"It's about lots of small things that you experience all the time": Perceived discrimination among young Norwegians with Minoritized backgrounds

Kiri Elida Paulsen Brevik



Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Philosophy in Global Development Theory and Practice, with specialization in

Gender in Global Development

Department of Health Promotion and Development
Faculty of Psychology
University of Bergen

Spring 2022

Acknowledgements

First of all, I want to express my sincere gratitude to all the participants that have taken part in this study. Thank you for making time to participate and for trusting me in sharing your experiences and reflections.

Special thanks to my supervisor, Ann Cathrin Corrales-Øverlid. I am beyond thankful for your guidance and feedback and for all the encouragement and motivation you have given me. You really put the "super" in supervisor! Also, I want to thank my former supervisor Victor Chimhutu, for all the wisdom you have shared and for all your help. Additionally, I would like to thank the additional faculty and staff members at the Department of Health Promotion and Development. Thank you especially to Marguerite Lorraine Daniel, for all your support during my time as a student at the department.

To *Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet* (The directorate of integration and diversity), thank you for believing in my project and for providing me with your masterstipend 2021/2022. I greatly appreciate it.

To *Hordaland Røde Kors* (Red Cross Hordaland), thank you for all you have taught me and for all your support during the last year. A special thanks to Ørjan Skaga, for introducing me to everyone at the office and for all your encouragement and for the knowledge you have shared.

Finally, I want to thank my family and friends for always being there for me. Mamma and Pappa, for your endless support, for all you have ever taught me and for always picking up the phone whenever I am bored. Wilma, for keeping me childish. Camilla, Edwina, Shahitha, and Selma, for being my friends the last 20 years (cheers to many more!). Lastly, my fellow students and friends, Julie, Nilla, Øystein, Nora and Kathi, for keeping me sane(ish) during our studies. We did it!

Table of Contents

Acknowl	ledgements	II
Abstract		v
Acronyn	ns and Abbreviations	VI
Chapter	1: Introduction	1
1.1.	Background	1
1.2.	Context	2
1.3.	Problem Statement and definitions of central concepts	
1.3. 1.4.	Outline Thesis Structure	
_	2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review	
2.1. 2.1	Theoretical framework	
2.1	·	
2.1	00	
2.2.	Literature review	
2.2		
2.2	1 3	
2.2 2.2	•	
2.2	1	
Resea	rch Objectives	9
Chapter	3: Methodology	9
3.1.	Research approach and philosophical assumptions	9
3.2.	Study site and the selection and recruitment of participants	11
3.2	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
3.2		
3.3.	Methods of Data Collection	13
<i>3.4</i> .	Data Management	14
3.5.	Data Analysis	15
3.6.	Trustworthiness	15
3.7.	Role of Researcher	16
3.8.	Ethical Considerations	17
Chapter	4: Experienced Discrimination	17
4.1.	Divergent and Convergent perceptions of Discrimination	
4.2.	Discrimination Widespread	
4.3.	Discrimination is present at many important arenas	
4.3. 4.3.		
4.3		
4.4.	Harassment	24
4.5.	People in authority	25

4.6.	Gendered Discrimination	26
Chapter 5	: Reactions and Consequences	27
5.1.	Emotional Consequences and the (Lack of) Immediate Reactions	28
5.2.	Trivializing experiences to protect own feelings	29
5.3.	It is hard to speak up against discrimination	30
5.4.	Lack of motivation to report incidents of discrimination	30
Chapter 6	: Discussion	32
6.1. 6.1.1 6.1.2 6.1.3 6.1.4	 Stereotyped compliments and unintended discrimination are perceived as discriminatory action 35 Perceived discrimination has long-term emotional and behavioral consequences for the victims 	33 is 36
6.2.	Multileveled Discrimination	38
6.2.1 6.2.2 impo		
6.3.	Discrimination is multifaceted	41
6.3.1 6.3.2 itself	. Intersections of multiple marginalized identities might influence how discrimination manifests	41
6.4.	Limitations	44
Chapter 7	: Conclusion	45
Reference	s	48
Appendice	es	54
Append	ix 1: Informed Consent Form	54
Append	ix 2: Interview Guide, Participant Group 1: Young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds	57
Append	ix 3: Interview Guide, Participant Group 2: Experts	59
Append	ix 4: Thematic Network Analysis	61
Append	ix 5: NSD Ethics Approval	61

Abstract

Statistics and recent studies demonstrate that discrimination is highly present in Norway despite a great number of political initiatives taken to eradicate discrimination. This study contributes to our understanding of perceived discrimination by exploring how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination, and how intersecting dimensions of identity shape these experiences.

This was a qualitative, interpretive phenomenological study utilizing nine individual interviews. The key participants were young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds in terms of having parents whose one or both were born outside Norway. Additionally, experts have been interviewed to enable a more nuanced picture of the topic of this study.

This study revealed that the participants perceive discrimination within many important arenas and institutions throughout their lifespan, also in encounters with people of authority. Their stories showed that they mostly perceived discrimination on the grounds of race and ethnicity but additionally exposed that gender and sexual orientation intersects in shaping these experiences. This study further found that emotional consequences of perceived discrimination follow victims of discrimination throughout their lifespan and influence the way they feel and behave in the moment, but mostly in the aftermath of specific incidents of perceived discrimination.

This study found that perceived discrimination is not necessarily always about serious infringements that would be considered severe enough for punishment under the law, but rather about a never-ending series of minor incidents and experiences, which when accumulated over time have significant impacts on these young people's lives.

This study concludes that discrimination permeates the lives of these young Norwegians. Particularly, the way discrimination is experienced within important societal institutions that young people encounter throughout the life-span, as well as in the encounter with people of authority, suggests that debates about whether structural discrimination exists in Norway should not be dismissed, but explored further.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

BIPOC - Black, Indigenous, (and) People of Color

BLM - Black Lives Matter

HEMIL - Department of Health Promotion and Development, UiB

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

NSD - The Norwegian Center for Research Data

SDG - Sustainable Development Goal

TNA - Thematic Network Analysis

UiB - The University of Bergen

UDHR - The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Chapter 1: Introduction

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

- Article 1, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

1.1. Background

The principles of equality and non-discrimination are essential parts of the foundation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) from 1948. Equality and discrimination are inherently linked as discrimination contributes to shaping inequality within societies even when the members are granted equal opportunities within the framework of formal equality (Fibbi et al., 2021, p. 13). In Norway, equality is an important principle around which the Norwegian welfare system is constructed, with for example universal health care and a free education system (Angell, 2011). That does not mean, however, that discrimination does not occur. In fact, recent studies have uncovered discrimination within important social institutions and arenas in Norway (Fangen & Lynnebakke, 2014; Midtbøen, 2014b). Moreover, recent international social movements like the Black Lives Matter (BLM) and MeToo movements have raised awareness of the prevalence of inequality and discrimination on the grounds of race and gender, also in a Norwegian context.

Discrimination is detrimental to the trust needed to develop and protect inclusive communities, it creates fear and is a democratic challenge that hinders possibilities for several people to fully participate in society (Fibbi et al., 2021, pp. 7-8; Norwegian Ministries, 2020, p. 4; Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2021, p. 77). Moreover, the experience of being discriminated against influences the quality of life of the individuals who are affected, which might eventually result in low life satisfaction (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2021, pp. 76-77). International initiatives and agreements have been enacted globally in an attempt to combat discrimination (United Nations, 2021). Within the Sustainable Development Agenda, the importance of the UDHR is reaffirmed and a world of equality and non-discrimination that protects, promotes, and respects fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of any kind is envisaged (United Nations, 2015, p. 6).

1.2. Context

According to a national survey on Quality of Life as presented by Statistisk sentralbyrå (2021), nearly one in four Norwegian citizens has perceived some form of discrimination or unfair treatment in Norway. Illness or injury, gender, and age are the most widespread grounds of discrimination in the country, followed by ethnic background and political views (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2021, pp. 76-77). Political and legal initiatives have been enacted in Norway in an attempt to combat discrimination, including a commitment to follow up on the Sustainable Development Agenda (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016, pp. 1-6). Furthermore, the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act came into force in Norway in 2018, with the purpose of preventing discrimination and promoting equality. The act prohibits unequal treatment and aims in particular to improve the position of minorities and women in Norway. Moreover, The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of skin color, race, descent, or ethnic or national origin, is integrated into the Norwegian law through the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act (Lovdata, 2022; Norwegian Ministries, 2020, p. 12; Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Equality, 2020). Additionally, The Norwegian Government's Action Plan against Racism and Discrimination on the Grounds of Ethnicity and Religion 2020-2023 aims to combat racism, anti-Semitism, social control, prejudice based on ethnicity, and discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity and religion in Norway. Within this action plan, ethnicity is understood as encompassing, among other things, language, skin color, descent, and national origin (Norwegian Ministries, 2020, pp. 4-12). Still, statistics and recent studies demonstrate that discrimination is highly present in Norway despite the great number of political initiatives taken to eradicate discrimination.

1.3. Problem Statement and definitions of central concepts

This study speaks to the issues presented above, as the overall purpose is to explore how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination, and how intersecting dimensions of identity shape these experiences. Discrimination widely refers to acts of treating individuals differently on the grounds of perceived membership of a socially salient group (Lippert-Rasmussen, 2018, pp. 1-2). Fibbi et al. (2021) presents a definition that encapsulates several of the meanings that are given to the term discrimination: "unequal treatment of similar individuals placed in the same situation but who differ by one or several characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, gender, (dis)ability, sexual orientation, or other categorical statuses" (Fibbi et al., 2021, p. 13). For the purpose of this study, discrimination is to be understood as unequal

and unfavorable treatment of individuals on the ground of one or several categorical differences that cannot be changed or chosen.

