95). She criticizes Fraser's strategy for portraying calls for recognition 'as an end in itself' instead of understanding 'cultural recognition as a means to economic and political justice' (Young 2008, 91). In a similar vein, Butler claims that Fraser reproduces seemingly stable distinctions between political economy and the cultural sphere (Butler 2008). Butler further argues that this distinction seems 'tactically invoked for the purpose of marginalizing certain forms of political activism' by relegating these 'to the sphere of the merely cultural' (Butler 2008, 45). Although Butler agrees with Fraser that a narrow identitarian approach to social movement activity might serve to narrow the political field, she strongly maintains that '*there is no reason to assume that such social movements are reducible to their identitarian formations*' [italics in original] (Butler 2008, 46).

Clearly, the issues debated by Fraser and her critics have relevance for the central elements in this thesis. By analysing the approaches to diversity in interviews

and documents, the divergence in different approaches to justice crystallized as a central issue. This theme is related to a range of questions concerned with the ways in which difference and similarity play roles in approaches to justice and equality. Within the Norwegian setting, the sameness-based approach that informs policies to advance gender equality limits the possibilities of developing more diverse equality measures (see Bygnes 2010; 2012a). Within the setting of the trans-European SMO, women's diversity and identity-based justice claims are downplayed in favour of majority claims argued to be more important and politically relevant (see Bygnes 2012b).

The Framing of Claims for Justice

Issues of diversity and equality are central to many social movements. This is not to say that all social movements are fighting for the recognition of societal diversity or challenging hegemonic political powers. The range of social movements includes fascist movements and nationalist movements, often with pronounced anti-diversity agendas (Crossley 2002, 1). The concept 'social movements' can be defined in different ways (see Chapter Three). Herbert Blumer, for instance, suggested that 'Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life', with their motives deriving from 'dissatisfaction with the current form of life' (1969, 99). The labour movement and the women's movement are prominent examples of movements with a long history of fighting for redistribution and recognition. Such collective action has thus been among the strategies applied by those contesting and challenging the status quo. As was discussed in the previous chapter, social movement scholars have conceptualized the process of defining which injustices and victims are relevant and how the problems should be solved as injustice framing (J. Gamson 2001). Within and beyond social movements, the issue of

diversity is strongly connected with the framing of problems and victims because the question 'whose injustice?' is central to the amount of diversity that can be permitted within a particular framework of injustice. As with nations, social movements are also engaged in the construction and maintenance of a collective identity. Maintenance of group boundaries and messages of exclusion follow in the wake of such identity construction (J. Gamson 2001, 212). A possible tension within a movement can exist, for instance, between a universal and a particular conception of injustice, referring to how much diversity the members and issues of a movement can express (see Bygnes 2012b). Historically this has been articulated through the marginalization of issues such as women's equality within the traditional class-based labour movement (Rowbotham, Wainwright, and Segal 1979; Margolis, 1980; B. Taylor 1983; Hobson 2003). In a similar vein, the women's movement has been criticized by black and Third World feminists for focusing on universalism and women's commonality and not allowing for 'race' issues (Hill Collins 1990; Carby 2000; hooks 2000). I argue that the imagined communities of social movements sometimes operate with similar mechanisms of exclusion as nations.

The Boundaries of Imagined Communities

A central topic in this thesis is the boundaries of imagined communities. According to Benedict Anderson, national communities are not based on face-to-face interaction but on a socially and politically constructed feeling of togetherness demarcated by 'finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations' (1983, 7). Because national communities are social phenomena, acts of imagining and maintaining boundaries are essential for their existence. In the case of nation states, this is a deeply political affair[28]. The theoretical framework of two authors who draw on

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[28] Imagining the nation state has also strongly influenced social science scholarship (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002, 301). This manifests itself in different ways. One is the state-centered framework of analysis exemplified above by traditions working with concepts such as citizenship or multiculturalism which could be said to 'presuppose a view of society as centered in the state' (Habermas 1994, 6). A different but certainly related manifestation is 'the assumption that

Anderson's notion plays a key role in this thesis. Nira Yuval-Davis and Marianne Gullestad have both written extensively about mechanisms of exclusion and how the boundaries of imagined communities are upheld. Their analyses are similar in many respects, but Gullestad's work has played a particularly important role in my analyses because of her focus on egalitarian societies in general, and Norway in particular. In addition, without specifying it, Gullestad's work echoes one of the central dilemmas formulated by Georg Simmel 100 years previously. The following will provide a short introduction to the two approaches and point to some of the differences between them.