The term minoritized refers to individuals or a group of individuals who have been ascribed the characteristics of a minority and are treated as if their perspectives and positions are less worthy than those of the contrary majoritized individuals in society. To be minoritized is not necessarily equal to being in a numerical minority within society (Cummins, 2017, p. 422), however, to be minoritized is to be constructed as "other" in relation to a socially constructed norm (Ladkin, 2021, p. 396). There are different minoritized individuals and groups within society that differ in terms of grounds for minoritization, among other things, gender, sexual orientation, and ethnic origin (Ladkin, 2021, p. 396). This study examines how discrimination is perceived from the viewpoint of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds in terms of having parents whose one or both were born outside Norway. Hence, the term is employed as referring to minoritized backgrounds based on ethnic origin. The terms minoritized and majoritized are used as opposed to minority and majority throughout this study to underline that power relations within society contribute to upholding patterns of valuations and devaluations of individuals and groups in society (Cummins, 2017, p. 422). Furthermore, I understand the concept of "race" as a social construct that often is used to disadvantage specific groups within society (Berger & Sarnyai, 2015, p. 1).

1.4. Outline Thesis Structure

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. The introduction is followed by a presentation of the theoretical framework for this study, centered on intersectionality and microaggression, and a review of literature relevant to this study. Further, the research objectives are outlined before chapter three presents the methodology of this study. Chapter four and chapter five provide the empirical findings from the conducted interviews, which thereafter are discussed in chapter six. Finally, chapter seven presents the conclusions and recommendations of this study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Intersectionality and *Microaggression* are the two theoretical frameworks used to guide this study and the discussion that follows. This chapter presents and justifies why these are considered relevant to the topic of this study, followed by a review of the literature relevant to this study.

2.1. Theoretical framework

2.1.1. Intersectionality

The term intersectionality was originally coined by Crenshaw (1991), who, in the context of violence against women of color in the United States, analyzed the manifold origins of the oppression of women by focusing on the intersections of gender and race, and emphasized a need to account for several grounds of identity when one is to understand how the social world is composed and experienced. By doing so, intersectionality highlights how different aspects of the identity of an individual create different modes of privilege and discrimination (Crenshaw, 1991, pp. 1241-1245). Since Crenshaw (1991) first coined the term, it has been further developed. I am basing my understanding of the term upon the meaning it is given by Davis (2008). Thus intersectionality is here to be understood as a term that refers to the interaction between race, gender, and additional categories of differentiation at individual, institutional, cultural, and social levels and the consequences these interactions have in terms of power (Davis, 2008, p. 68). The term intersectionality is contested and can be advanced in several different ways (Anthias, 2013, pp. 3-6). Whereas some scholars regard it as a heuristic device or concept, others see it as a theory and yet other scholars suggest it to be a strategy for doing feminist analysis (Davis, 2008, p. 68). I acknowledge that intersectionality is a contested term which can be applied in a variety of ways. Nevertheless, this study employs intersectionality as an analytical lens and examines how intersecting dimensions of identity shape the ways in which young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination. Employing intersectionality enables this study to account for intersecting dimensions of identity and multiple grounds of discrimination.

2.1.2. Microaggression

In addition to intersectionality, this study employs the theory of microaggression to understand how discrimination manifests itself towards these young Norwegians. The term microaggression was originally coined by Pierce (1970), referring to damaging but seemingly small indignities and "put-downs" experienced by African Americans (Lilienfeld, 2017, p. 141). Pierce et al. (1977) defines microaggression as: "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges which are 'put downs' of blacks by offenders". These scholars highlight microaggression as the key instrument for prorasist behaviors and state that "[t]his accounts for a near inevitable perceptual clash between blacks and whites in regard to how a matter is described as well as the emotional charge involved" (Pierce et al., 1977, pp. 61-66). Scholars have since the introduction of the term extended its definition, making the theory applicable for analyzing microaggression triggered by other dimensions of identity (Cho et al., 2018, p. 2). I am basing my understanding of microaggression upon the meaning it is given by Sue et al. (2007), thus microaggression is here to be understood as referring to unintentional or intentional commonplace and brief daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities that communicate denigrating, hostile messages and insults to a group or an individual due to their marginalized status in society (Berk, 2017, p. 95; Sue et al., 2007, p. 273).

2.1.3. Intersectional microaggression

Critique has been raised toward the theory of microaggression because the majority of microaggression studies concentrate on how these are generated as a result of a singular aspect of the identity of an individual, rather than considering how intersecting dimensions of identity influence experiences with this type of aggression. The concept of intersectional microaggression can be seen as an answer to this critique. Intersectional microaggression is defined as subtle forms of discrimination that are perceived as occurring due to multiple aspects of the identity of an individual (Nadal et al., 2015, pp. 147-150). This study employs the theory of microaggression and the concept of intersectional microaggression combined with an intersectional lens while examining how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination, and how intersecting dimensions of identity shape these experiences. Together, these frameworks enable a broader analysis of perceived discrimination by facilitating an examination of whether intersecting dimensions of identity influence how discrimination manifests themselves, and how discrimination is perceived. Microaggression theory, in particular, allows me to explore not only overt discrimination but also the way discrimination can manifest itself in subtle everyday experiences.

2.2. Literature review

2.2.1. Search Strategy

Several databases have been used while searching for relevant literature, mainly Oria and ProQuest. Additionally, official Norwegian Governmental reports have been sought out by searching the official web pages of relevant directorates and ministries. Snowball technique has been used throughout the search process, as relevant articles and reports have led to supplementary literature of interest. The word strings that were used during the search process were: *Discrimination, Racism, Inequality, Multiculturalism, Minority, Youth,* and *Young Adult.* Searches were made with different combinations of all words, and were completed without any geographical indicators before a search was done for all words combined with +*Norway*. The search was narrowed down by limiting the timeframe to predominantly include recent literature from the period 2012 until 2022 and by only including peer-reviewed literature.

2.2.2. Perceptions of Discrimination

Scholars emphasize that to identify discrimination can be challenging as it depends upon individual perceptions of discrimination (Offermann et al., 2014). Straiton et al. (2019) highlights that perceived discrimination, meaning when individuals themselves experience discrimination, both include and exclude incidents that are not seen as discriminatory as stated by scientific definitions or the law depending on how the incident is perceived by the individual who is facing discrimination (Straiton et al., 2019, p. 2). Small and Pager (2020) stress the importance of studying perceived discrimination and emphasize that doing research on perceived discrimination is to study a different question than perpetrated discrimination. These scholars state that perceived discrimination can have consequences irrespective of whether the committer actually did discriminate or rather appeared to discriminate but did not actually do so. They additionally point out that little or no consequences may follow perpetrated discrimination if the victim did not perceive the incident as discrimination (Small & Pager, 2020, pp. 62-64).

2.2.3. Discrimination in Norway

Much of the literature on discrimination in Norway seems to center around the topics of discrimination toward immigrants (e.g. Enoksen, 2016), and the Sami population (e.g. Friborg et al., 2017). Dankertsen and Kristiansen (2021, p. 2) state that ethnic discrimination and racism are present in Norway despite the fact that the country continues to become more multicultural.

This point is also discussed by Fangen and Lynnebakke (2014), who find that individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds experience discrimination within the Norwegian educational system. Likewise, Midtbøen (2014b) find that children of immigrants are discriminated against in employment processes even though they have accurate educational qualifications and are fluent in Norwegian. Bangstad (2021) argues that a preference for using the term discrimination rather than racism occurred within science and politics in Norway as a consequence of what he refers to as a period where the term racism was taboo, beginning with the racially motivated killing of Benjamin Hermansen in 2001 and lasting until the far-right extremist terror attack in Oslo and at Utøya in 2011 (Bangstad, 2021, p. 9). On the contrary, Elgvin (2021) states that he prefers to use the term racism rather than discrimination as this clarifies that discrimination occurs due to perceptions related to skin color, race, or ethnicity (Elgvin, 2021, p. 100). Providing an academic contribution to current debates, he discusses further whether structural racism exists within social institutions in Norway and suggests that racism can be structural in three different ways: (1) When laws discriminate against individuals on the grounds of religion, ethnicity, or skin color; (2) when a sufficient number of individuals within social institutions show discriminating or racist inclinations and these are connected through a broader informal discourse; and (3) when a social institution systematically benefits majoritised individuals even when individuals within the institution are not racist themselves. He suggests that the second type of structural racism is the one that is most prevalent in Norway (Elgvin, 2021, pp. 99-103).

Seemingly few studies examine how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive and respond to discrimination, and little research has been done on intersectional discrimination. Intersectional discrimination refers to discrimination based on multiple grounds rather than on a single ground. The combination of multiple oppressed identities can make it hard to disentwine the many components of differential treatment from each other when facing discrimination (Fibbi et al., 2021, pp. 15-16; Nadal et al., 2015, p. 158), and intersectional discrimination might thus reinforce the discrimination that individuals perceive (Norwegian Ministries, 2020, pp. 13-14).

2.2.4. Reactions and Consequences

In Norway, several studies highlight discrimination as a stressor associated with poorer health (e.g. Straiton et al., 2019). This point is illustrated by Hansen (2015) who examines the relationship between ethnic discrimination and multiple health domains in Norway's rural Sami population. He emphasizes that ethnic discrimination can be understood as an enduring stressor

that contributes to illness combined with genetic, environmental, biological, and behavioral factors. Similarly, in a study regarding perceived discrimination in the Netherlands, Andriessen et al. (2014) present two coping strategies used to reduce stress after experiencing discrimination: (1) individuals seek to change the situation, and (2) individuals regulate the emotions that follow from perceived discrimination. The former includes challenging the offender, whereas the latter involves individuals changing how they view the event, for example by ignoring discrimination or by minimizing the problem and treating events as irrelevant (Andriessen et al., 2014, pp. 28-29).