Yuval-Davis uses the term 'the politics of belonging' to denote the 'dirty work of boundary maintenance'[29] engaged in by community members when defining 'the boundaries that separate the world population into "us" and "them"' (Yuval-Davis 2006, 204). She illustrates how the social and discursive processes through which belonging is defined and reproduced are inherently related to exclusion and non-belonging:

> What should happen to those members of the community who cannot
> and will not become full members of that 'strong community' or do not
> share important hegemonic value systems with the majority of the
> population in sexual, religious or other matters? (Yuval-Davis 1997, 7)

Yuval-Davis' point is that the communities in question that 'communitarian' models relate to 'are usually the hegemonic historical national communities' (2002, 48), or what Anderson (1983) labelled 'the imagined community'. In such

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the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002, 302).

[29] Yuval-Davis draws on John Crowley's (1999) definition.

communities, membership is granted to those who share value systems and play down difference.

Norwegian social anthropologist Marianne Gullestad has written extensively on Norwegian egalitarianism and repeatedly illustrated how power differentials and hierarchical relations are minimized in Norwegian contexts. Her research illustrates how Norwegians' strong affinity for sameness involves a 'passion for boundaries', through which a 'demand for sameness' is produced and the space for being different decreases (2002b, 58, 59). As such, the affinity for sameness can turn into a prerequisite for equality (see, for example, Svensson, Pylkkänen, and Niemi-Kiesiläinen 2004). Gullestad also points out how equality perceived as sameness 'underpins a growing ethnification of national identity' (2002b, 45). Drawing on Gullestad, several other authors have discussed how race and racism are present in Norwegian debates and contexts although they are very seldom acknowledged as such (Hagelund 2003; Myrdahl 2010). What is made explicit in the Norwegian context is the issue of culture, mostly denoting 'Muslim culture' (Hagelund 2002; 2003; Razack 2008). In this context, therefore, the boundaries might seem 'invisible' but they are still very much part of the 'cultural stuff' of society.

The boundary work inherent in the 'politics of belonging' described by Yuval-Davis is thus similar to Gullestad's description of 'fences' and they are both apt descriptions for what this thesis aims to explore. Both authors point to the ways strong communities demand similarity in values or in culture. There are, however, two key differences in how these authors treat the phenomenon of boundaries. Where Yuval-Davis approaches boundary making and the politics of belonging as a more general phenomenon, social anthropologist Gullestad points to a specific trait in the boundaries of *egalitarian* societies such as Norway; the 'fences' are there but seem 'invisible'. Secondly, Yuval-Davis' approach takes normative political theory as its point of departure. Although Gullestad often focuses on the political, her approach can also be linked to a key dilemma formulated by Georg Simmel. A central issue underpinning Gullestad's work is the tension 'between the individual and the

community' (Gullestad 2002b, 46), just as it was for Simmel. Gullestad approaches this not from a general sociological point of view but with a focus on the Nordic and Norwegian contexts. She argues that the way in which Nordic egalitarian societies relate to difference is 'a culturally specific way of resolving tensions between the individual and the community' (Gullestad 2002b, 46). This argument is clearly not very different from those posed by Yuval-Davis (1997), but Gullestad engages somewhat more specifically with Simmel's language of wonderment over how society is possible.

Diversity and Sociability

The different arguments that have been presented about how states relate to citizens and foreigners and the approaches to how we can better live together in a diverse society are central for understanding key issues related to societal diversity in contemporary Europe. They tackle concrete questions of inclusion and justice, point to societal and political challenges related to diversity and often suggest solutions to meet these challenges. Where Simmel states that '[t]he goal of assistance is precisely to mitigate certain extreme manifestations of social differentiation, so that the social structure may continue to be based on this differentiation' (1965 [1908], 122), the political theories presented here discuss how societies can move beyond such continuation of an unjust social structure. The political theories mapped out are useful when aiming to advance the state of knowledge about the challenges and solutions of living together in diversity. Several authors writing within this tradition also address some of the problems within mainstream political theories and question the implicit taken-for-grantedness of the nation state as research frame (see for example, Yuval-Davis 1999). They also criticize those looking at the state as a neutral playing ground for different interest groups and focus on the exclusion inherent in maintaining imagined national communities within social science (see, for instance, Anderson 1983; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). By such concrete mapping of political