2.2.5. Literature Gaps

Although research on discrimination in a Norwegian setting focus on a range of aspects, it seems to center around discrimination towards immigrants and the Norwegian Sami population. Most research examines discrimination based on one single ground, and few studies address intersectional discrimination. Thus, few seem to examine how intersecting dimensions of identity shape experiences of perceived discrimination. Additionally, to the best of my knowledge, there are a limited number of studies done on how the target group of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination and how this affects their lives, and few studies seem to examine the immediate reactions that follow discrimination in a Norwegian setting. In addition, there appears to be a limited number of studies done that highlights the voices and share the stories of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds who have perceived discrimination themselves. This study aims to contribute to fill these identified research gaps.

Research Objectives

In order to meet the knowledge gaps identified above, this study aims to highlight stories of perceived discrimination from the viewpoint of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds, and seeks to explore the concept of intersecting discrimination.

The overall objective and purpose of this study is:

To explore how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination, and how intersecting dimensions of identity shape these experiences.

To answer this overarching aim, I explore the following questions:

- What kind of experiences do these young Norwegians identify as discrimination?
- How do young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds react and respond to perceived discrimination?
- What are the possible consequences of perceived discrimination?
- How and to what extent do intersecting dimensions of identity influence experiences with perceived discrimination?

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter presents, describes, and justifies the methodological approach and research design as well as the research methods chosen for this study. The chapter describes the process of recruitment of participants, the data collection process, and the process of data analysis that has been used. Additionally, it presents a discussion regarding the important aspects of quality in research, the role of the researcher as well as the ethical considerations concerning this study.

3.1. Research approach and philosophical assumptions

This study is conducted within the frames of a qualitative research approach as qualitative research allows in-depth and detailed descriptions of a phenomenon from the outlook of the individuals involved (Yilmaz, 2013, pp. 312-315). A qualitative research approach is the most appropriate for this study as it aims to understand and investigate experiences of perceived discrimination from the perspective of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds themselves. A qualitative approach allows me to deeply investigate the phenomenon of

discrimination by examining how the participants perceived discrimination based upon detailed and in-depth descriptions of the participants' own experiences of the phenomenon.

This study employs the interpretivist philosophical approach. A philosophical paradigm is a system of thinking that includes key issues and basic assumptions for seeking answers within research. Philosophical paradigms form the framework for the construction of a research design of a study as research projects derive from philosophical paradigms (Neuman, 2014, pp. 94-95; Punch, 2014, p. 15). Multiple paradigms exist, thus different data, analyses, and conclusions are produced depending upon the characteristics of the chosen paradigm (Nairn, 2019, pp. 1-2). This philosophical approach highlights research as a way to gain insight into how people experience everyday life and emphasizes that conducting detailed readings of relevant written words, pictures and conversations is beneficial to obtain an in-depth understanding of the meaning-making processes individuals engage in to make sense of their social reality (Neuman, 2014, pp. 101-107; Punch, 2014, p. 17). Furthermore, the interpretivist philosophical approach inhabits an ontological assumption that views reality as fluid, meaning that reality is constructed based on the subjective meanings provided by individuals. Additionally, knowledge is understood as a human construction that is co-constructed by research participants and the researcher (Neuman, 2014, pp. 93-107). This philosophical approach is considered suitable for this study as it seeks to obtain detailed descriptions of perceived discrimination from the viewpoint of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds, which can be enabled by gathering in-depth and detailed information through interviews with the participants to understand the meaning-making processes they engage in to make sense of their social reality.

In connection to the presented philosophical paradigm, a phenomenological research design is applied in this study. A phenomenological design aims to describe the universal essence of a phenomenon which is to be done by examining several individuals' lived experiences of a phenomenon, and by focusing on the common meaning that participants give to this, hence what they have in common when experiencing the phenomenon. By doing so, it reveals *what* the participants experienced, and *how* they experienced it (Creswell & Poth, 2018, pp. 75-77). The phenomenon in question in this study is the shared experience of perceived discrimination. A phenomenological research design is considered suitable as it allows the gathering of empirical knowledge regarding the participants' lived experiences of perceived discrimination, which eventually makes it possible to examine their shared experiences concerning this phenomenon.

3.2. Study site and the selection and recruitment of participants

This study was conducted among young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds who live in Norway. Most of the recruited participants were born and raised and still lived in the capital of Norway, Oslo, at the time of the interview. Some participants, however, were born and raised in smaller cities outside of Oslo but had moved, and lived in Oslo at the time of the interview.

The nine participants who were recruited to this study can be divided into two groups: A. Young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds (n=7) and B. Experts, meaning individuals with political or organizational knowledge within the field of discrimination (n=3). The focus of this study is the stories and the voices of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds; hence, the seven participants within group 1 are the key participants of this study. I additionally chose to recruit and include three experts to enable a broader and more nuanced picture of the topic of this study. I separate these by calling the first group key participants and the second group for expert participants throughout this study. Although nine interviews were conducted in total, does this study give the impression of being based upon ten interviews since one of the expert participants additionally shared personal stories which are included as stories told by a key participant under a different pseudonym1. For ethical reasons, all participants were over the age of eighteen and all of the participants are presented with pseudonyms.

3.2.1. Key participants: Young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds

The inclusion criteria for key participants – young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds – were that the participant has to be a Norwegian citizen born in Norway and that one or both of her or his parents was born outside Norway. I aimed to recruit young adults, and eventually ended up with four participants below the age of thirty, two participants between the age of thirty and forty, and one participant between the age of forty and fifty. I consider all of these participants to be within the category of young adults. I used purposive sampling and snowball technique in recruiting key participants to participate in the study. I used my own network to recruit participants as well as to put me in contact with potential participants that they might know of. I additionally reached out to public figures whom I knew of from public debates concerning discrimination. I believe that recruiting participants from my network has been beneficial in this study, but I am aware of possible disadvantages that might result from this. Mutual trust was already established between the participants and myself, as they were recruited

¹ i.e. not the same pseudonyms that were given as when in the role of an expert.

from my network, which I believe resulted in transparent and empathetic communication. However, for the most part, my network is within large and culturally diverse cities in Norway. This can be seen as a possible disadvantage as I believe that it would be beneficial to involve participants with diverse geographical backgrounds to gain insights into the differences that might result from the characteristics of the location of where the participant resides. Therefore, with an aim to involve participants from several geographical regions in Norway, I purposely reached out to potential participants who resided outside Oslo when reaching out to public figures and when snowballing resulted in contact with potential participants.

I initially aimed at achieving a gender balance in the sample, particularly to be able to gather data regarding gendered differences in relation to discrimination from the perspective of these young Norwegians. When I reached out to potential participants, it turned out easier to recruit female participants than male participants for this study. However, I quickly came to discover that most had reflected on how they believe gender influences incidents of discrimination. Several of the participants shared that they previously had reflected on how friends and family had experienced discrimination that clearly was affected by their gender and shared their reflections regarding this during the interview. I, therefore, believe that gendered differences can be discovered and examined based upon the data gathered in this study even though the majority of the participants are women. To protect the anonymity of the participants, I have chosen not to state the specific age of the participants, but rather to state the age group to which the participants belong.

Participant Pseudonym	Gender	Age Group
Nico	M	20-30
Fredrik	M	20-30
Ella	F	20-30
Anna	F	20-30
Sophia	F	30-40
Mina	F	30-40
Tora	F	40-50

Table 1: Participant Description, Key participants: Young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds.

3.2.2. Expert participants: Individuals with political or organizational knowledge

The expert group consisted of three individuals with political or organizational knowledge within the field of discrimination. The inclusion criteria were that the participant possesses knowledge and insight regarding discrimination in Norway due to her or his engagement or occupation in a political party or in a relevant Norwegian NGO. These participants were recruited by using purposive sampling and snowball techniques. I reached out to relevant politicians, lawyers, representatives from Directorates and Ministries, professors and research fellows, and representatives from Norwegian NGOs.

Participant Pseudonym	Knowledge Base
Simon	Political
The manager of Antirasistisk Senter [The	Organizational
Norwegian Centre Against Racism]	
Catharina	Organizational

Table 2: Participant Description, Expert participants: Individuals with political or organizational knowledge

3.3. Methods of Data Collection

Methods are procedures and tools to be used to collect relevant data in a research project (Carter & Little, 2007, p. 1317). The method for data collection in this study was interviews. There are many different types of interviews, which vary in terms of how deep the interview tries to go and the degree of structure (Punch, 2014, pp. 144-145). I conducted individual in-depth unstructured interviews with open-ended questions, which was considered the most suitable for this study as it allowed me to explore the participants' own understandings and interpretations of perceived discrimination. Additionally, unstructured interviews are flexible in their nature which makes it possible to pose follow-up questions from the information that appears when the participant responds to the different questions that are inquired (Punch, 2014, pp. 144-148).

An interview guide with general questions was used during the interviews to ensure to secure valuable and relevant data (Punch, 2014, pp. 145-148). I developed and used two interview guides, one for each of the participant groups presented above. The interview guide used in the interviews with the key participants covered themes such as the participant's understanding of the term discrimination, experiences with discrimination, how to cope with experiences of being discriminated against, and knowledge regarding how to report

discrimination. These participants answered questions developed to enable conversations regarding how they perceived discrimination based on personal experiences with this phenomenon. The interview guide used to guide the interviews with the expert participants covered themes such as their understanding of the term discrimination, knowledge regarding how to report discrimination, and knowledge regarding how the Norwegian Government works nationally and internationally to combat discrimination. The participants of the expert group answered questions developed to enable conversations where the shared information regarding discrimination was based upon in-depth and detailed knowledge and expertise due to their occupation. Additionally, both of the interview guides (Appendix 2 and Appendix 3) explored personal opinions regarding what should be done to combat discrimination in Norway. Due to the limited scope of this study and its focus, some of these questions and answers are not included in the discussion that follows.

Field work took place in early spring 2022, and the interviews were all conducted in Norwegian via the digital platform Zoom. Although I have tried my best to stay as close as possible to the meaning of all statements when translating the quotes that are presented in the following, there is always a risk of meaning getting lost in translation. However, in order to preserve the original and essential meaning of the quote, I reached out to peers asking for guidance in translation. The interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to one hour on average, and the interviews with the key participants were generally longer than the interviews with the expert participants. The key participants shared their deepest thoughts and emotions concerning episodes and times when they had experienced being unfairly treated. To avoid influencing them during the interviews, I tried my best to avoid showing my own emotional reactions to their stories.

3.4. Data Management

All interviews were audio-recorded with consent from the participants, to secure that the transcriptions would turn out as correct and detailed as possible. The audio recordings were deleted immediately after the interviews had been transcribed, and the transcriptions were done in Microsoft Word on a computer that is protected and secured by a personal password. The transcriptions were stored in the University of Bergen's SAFE system to secure that it was stored safely. The transcription of the nine conducted interviews constitute the data for my analysis.

3.5. Data Analysis

I used the Qualitative Data Analysis Software tool *NVivo* to manage and electronically code the data. I chose to analyze the data in Norwegian to avoid the loss of essential meanings in the Norwegian original transcript. I made English labels for the codes. I employed thematic network analysis in order to organize and analyze the data gathered from the interviews. Thematic network analysis is a method for systematizing and analyzing textual data that allows a rich and insightful exploration and presentation of underlying patterns and themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001, pp. 385-388). I followed the procedures of thematic network analysis as presented by Attride-Stirling (2001). Thus, I first systematically read through the data and created codes before secondly clustering together similar codes to create basic themes that finally were grouped together to form organizing themes.

3.6. Trustworthiness

Several aspects must be taken into consideration to ensure that the study is trustworthy and that it is of good quality. There are four concepts that are essential in this regard: the transferability, credibility, dependability, and confirmability of the research (Yilmaz, 2013, pp. 319-320). Transferability is achieved in a qualitative study if the findings are transferable to similar settings (Yilmaz, 2013, p. 320). I have presented in-depth and detailed descriptions of the circumstantiality of the data and the context of the study to enable assessments of the transferability of this study (Yilmaz, 2013, p. 320). This enhances the possibility to assess the transferability as it shows the uniqueness of the study, which enables the reader to obtain subjective opinions regarding whether the findings will be applicable to other similar settings or not (Tracy, 2010, pp. 843-844). Credibility refers to how believable and true the findings of a study are (Yilmaz, 2013). To increase the credibility of this study, I have utilized well-established research methods and data analysis which I have presented in detail.

Dependability refers to whether the findings can be said to be consistent over time and across different researchers (Yilmaz, 2013, pp. 319-320). I have invited peers, my supervisor as well as professors at the Department of Health Promotion and Development (HEMIL) to review and discuss my progress, methodology, and transcripts. Thus, I have enhanced the dependability of the study by using peer-reviews and by giving peers the possibility to evaluate whether the design and methodology of the study have been clearly explained and consistently followed during all steps of the research (Yilmaz, 2013, pp. 318-320). Confirmability refers to the neutrality of the findings in a study and is achieved when the findings are grounded on the

analysis of the data that has been collected during the study (Yilmaz, 2013, pp. 319-320). To ensure the confirmability of this study, it has been important to be aware of issues of positionality and potential biases of the researcher through all phases of the study to be aware of factors that possibly could influence its neutrality. I have reflected on my role as a researcher throughout all phases of the study, and present my reflections regarding my positionality below. As this study aims to tell the stories of these young Norwegians themselves, I have aimed to include as many representative quotes as possible to be able to secure the confirmability of this study.

3.7. Role of Researcher

To ensure that this study is trustworthy, it is important that I am aware and mindful of how my own background and values might affect the way this study is conducted so that I can decrease the chances that this influence the study as well as the results that follow from the research.

As a Norwegian with Norwegian parents born and raised in Norway, I am part of the majoritized population in the country. I have never experienced discrimination on the grounds of being minoritized based on ethnic origin and I acknowledge that I will never be able to fully understand the emotions of those who have. However, as discussed above, there are different minoritized individuals and groups within society that differ in terms of grounds of minoritization, among other things, gender (Ladkin, 2021, p. 396). I have experienced differentiated treatment on the grounds of being minoritized based on gender, and thus am able to relate to stories of perceived discrimination based on gender. I attempted to make my participants comfortable during the interviews by emphasizing that my motivation for conducting this study is a wish to educate myself by listening to and understanding the participants' stories and emotions. I encouraged my participants to give me feedback if I unintentionally said something wrong or offensive during the interviews. Several of the participants reached out to me in the aftermath of the interview to share book titles, film titles, TV shows, their reflections, and additional personal stories, for me to learn more about their emotions and opinions. I am grateful for the stories and knowledge that the participants have shared with me, and for trusting in me when sharing their stories and reflections. I am aware of my privilege as a white Norwegian with a majoritized background in terms of ethnic origin in Norway. I have used the interviews and the time I have spent on this thesis to reflect on, and learn about how I can use my position to challenge discrimination in Norway.

3.8. Ethical Considerations

All participants received written information regarding the study and an informed consent form (Appendix 1) that stated the objectives of the study. The informed consent form emphasized that participation is voluntary and that all the participants will be made anonymous so that it will not be possible to recognize them in the final written thesis. All names in this study are pseudonyms given to the participants to secure their anonymity. Personal information that can make them identifiable has also been anonymized. That being said, one of the participants told that she had shared her story with the public at an earlier stage in life and secured me that I was welcome to include her story in this study even though this potentially could reveal her identity. To ensure the confidentiality of the participants, all the recorded interviews were stored on a password-protected computer and deleted immediately after the transcriptions had been done. I did all the transcriptions myself. In addition, all contact information and additional personal information were stored at a password-protected computer and have naturally not been shared with anyone. I applied for institutional clearance from the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD) and received their ethical clearance (Appendix 5). Additionally, this project is registered in the University of Bergen's System for Risk and compliance, RETTE.

Chapter 4: Experienced Discrimination

The following two chapters present the findings of this study. Both of these chapters are primarily based on data gathered during the interviews with the key participants: Young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds. The expert interviews complement and support the findings from the key participants. The global theme for this study is: "It's about lots of small things that you experience all the time", and two organizing themes have been identified: Experienced Discrimination and Reactions and Consequences. This chapter centers around the first organizing theme, and discusses the basic themes: Divergent and Convergent perceptions of Discrimination; Discrimination Widespread; Discrimination is present at many important arenas; Harassment; People in Authority; and Gendered Discrimination.

4.1. Divergent and Convergent perceptions of Discrimination

In order to understand experiences of perceived discrimination from the perspective of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds, it is crucial to know how they themselves understand the term discrimination. All of the participants understood discrimination as acts of unjust treatment on the ground of unfair criteria. Simon from the expert group, for example, explained: "Discrimination is when you rank someone higher than others based on unfair criteria like ethnicity, religion, language, nationality, sexual orientation, yes such types of things. That you put, you set criteria that really should not have been criteria for gaining access to goods, or jobs, or housing or whatever". Simon's understanding of discrimination emphasizes that there are several different grounds of discrimination and that it affects the lives of individuals within a variety of sectors throughout different phases of life. Most of the participants highlighted racism as essential in relation to discrimination and emphasized that discrimination often occurs on the grounds of race and ethnicity. Moreover, many of the key participants used the terms discrimination and racism interchangeably when discussing discrimination. Some additionally talked about how gender played a role in these experiences. Furthermore, several of the participants emphasized that discriminatory actions diminish rights and opportunities in life. When talking about her perception of the term discrimination, Sophia expressed:

it is about that you have restrictive or absence of rights on the grounds of you being a minority. It does not necessarily mean that it is written somewhere or that it is by law, but that it is like that in reality ... the fact that in practice one has fewer rights, that is my definition of discrimination.

Hence, discrimination is not only tied to unfair treatment but also demonstrates that individuals with minoritized backgrounds have fewer rights in practice, although equal under the law.

4.2. Discrimination Widespread

All but one of the key participants clearly stated that they had perceived discrimination, and most shared that they experience incidents of discrimination every day. In addition to stating that they themselves had perceived discrimination, several key participants said that they knew of family members and friends who had experienced the same. This suggests that discrimination is widespread in Norway. On the contrary, Fredrik said that he had not perceived much discrimination. He highlighted that others might say that they had been discriminated against based on his experiences, and stressed that his statement should be seen in relation to his high tolerance and understanding of the term discrimination:

it varies a lot from whom you ask of different minority youths because you define it [discrimination] very differently ... if I were to look back now as you ask me like this,

there is nothing I recall straight away like: "Ah yes, I remember that time I was discriminated against in that way or like that", but that doesn't mean that it never happened either, but it is probably more the case that you let it go and forget about it because it isn't something you want to get hung up on in a way.