issues, they successfully pinpoint central concerns of minority groups and marginalized individuals and inspire self-reflection within the research community. Theories about justice are helpful for clarifying how different justice perspectives compete against each other on a scene with limited political attention and resources. They also provide possible solutions to reconcile different claims for justice. Issues such as citizenship and belonging, the boundaries of imagined communities, and justice perspectives that may be at odds with one another are central to the themes discussed in the articles in this thesis. The theoretical approaches discussed above have been central for understanding these phenomena and for developing the analyses in the four journal articles.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to enquire into the boundaries of Norwegian and European perspectives on ethnic, 'racial' and religious diversity, by focusing on paradoxes and ambivalence in majority approaches. My study shows that symbolic boundaries can be a rich source of information about a society's 'cultural stuff' (Barth 1969). The four journal articles present different empirical examples of how symbolic boundaries are drawn, maintained and challenged. This thesis mainly focuses on the boundaries of the Norwegian national community, but also looks at boundary work performed by majority members of a trans-European social movement organization vis-à-vis its minority members. The boundaries are studied through cases where different claims for equality compete or collide and by examining ambivalence in approaches to diversity. One such potential collision is found between rights related to gender equality on the one hand and rights related to ethnic, 'racial' or religious equality on the other. In this way, boundaries and ambivalence are studied through the lens of a majority agenda that intersects with minority issues.

The study is inspired by Georg Simmel's central question 'How is society possible?' formulated in the essay with the same name (Simmel 1910). One of the key elements of Simmel's theoretical enquiry is the tension that lies in how people and societies cope with individuals' simultaneous insider and outsider status. This relates to all members of society, but becomes particularly obvious in those considered 'strangers' (Simmel 1950a [1908]). Focusing on majority understandings and approaches to strangers has made it possible to study some of the forms that under-communicated issues, such as intolerance, racism or exclusion, take in egalitarian societies. The stranger as a social form is therefore central to the more general questions of this thesis: How do majority voices relate to strangers' ambivalent status as 'insiders who are not quite within'? Because the social form of the stranger transgresses boundaries, it serves to highlight processes of boundary making and

differentiation. Such boundaries are loud and clear in the rhetoric of extremists such as Anders Behring Breivik. This thesis has mainly dealt with more subtle boundaries found in the voices of the mainstream.

Some 30 years after the launch of Fredrik Barth's book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), Marianne Gullestad proposed a revitalization of the emphasis on cultural content and a re-examination of the power to categorize others. Gullestad was the first Norwegian scholar to explicate clearly the link between egalitarianism, nationalism and racism. Her focus on the specifics of the Norwegian and Nordic cultural sphere was, however, aimed at highlighting more general tendencies in the European debate. In her influential analyses of the roles of elite voices in the discourse on migration in Norway, she argued that the Nordic focus on equality and sameness is 'a culturally specific way of resolving tensions between the individual and the community' (Gullestad 2002b, 46). As I have argued, Gullestad echoes Simmel's identification of the tension that lies in how people cope with being both inside and outside society. In answer to questions about how contemporary Norwegian society is made possible, Gullestad places emphasis on similarities and the exclusion of those who do not minimize their own difference (2002b).

Inspired by Gullestad's controversial analysis of Norwegian society, this thesis has focused on how egalitarian societies deal with difference. The aim has been to draw on the Norwegian context as a particularly clear case of a more general tendency. As Gullestad points out, it is not only in Nordic societies that egalitarian ideals are emphasized. These societies do, however, represent a particularly interesting context for studying egalitarian culture because of features such as the scope of and popular support for Nordic welfare state regimes. The role of gender equality within the Nordic countries is one expression of this particularity. My analyses suggest that gender equality policy and discourse is related closely to a need to feel 'more or less the same in order to be of equal value' (Gullestad 2002b, 46). In "Making Equality Diverse?" (Bygnes 2010), I argue that the dilemma of equality plays out on the policy level by an implicit focus on similarity. This is done through

the language and practice of 'inclusion'. 'Strategies of inclusion' downplay and aim to eradicate difference in order to obtain equality (Squires 1999). This specific strategy of making society possible entails including the largest possible group into a clearly specified societal 'we'; in Gullestad's words, 'a culturally specific way of resolving tensions between the individual and the community' (2002b, 46). One of the central questions in this thesis is: What role does diversity play in such a societal equation?