Discrimination is widespread in Norway according to my participants. However, how they understand the term discrimination seem to influence whether or not the participant has perceived discrimination.

4.3. Discrimination is present at many important arenas

All participants implied that they believed discrimination to be present in most, if not all, of the arenas in which they spend time throughout their lives.

4.3.1. Childhood Arenas

Several key participants mentioned that they experienced being discriminated against during their childhood. Some recalled specific incidents from when they attended kindergarten and when they were at school. All of these participants expressed that it was hard to share these stories as these episodes made them feel different and insecure at an early stage of life.

Ella was the only Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) in the kindergarten that she attended. She shared stories of how other children made comments and called her names based on the color of her skin. She recalled that children were not allowed to visit her or attend sleepovers at her family's house and believed this to be a consequence of prejudices against BIPOC. Ella described her experiences as traumatizing. When she shared a story of how the kindergarten-teachers excluded her, she explained:

The kindergarten employees never wanted to hug me, but they always hugged the other children. They could gather everyone and leave me outside ... As a child, you already then realize that "oh, I'm different". The only ones who do not feel it are those who aren't exposed to it ... Then white privilege continues, those children are not traumatized in the same way as dark-skinned children or a person with a different background, and it is sickly unfair when one is aware that it is happening. I think it's so rude because I have trauma others have to deal with later on that others are exempt from.

Ella was taken out of her kindergarten earlier than she was supposed to due to the behavior of the employees in the kindergarten she attended. Still, the trauma and the negative emotions that followed from these episodes continue to influence the everyday life of a now young adult Ella.

Most participants expressed that they believed the school to be a place where discrimination occurs. The manager of *Antirasistisk Senter* from the expert group seemed to possess extensive knowledge about racism and discrimination against young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds and how this might appear at schools. When I asked if she could elaborate on this, she explained:

The school is in a way a three-part, first of all, you can experience direct racism from fellow students that exclude you or say things to you based on how you look, and that is problematic. Additionally, we have a system. How that system handles what you experience might intensify the experience of racism and discrimination, the fact that we don't acknowledge it as racism but that it is seen as bullying, for example. I see them as two separate things, and they should be two separate things. And we have an everyday school life in Norway where what you learn about Africa or the Middle East is problematic in a way, so it also contributes. I think a common denominator is a holistic feeling that you are in a way abandoned and stand quite alone in the racism you experience and are met by a system that does not know how to help you with the racism you experience ... and what I see that it leads to is very many young pupils with little trust, little trust in the school and little trust in their teachers.

This statement suggests that when racism and bullying are not acknowledged as two separate things, the term bullying might overshadow and erase experiences of racism which might result in the victim feeling left out by the system. Anna and Ella both shared personal stories of times they had perceived discrimination at school. Anna recalled her first day of Upper Secondary School: "there was a woman who said something like: 'Wow, you're really good at talking Norwegian' and I was like: 'What are you talking about, I am Norwegian'". Ella also stated that she had perceived discrimination at Upper Secondary School. She explained that her teacher accused her of cheating on a test but that the teacher could not present reasons for her accusations apart from stating that the essay Ella had written was too good an assignment for Ella to write. After Ella told her parents about the allegations, they called the teacher and asked her to present a reason for her accusations against their daughter: "Basically, she admitted that she had discriminated against me on the grounds of skin color because she believed that dark-skinned people weren't able to write such good essays". These examples illustrate that discrimination occurs during encounters with other individuals at school. When discrimination

occurs at school, the consequence might be a lack of trust in the school system and a lack of trust in authorities and individuals within this system.

4.3.2. Adult Arenas

Several key participants discussed how discrimination appears within arenas where adults spend much time. Several discussed that discrimination might occur during employment processes, at the workplace as well as during leisure activities. Some reflected on how it might be harder to get employed as a Norwegian with a minoritized background. Ella and Fredrik both discussed that discrimination can occur during employment processes, as it seems harder to get invited to job interviews if one does not have a name that is typical Norwegian, and that it seems to be harder to get employed when not considered Norwegians because of how they look. Ella expressed that it can be hard to know whether one is being discriminated against in situations like these: "it is so difficult to get it confirmed because it may also be that I am not qualified for the job". Fredrik stated that he himself had not faced any difficulties during employment processes. Still, he acknowledged that others might experience being discriminated against in such a setting:

It's like I said earlier regarding what people find discriminating and not. Because one has very different ways of handling these things. I have some friends who can be very quick to say: "I'm not getting a job because I am brown", or because of one thing or another. And then there are some of us who, in a way isn't as much on that page. That doesn't mean that it's never true, but perhaps somehow that it isn't as often as someone likes to say that it is.

Mina expressed feeling angry and sad because it can be unclear whether one is offered a job due to the qualifications one has or because the employer is hiring you to ensure diversity. She spoke about a situation when she received an e-mail with a job offer: "they added a sentence saying: 'then we'll have the diversity that we need'. I get the urge to suffocate them". These statements show that being aware of the possibility of being discriminated against can make individuals doubt the opportunities they are given. Hence, not only do discriminatory actions during employment processes diminish the possibilities one is given but the awareness that they might face discrimination in such a setting might influence how they feel.

Several key participants shared stories of perceived discrimination at the workplace. Anna, for example, described the use of racial epithets: "I don't know how many times I have discussed the N-word, I have always been against it. I found a technique to say that when I'm

at work or lunch, I demand respect and if you want to show me respect, I'm not interested in hearing that word". Ella had a job that involved customer service. She explained how customers often talk to her in English even though she knows that they speak Norwegian:

this one time I was standing next to a table and I had been talking Norwegian ... and then this guy was like: "Do you speak English?" ... Because he didn't understand anything, he started to talk in Norwegian but wanted it in English even though he was Norwegian, he had just decided that this [Ella] is a person who doesn't speak Norwegian, so I have to get it [information] in English, and I think that many people ... approach me, reach out to me, having already decided that I do not know Norwegian, and therefore they're not open to hearing that I actually am Norwegian.

These examples illustrate how discrimination may manifest as denigrating communication when one is not considered to be Norwegian due to physical traits.

Discrimination was also perceived in arenas where these young Norwegians spent their leisure time. Mina spoke about a time she was wrongly accused of stealing and got kicked out of a nightclub. She was the only BIPOC at the nightclub and explained that this was the first time she realized that she was being discriminated against: "I didn't think about it at the time ... I remember that he [her ex-boyfriend] said to me: 'I honestly believe that this was a bit because of color' ... and when I think about it, I really think that it was". Mina's story illustrates how BIPOC might face discrimination in bars. Similarly, Anna and Ella said that they had experienced that a nightclub bouncer would not let them into the club. Ella explained: "that is a special thing that is at clubs as well, that as a black woman you always have to prove that you aren't there to start drama, so you have to act very calmly". She added: "men with another background and skin color also struggle to get into nightclubs! A group of boys with only darkskinned boys can often not go to the same nightclub very often ... Often you get told that it is fully inside, but at the same time others are let in". She additionally said that she had perceived discrimination from other guests at nightclubs and highlighted the way boys approach her: "boys can give me... it really isn't a compliment, but they believe that they are giving a compliment, like: 'you're not like other black girls' ... it's completely idiotic I don't get who taught them that, but they believe that it's a way to hit on a girl".

In contrast to what Anna and Ella reported about not being allowed into nightclubs, Tora shared:

In the same way that the fact that I am a woman is a ground of discrimination, that I am

brown is a ground of discrimination, but the fact that I am a brown woman means that
there is a lot of discrimination I avoid, and there is a lot of discrimination I get. I mean,

I get a kind of sexualized racism that is damn tiring to deal with, but I do get into nightclubs.

These examples demonstrate how BIPOC may be discriminated against during their leisure time at nightclubs by bouncers and other guests. Anna, Ella, and Tora's examples additionally illustrate that stereotypes and prejudices toward women of color influence how they are treated in these arenas. Moreover, they show that discrimination might manifest itself as behavioral actions, illustrated by the story of being accused of stealing or not being let into clubs.

Nico shared that he had perceived discrimination from some guys at a party he attended. He explained that they called him "foreigner" and "not Norwegian" several times and that they were basing their perception of him upon stereotypes:

we listened to rap music, and one of them approached me and said that this music wasn't good, but that we knew what good rap music was. I didn't really understand why he thought we knew that because we didn't know each other and then he was like: "No I mean, you and I or you know about it and I, I like rap music".

Nico was highly educated and had studied for many years. He explained that one of the guys assumed that he had low education while they had a quiz: "he immediately said: 'I guess I'm higher educated than you, so I'll take care of the questions'". Nico said that he found it uncomfortable to be around the guys at the party and said he was surprised when he realized that what he had experienced was discrimination: "I'm used to isolating myself in environments that aren't exposed to racism, discrimination, homophobia like it's a very open environment ... therefore it was surprising to suddenly be taken by surprise and realize that 'I'm now not in that kind of environment' in a way". Nico's example illustrates how discrimination can manifest itself as verbal insults. Additionally, it shows that it might be harder to realize that one is being discriminated against if one is regularly surrounded within environments where this seldom occurs. Combined with the point briefly discussed above regarding discrimination at nightclubs, these statements suggest that both men and women perceive discrimination at nightclubs and parties. Although they indicate that both men and women experience discrimination in these arenas, they suggest that these might differ based on gender and that having multiple marginalized identities may influence how discrimination manifests itself, which I will discuss in further detail below.

4.4. Harassment

All key participants highlighted discrimination in an everyday life setting and harassment as the most exhausting forms of discrimination. Most said they believed that they had become so used to this that they did not notice when they were unfairly treated anymore. Several key participants expressed that they had experienced verbal harassment from strangers in everyday life settings. Anna shared that she had been approached by an older woman at the toilet at a mall while she was changing her child's diaper: "she started scolding me and was like: 'you come here and take our place''". Ella and Mina both reported that they had faced harassing actions at the store. Ella explained that she often experienced employees following her when she was shopping at stores. Mina similarly shared how employees at stores treated her and shared a story from when she was at a bookstore: "I am always very afraid that people will think I am stealing because I have experienced it a lot ... And I remember that the girl at the counter was like: 'you can just forget about taking a book', you can just forget about stealing it was what she meant. I remember I was so thin-skinned that day that I just jumped out instead of taking the fight'". These statements suggest that stereotypes and prejudices towards women of color might result in discrimination manifested as unfair treatment and misjudgments.

Some of the young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds also shared that they had experienced physical harassment from strangers in an everyday life setting, including one who said that she had been chased by Nazis. Tora discussed the use of the N-word when she shared an experience from the schoolyard which included both verbal and physical harassment:

There are a whole lot of people who think that it must be allowed to say because it means black, but my question is: if it only means black, why do you think that was what they shouted at Arve Behem Karlsen when they ran after him and chased him to the river so he drowned? Why do you think that was what they yelled at me when they ran after me in the schoolyard and beat me up, and broke my kneecaps?

Sophia also said that she had experienced physical harassment when she was knocked down on the street:

And I was walking with my significant other who was a girl and it was both my skin color and my sexual orientation that was used in the verbal argumentation. Then it's hard for me to tell whether it's because I'm gay or because I'm brown that I experienced the violence that I experienced ... In the aftermath as well, it's difficult to process when you don't quite know what the cause is, and maybe it's both or maybe not.

Sophia's example illustrates how individuals who have multiple marginalized identities in society make them more vulnerable to being discriminated against and violated. Additionally, this example shows that if one is unaware of the grounds of the discrimination that one has experienced, the emotional burden can be heavier to bear.

4.5. People in authority

All key participants except Mina mentioned people in authority while discussing discrimination. As the discussion above has demonstrated, these young Norwegians enter into relations of power and authority through the institutions they engage with throughout different phases of their lives, for example, in relation to kindergarten- and school teachers. Several of the key participants emphasized that human lives in many settings depend upon how we are treated by authorities and that being discriminated against by people in power can cause severe damage to the mental and physical health of individuals. While reflecting on discrimination in settings that includes authorities, Tora explained: "The health service, the police, and the school are the arenas where it becomes a crisis. Partly because we can't avoid them, we have to use them. And partly because it has such enormous consequences for us, it affects our lives. It's like life and death, right". Hence, being discriminated against by people in authority may have severe consequences.

Several participants discussed how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds can receive negative attention from the police. Fredrik, who previously said that he had not perceived much discrimination, revealed that he, in fact, had been unfairly treated by the police:

When I was at that age like fifteen-, sixteen, seventeen-years-old ... If you were at the bus terminal at the wrong time they approached you and asked you about things. Then you feel, you built up a bad relationship with them. I was like: "why do you look at me like that? I haven't done anything".

This story differs from what Fredrik previously expressed regarding how he had not perceived much discrimination. This shows that he might choose to ignore or forget about incidents of discrimination. Additionally, this statement illustrates that discrimination can result in a lack of trust in systems and authorities which are meant to protect.

Moreover, some key participants talked about how discrimination may occur while meeting people in authority within the health sector in Norway. Tora, for example, explained how she was treated when she broke her back some years ago. She said that the ambulance initially did not want to take her with them and asked her to stand up even though she already

had said that she could not do so. When they eventually drove her to the hospital, Tora was met by a nurse who gave her a feeling of being hated: "It may be the worst racist experience I've ever had, but it's not because it's the worst racist I've ever met, but because she was in such a position of superiority and because I was so extremely vulnerable in that situation and there was so much at stake for me". Tora said that she had never experienced anything as painful ever in her life and that she was screaming out of pain. The nurse refused to give her pain relief even though her doctor had told the nurse to provide Tora with all the pain relief she needed. Tora explained how the nurse treated her while she was lying in pain in the hospital bed for six hours: "she was throwing things at me… every time she walked by my bed she kicked it, and it felt like someone was splitting me in half with a chainsaw … I am screaming every time and she was just snorting". Tora explained how she and her girlfriend reflected on the episode afterward:

[the girlfriend] was like: "Maybe it was because we are lesbians", or maybe the fact that she [the girlfriend] is a woman made her medical status [doctor] not to be taken into account either [when she told the hospital about the accident]. But I'm like: "no, that lady [the nurse] probably didn't like gays, and probably didn't really like other ladies either, but she hated melanated people". And that contempt, I recognize it and feel that that was where it lies.

This episode shows that discrimination is perceived within important institutions in Norway. Additionally, similar to the episode when Sophia was knocked down on the street, this example also illustrates how individuals with multiple marginalized identities in society can make them more vulnerable to being discriminated against.

4.6. Gendered Discrimination

All participants stated that they believe there are differences in how discrimination manifests itself toward women versus how it manifests itself toward men. Tora and Ella shared that they are often perceived as angry due to prejudices towards black women, and Tora added that this is in contrast to how black men often are perceived as threatening. Many addressed that the police might stop Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds but that men are more at risk of this than women. Ella believed that black men are exposed to more aggressive discrimination than black women and discussed the reason to be an expectation that men can protect themselves better than women can. Nico similarly believed that men more often than women are exposed to physical harassment and that women are more exposed to verbal harassment.

Similarly, Fredrik discussed that being a man with certain physical traits concerning height and size influences how discrimination manifests itself. He believed that women are more exposed to verbal harassment than men and discussed how physical appearance might decrease the amount of verbal harassment that men receive:

If there's a physical element concerning looking like someone you don't want to joke with too much then it might be that you hear less of those things [verbal harassment], at least straight up your face. While, if a half-racist guy saw a girl walking by, he wouldn't necessarily be scared of her in the same way he might be of a two-meter-tall boy.

Hence, the participants believe that there are differences in how discrimination manifests itself towards women versus men and that women receive more verbal harassment whereas men receive more aggressive and physical harassment (i.e. violence).

The stories that have been presented in this chapter show that young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination within many important arenas and institutions throughout their lifespan. They also suggest that individuals might be victims of perpetrated discrimination without themselves noticing due to how they understand the term discrimination or have become so used to facing discriminatory actions that they do not notice when they are unfairly treated anymore. Furthermore, this chapter has shown that perceiving discrimination while at important institutions like the school or by important authorities like teachers or the police can result in a lack of trust in crucial institutions and people who are meant to protect and provide security and protection. Although most of the key participants highlighted race and ethnicity as the grounds upon they experienced discrimination, several of the narratives presented above illustrate that gender, and sexual orientation intersects with race and ethnicity in shaping these experiences.

Chapter 5: Reactions and Consequences

This chapter focuses on the second organizing theme identified in this study- Reactions and Consequences -, and discusses the basic themes: Emotional consequences and the (lack of) immediate reactions; Trivializing experiences to protect own feelings; It is hard to speak up against discrimination; and Lack of motivation to report incidents of discrimination.

5.1. Emotional Consequences and the (Lack of) Immediate Reactions

When the key participants shared stories of when they had perceived discrimination, I asked how they reacted and what they felt. Most expressed that it is burdensome and exhausting to perceive discrimination and that it is tiring to be constantly aware of the fact that one is at risk of becoming a victim of discrimination. They expressed that different emotional reactions follow perceived discrimination. Anger, low self-esteem, and feelings of shame were highlighted. Nico and Ella said that in incidents when they immediately understood that they were facing discrimination, their sudden reaction was to feel angry. They said that this anger resulted from being hurt since incidents of discrimination often occur. Anna and Mina similarly expressed that they felt angry when they, in retrospect, thought about times they had perceived discrimination. Moreover, several said they had experienced not understanding that they were facing discrimination before reflecting on the incident in the aftermath. Thus, no immediate emotional reaction occurred as they did not realize that they were unfairly treated. The lack of an instant response but emotional reactions in the aftermath were particularly mentioned in relation to smaller incidents of perceived discrimination that together later became big. Anna explained:

In the end, the cup overflows, and often the problem when it overflows ... you get unnecessarily mad for something that may be really wasn't the root cause, but the trigger. People need to understand that when you get angry about something, it's about lots of small things that you experience all the time.

These points illustrate that even when immediate reactions are absent after perceiving discrimination, the sum of many smaller incidents can have emotional consequences later on.

Some participants highlighted low self-esteem and feeling ashamed as possible long-term consequences of discrimination. The manager of *Antirasistisk Senter*, one of the experts, discussed how hate speech and discrimination might lead to young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds having less faith in themselves and in the possibility of thriving in society: "There aren't any laws or rules that state this, but for our youths, it's like unrealistic to think that you'll ever become a boss for example because you don't become this if you have a minority background and that has an impact upon the choices that you make in life". Hence, the low self-esteem that might result from being discriminated against might result in a feeling of having fewer opportunities in life, although these young Norwegians are given equal opportunities under the law. Mina shared that she had been wrongly accused of stealing several times and said she had experienced being ignored by employees at stores. She expressed feeling

shamed and explained how the emotional consequence of feeling shame that results from perceived discrimination influence her life and actions: "When I am at the store, especially if its jewelry and such, then I walk around with my hands on my back, I have always done that ... I think it's because I'm ashamed, I think it is shame, and I think it's very hard to stand up for yourself when you feel shame". She further stated that she found it uncomfortable to go to expensive stores and prefers doing this with friends. She elaborated: "I have been standing outside and watched: 'should I enter here? Oh, should I enter here?', 'I don't want to because they will think that I can't afford it', and they might think that: 'she is just going to steal something' or 'She will just look at things and not buy anything because she can't afford it'". Mina's statements illustrate how the emotional consequences that follow from perceived discrimination can affect how individuals behave in public.