Sometimes the possibility of being different and the capacity for diversity seem to be sacrificed on the altar of equality. Examples of this tendency can be found in "Gender-Equality as Boundary" (Bygnes 2012a) and "'We are in Complete Agreement'" (Bygnes 2012b). When a particular model or approach to equality attains status as the best approach, the degree to which it is dependent on particular contexts or specific conditions in order to work well is omitted from the discussion. In this way, universal problems and solutions that are good for many are assumed to be the best for all, independent of class, ethnicity, 'race', religious background or other contexts. Such majority definitions of which problems and solutions are truly important or politically relevant inevitably suppress alternative understandings. In such cases, symbolic boundaries are implicitly played out by taking some truths and approaches for granted and mitigating others. The aim of these analyses is not to undermine the achievements or importance of previous and current equality efforts but to shed light on the presence of key dilemmas of diversity within them.

At other times, the language of equality serves as a smoke-screen for marginalizing specific minority cultures. Examples can be found in "'We are in Complete Agreement'" (Bygnes 2012b) and "Ambivalent Multiculturalism" (Bygnes 2012c). This does not mean that all descriptions of non-equality are racist or derogatory. Strategically and systematically drawing on gender equality issues to contrast Norwegian culture and the segregated and non-equal culture of Muslims can, however, be a way of using the issue of equality to erect racist boundaries against

strangers (see, for example, Razack 2008). Examples of this tendency can be found in the material analysed here (see, for example, Bygnes 2012c, 9). Politicians who become conveniently preoccupied with the welfare of women while in the act of marginalizing groups ranging from Muslims to the Roma people can also be observed in debates occurring beyond Norwegian and Nordic realms (Buruma 2006; Razack 2008). I argue that both in the more implicit and the utterly explicit instances, 'invisible fences' (Gullestad 2002b) and the 'dirty business of boundary maintenance' (Yuval-Davis 2006, 204) are key concepts for describing the processes of exclusion involved in such paradoxes of equality. These labels accurately pinpoint the social processes though which people are categorized as either 'inside or outside the imaginary boundary line of the nation and/or other communities of belonging, whether they are "us" or "them"' (Yuval-Davis 2006, 204). In egalitarian societies such as Norway's the fences might seem 'invisible' or difficult to pinpoint but they are still part of the 'cultural stuff' of such societies. This thesis has shown that boundaries maintained by a vocabulary of equality can be deceiving. To paraphrase George Orwell's political satire: we are all equal, but some are more equal than others. However, although boundaries can be harsh mechanisms of exclusion, they are not entirely impermeable.

This thesis illustrates how symbolic boundaries are spaces not only of exclusion but also of struggle and negotiation (see Bygnes 2012b; 2012c). "'We are in Complete Agreement'" (Bygnes 2012b) demonstrates how leaders in the EWL draw clear boundaries between relevant and irrelevant equality issues and marginalize minority identities. The article also shows that opinions within the organization diverge on the issue of women's diversity. In the article, I draw on historical accounts from the labour movement's handling of women's justice claims and written output published by the EWL over a period of 10 years to conclude that boundaries are not written in stone. "Ambivalent Multiculturalism" (Bygnes 2012c) similarly shows that Norwegian social movement leaders' approach to diversity is marked by an ambivalence that is more flexible than their political and organizational affiliations might suggest. The findings thus indicate that boundary work can change over time

and become more susceptible to the claims and presence of minority voices. I argue that because of their position as simultaneously inside and outside the community, 'strangers' are well equipped to challenge the truths taken for granted by the community and are thus particularly able to offer innovative perspectives on what a good society for all can entail. In order to bring ethnic, 'racial' and religious minority voices and claims to the public and political agenda, it is, however, necessary to challenge majority perspectives on equality and to live with the ambivalence that such a challenge entails.

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