5.2. Trivializing experiences to protect own feelings

All key participants either stated or implied that they attempted to protect their feelings by trivializing incidents of discrimination. Some indicated that being aware that there are people who have faced discrimination manifested as violence made them regard their own experiences as less noteworthy and less severe. Hence, when experiencing episodes that others might perceive as discrimination, they understated the incident and made it seem less severe and damaging than it was. Mina emphasized this point when she shared that she experiences that her friends react by surprise when she tells about incidents she did not perceive as discrimination. Fredrik, the one key participant who stated that he had not perceived much discrimination during his life, explained: "it's something you've had to deal with all of your life, right. So, it may also be that one has downplayed it [discrimination] more than one should just because it is sort of a survival thing. Eventually, you don't bother to spend much time on it, and you also think: it's not that serious anyway". Ella similarly explained: "Everything is serious, it's just that one has become so used to it [discrimination] that one has subconsciously laid a scale on what is in the middle that isn't so serious, but everything is racism, but just to be able to get through life without getting to hung up on everything that comes your way. You have to protect yourself". These statements illustrate that both Fredrik and Ella were aware that they had been victims of discrimination during their lives but that they had consciously chosen to downplay experiences to be able to carry through with their everyday life.

5.3. It is hard to speak up against discrimination

Several of the young Norwegians explained that it is hard to speak up against discrimination and emphasized that it feels hopeless and exhausting to speak up when one feels that no one is listening. Some expressed that speaking up against discrimination does not result in any noteworthy positive changes in their everyday lives. Therefore, they had chosen to stay quiet as it was the easiest thing to do and as they felt like they did not gain anything from speaking up against discrimination. Some said that challenges with speaking up against discrimination might result from being unsure if individuals are aware that they are discriminating. Mina said that she believed that the ability to speak up against discrimination is a skill that needs training and explained why she finds it hard to speak up: "it's not always that they understand it themselves and that is what makes it hard ... if I have felt it for a very long time from a person, then I might have wished to have a conversation like: 'This is what I have been thinking', but to attack them in the situation doesn't help I think".

Similarly, Fredrik and Anna shared that it can be hard to explain to individuals with majoritised backgrounds how it is to be at risk of being discriminated against and how they perceive discrimination. Anna said:

when I am going to share something about that trauma, it often goes like: "But are you sure it is racism?", "Did you overthink?". People somehow take it strangely personally instead of that I just need a friend who can listen to me about something that I found to be a bummer that day. One has to turn racism into an emotional thing, a real trauma that one experience.

These statements illustrate how the key participants find speaking up against discrimination and talking about discrimination hard as they often find that people question their experiences and feelings, which eventually might make them question and negotiate with themselves if what they experienced was incidents of discrimination or not.

5.4. Lack of motivation to report incidents of discrimination

Most of the key participants said that they were unaware of how to report incidents of discrimination. The few who stated that they knew how to do it said they knew this because they had experienced incidents they wanted to report and thus had actively searched for information concerning how to do it. On *Antirasistisk Senter's* webpage one can report incidents of racism. Their manager explained that they mostly get reports of incidents at school, at the workplace, and in relation to housing.

Almost all of the young Norwegians said that they would have reported incidents of discrimination only if it manifested as an act of violence, and several said that they experience being discriminated against so much that they do not have the time or motivation to report every single incident of discrimination. Most participants emphasized that they believed that lack of knowledge regarding how to report explains why people avoid reporting incidents of discrimination. Catharina from the expert group said: "I don't think they have the knowledge to report it, nor do they know the extent of how to do it". The manager of Antirasistisk Senter similarly explained: "I think there is far too little knowledge about it. Or it is, I know this. And the dark figure is big". Thus, reporting discrimination depends on whether the person who is discriminated against perceives the incident as discrimination and additionally that she or he is aware of how to report it and has the motivation to go through such a process.

Two of the key participants shared that they had reported incidents of discrimination. Nico reported an incident concerning housing to Diskrimineringsnemda2, whereas Sophia reported the time she was knocked down on the street to the police. Nico shared that he and his mom gave a binding bid on an apartment that got accepted. However, the real estate agent had told the seller that Nico's mom seemed unsure and advised the seller to sell the apartment to someone else. Eventually, the apartment was sold to another bidder even though Nico had given the same bid prior to the other potential buyer. He explained that this incident made him angry and that he chose to reach out to Likestillings- og Diskrimineringsombudet3. They told Nico that there were several examples of similar cases and advised him to report the incident to Diskrimineringsnemda. Nico explained that the reporting process initially was clear and easy. Still, the process became complicated as it was hard to understand the legal aspects when one does not have a law background. He additionally expressed that the process was timeconsuming and tiring, and said that he ended up withdrawing the report: "It's more annoying, its more hurtful that these things happen, but you would rather just leave it in a way ... When it happened, I thought: 'I will do this because I'm damn annoyed', that's in a way, it's fuel to the fire, I'll push through. And then I was like: 'you know what, I can't do it. It's so tiring, there are so many messages, there are so many attachments and things that have to be done'. It started out not being cumbersome, but then it became very cumbersome". Nico's example demonstrates that lack of motivation to file complaints regarding discrimination might be a consequence of a systematic problem with the process of reporting incidents of discrimination in terms of it being a time-consuming and juridically complicated process.

² The Norwegian Anti-Discrimination Tribunal

³ The Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud

Most of the key participants said that they would report incidents of discrimination to the police only if the incident made the participant fear for her or his life or if the incident involved violence. Several emphasized that they found reporting to the police unnecessary as they knew that many cases that concern discrimination are dismissed by the police. Sophia, the key participant who was knocked down on the street, said that she reported this incident to the police. The police dismissed her case even though several witnesses and surveillance cameras were around when the incident happened. When I asked what she believed to be the reason for the dismissal of her case, she pointed out that everything is a result of priorities: "the priorities say something to a population, so if you are queer and there are many queer people who have experienced being exposed to blind violence who have had their cases dismissed and that fact spreads, it affects the trust". Similar to what Nico's example demonstrated, also Sophia's statement shows that there is a systematic problem with the process of reporting as many cases concerning discrimination are dismissed by the police. Additionally, the lack of motivation to report incidents of discrimination to the police might be a consequence of the awareness of the high risk of dismissal.

The stories presented in this chapter show that emotional consequences of perceived discrimination follow victims of discrimination throughout their lifespan and that it influences the way they feel and behave in the moment, but mostly in the aftermath of specific incidents of discrimination. Additionally, the stories reveal that young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds trivialize experiences to protect their own feelings by downplaying incidents of discrimination. This chapter has further demonstrated that systematic problems regarding time and complications with the process of reporting incidents of discrimination might result in a lack of motivation to report discrimination.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The overall purpose of this study has been to explore how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination, and how intersecting dimensions of identity shape these experiences. These young Norwegians' stories, along with those of experts on the topic, have shown that perceived discrimination occurs in many important arenas and institutions throughout the whole lifespan and that it has severe emotional and behavioral consequences both in the moment but mainly in the aftermath of incidents of perceived discrimination. This chapter will discuss these findings in relation to existing literature. Moreover, by employing an

intersectional lens and microaggression theory, I show how these young Norwegians perceive discrimination primarily linked to race and ethnicity, but also to intersecting dimensions of identity such as gender and sexual orientation, and that perceived discrimination is not necessarily always about serious infringements that would be considered severe enough for punishment under the law, but rather about a never-ending series of minor incidents and experiences, which when accumulated over time have significant impacts on these young people's lives. Lastly, this chapter presents a discussion of the limitations of this study.

6.1. Perceived discrimination is real and has consequences

6.1.1. Navigating real-life experiences against multiple understandings of discrimination

My findings reveal that these young Norwegians perceive discrimination in important arenas and institutions throughout life. Whereas the key participants' narratives on discrimination revolved mostly around discrimination based on race or ethnicity, some further shared that they had experienced discrimination on the grounds of gender or sexual orientation. Small and Pager (2020) emphasize that research regarding perceived discrimination differs from research regarding perpetrated discrimination as perceived discrimination may have consequences for the victim of discrimination irrespective of whether the committer did discriminate or rather appeared to discriminate but did not actually do so. Since this study focuses on perceived discrimination, it does not reflect on whether or not the incidents of perceived discrimination as shared by the key participants would be considered as incidents of perpetrated discrimination according to the previously presented scientific definition or by the law. This is also the explanation for why the terms *perceived* and *experienced* are used interchangeably throughout the text, as the experiences the key participants shared are experienced incidents that they themselves perceived as discrimination.

Similar to the definition of discrimination as stated by Fibbi et al. (2021), as presented in the introductory chapter, all key participants and all expert participants in this study understood discrimination as acts of unequal treatment based on categorical statuses or characteristics. This understanding is also in accordance with how discrimination is understood within The Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act in Norway which, among other things, prohibits unequal treatment (Lovdata, 2022). Many of the key participants used the terms discrimination and racism interchangeably when discussing situations in which they had perceived discrimination. The way they expressed themselves contradicts the claim presented by Bangstad (2021, p. 9) concerning his discussion of a preference for using the milder but

related term discrimination rather than racism, but signals that these participants would support the arguments presented by Elgvin (2021) who states that employing the term racism rather than discrimination is beneficial as it clarifies that discrimination occur due to perceptions related to skin color, race or ethnicity (Elgvin, 2021, p. 100). Moreover, the way they associated discrimination with restrictions or the absence of rights and opportunities in life even though they are considered equal under the law resonates with the discussion concerning perceived discrimination raised by Straiton et al. (2019), who point out that incidents that are not seen as discriminatory as stated by scientific definitions or the law can be perceived as discriminating dependent on how the incident is perceived by the person who is facing the discrimination. Although they are considered equal under the law, these young Norwegians experience that their rights and opportunities in life are limited which they perceive as discrimination, a fact that several of the key participants as well as the expert participants highlighted as an essential element when they presented their understanding of the term discrimination. Although the law itself does not limit their rights or opportunities, the way these are limited in practice is perceived as discrimination although this would not necessarily be seen as discrimination as stated by scientific definitions or according to the law since the law itself does not limit their rights or opportunities in life.

These young Norwegians' stories suggest that how one understands the term discrimination might influence whether and how one perceives discrimination. All key participants, except Fredrik, clearly stated that they had perceived discrimination at one or several points during their lives, which supports existing literature that argues that discrimination is highly present in Norway (Fangen & Lynnebakke, 2014; Midtbøen, 2014a). Fredrik said that the fact that he had not perceived much discrimination should be seen in relation to his high tolerance and understanding of the term discrimination, and emphasized that others might consider experiences that he has had as discrimination, although he does not. He highlighted that the fact that he was unable to recall specific incidents where he had been discriminated against did not mean that it had never happened, but that this might be a consequence of how he chose to forget these incidents. Later on, Fredrik shared that he had in fact experienced incidents that he had perceived as discrimination when he received negative attention from the police when he was younger. Straiton et al. (2019) points out that incidents seen as discriminatory as stated by scientific definitions or the law might not be perceived as discriminating due to how the incident is perceived by the individual facing the discrimination. The definition Fredrik presented as his understanding of the term discrimination was similar to those presented by the other participants and thus also to scientific definitions like the one

presented by Fibbi et al. (2021). This indicates that he might attempt to protect his feelings when facing incidents that would have been considered discriminating as stated by scientific definitions or by the law, by treating incidents of discrimination as irrelevant or less severe, which according to Andriessen et al. (2014) is a common coping strategy to reduce stress after experiencing discrimination. Thus, Fredrik's statement that he had not perceived much discrimination during his life might be a result of how he regulate his emotions to reduce stress after experiencing discrimination by choosing not to perceive incidents as discrimination even when they would be considered as discrimination by scientific definitions or by the law.

6.1.2. Stereotyped compliments and unintended discrimination are perceived as discriminatory actions

Many of the key participants had perceived discrimination that they themselves presented as minor incidents for example manifested as verbal indignities communicating denigrating, hostile messages, and insults due to their marginalized status in society. According to Sue et al. (2007), this would be defined as microaggression. Some shared that they had received comments that seemingly were given with the intention of complimenting them. However, these comments were based on stereotypes and prejudices and communicated denigrating, hostile and insulting messages that referred to the marginalized status that the receiver holds in society, for example, when people assumed that Anna was not a native Norwegian speaker or when Ella received compliments from boys who in their attempt to complement her compare her to stereotypes based on prejudices toward black women. Although these comments are seemingly given as compliments, they communicate denigrating and insulting messages triggered by prejudice towards dimensions of the receiver's identity, which are marginalized in society and thus are examples of microaggressions as defined by Sue et al. (2007). Similarly, others shared that they had received insulting comments from strangers, but that these, in contrast, were given with the intention of insulting, with negative comments clearly grounded in stereotypes and prejudices with the intention of hurting the receiver. These examples illustrate that these young Norwegians perceive discrimination manifested as microaggression in the form of unintentional as well as intentional verbal indignities based on prejudices and stereotypes.

6.1.3. Perceived discrimination has long-term emotional and behavioral consequences for the victims

As the stories of these young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds show, incidents of perceived discrimination have long-term emotional and behavioral consequences for the victims even when immediate reactions to experienced discrimination are lacking. My findings reveal that these young Norwegians react in different ways when they perceive discrimination. Many do not immediately react or respond to experienced discrimination since they do not realize that they have been discriminated against before reflecting upon the incidents. Several explained that the sum of many smaller incidents of microaggressions that together become big, combined with the awareness that one is at risk of facing discrimination, explains the emotional consequences that follow in the aftermath of perceived discrimination. Several key participants additionally expressed that they consciously downplay incidents of discrimination in an attempt to protect their feelings to be able to carry through with their everyday life, which was seen as a necessity since they perceive acts of discrimination every day. This can be explained with reference to the common coping strategies to reduce stress after experiencing discrimination, as presented by Andriessen et al. (2014). These scholars argue that two coping strategies might be used in this regard: (1) individuals change the situation that causes the stress and, (2) individuals regulate the emotions that follow from perceived discrimination. The lack of an immediate reaction when these young Norwegians perceive discrimination might indicate that they regulate the emotions that follow from perceived discrimination by minimizing the problem, or by treating the event as irrelevant, or by ignoring discrimination in general (Andriessen et al., 2014, pp. 28-29). Thus, when an immediate reaction is lacking, but emotional consequences follow in the aftermath of these incidents, they have succeeded in reducing the immediate stress that follows from perceived discrimination.

However, the emotional consequences that occur later illustrate that the coping mechanisms presented by Andriessen et al. (2014) may not be beneficial in the long term. On the contrary, the findings in this study suggest that treating events as irrelevant or ignoring discrimination as an immediate coping mechanism makes the long-term emotional burden heavier to bear as the sum of downplayed feelings from many smaller incidents together becomes big and overwhelming. This suggests that the emotional consequences that follow perceived discrimination can be seen as a result of many smaller incidents of perceived discrimination manifested as microaggressions that together become big, rather than being linked to specific incidents of perceived discrimination. It further corresponds with existing literature that highlights that perceived discrimination has consequences for the victim of

discrimination irrespective of whether the committer did discriminate or rather appeared to discriminate but did not actually do so (Small & Pager, 2020). This finding should also be seen in connection with existing literature that argues that discrimination affects the health and wellbeing of individuals and highlights discrimination as a stressor associated with increased psychological distress, anxiety, and depression (Straiton et al., 2019). Moreover, with reference to existing evidence of the relationship between ethnic discrimination and illness (Hansen, 2015), the findings of this study should be viewed as alarming due to the possible long-term negative health outcomes that these young Norwegians may experience as a long-term consequence of the numerous times they have perceived discrimination, even in the form of microaggressions.

6.1.4. Downplaying perceived discrimination impedes speaking up against and reporting discrimination

The points discussed above regarding how to reduce stress after perceiving discrimination might additionally indicate that discrimination is even more widespread than this study and existing literature finds. When these young Norwegians treat events as irrelevant and ignore discrimination in general as a coping mechanism to reduce stress after experiencing discrimination (Andriessen et al., 2014, pp. 28-29), they downplay incidents to protect their feelings. Discriminatory actions are then trivialized, which might be problematic in relation to reporting discrimination, as downplayed and trivialized incidents of discrimination likely are perceived as less severe and thus may not be reported as incidents of discrimination, even if they have faced actions that would have been seen as discriminatory as stated by scientific definitions or the law. Additionally, some key participants shared that they had experienced that people questioned their experiences and feelings when they told them about how they had perceived discrimination. In this case, other people had downplayed the incidents they had faced, which might have made them downplay these experiences even more themselves, resulting in a lack of motivation to report incidents. Thus, when doubting their experiences because they themselves, or individuals with whom they have shared their experiences, have downplayed these incidents, it becomes harder to report incidents of perceived discrimination.

Moreover, the fact that experiences are not acknowledged as racism but are seen as bullying in school might contribute to explaining the rate of reported incidents of discrimination. The manager of *Antirasistisk Senter*, one of the experts, emphasized that racism and bullying should be seen as two separate things. If incidents of perceived discrimination/racism are dealt with as incidents of bullying in school, then the term bullying

might overshadow experiences of discrimination/racism which gives the impression that these are different terms for the same phenomenon. If children are made to believe that bullying is the same as discrimination/racism, they might downplay incidents of perceived discrimination/racism. Moreover, this might result in doubts and insecurities concerning whether they perceive discrimination or experience acts of bullying because that is how they have been taught to see these incidents. In sum, this might count as one of several possible reasons for the lack of motivation to report incidents of discrimination, as discussed in Chapter five. Thus, if perceived discrimination is not acknowledged as discriminatory acts or racism but treated as acts of bullying, it might lead to individuals doubting whether they have experienced discrimination which eventually might impede the reporting of discriminatory actions and ultimately result in low reporting rates on discrimination.

6.2. Multileveled Discrimination

My findings further reveal that young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination at relational and institutional levels. The former is discussed in relation to individual encounters and when facing insults. The latter is discussed in relation to important societal institutions and encounters with people in important positions.

6.2.1. Discrimination during everyday encounters

As mentioned above, these young Norwegians perceive discrimination manifested as verbal indignities that unintentionally or intentionally communicate denigrating, hostile messages and insults due to their marginalized status in society. The discussion above shows how these verbal indignities occur at relational levels during everyday encounters with other people. For example, many of the key participants experience being ignored and racially profiled at stores, are denied entry to nightclubs, people approach them speaking in English, and they are being accused of cheating or stealing during individual encounters with other people. According to Sue et al. (2007), this would be defined as microaggressions in the form of behavioral indignities that communicate denigrating, hostile messages, and insults. These examples illustrate that these young Norwegians face behavioral indignities during everyday encounters with other individuals. Hence, these young Norwegians face microaggression as defined by Sue et al. (2007) not only manifested as verbal indignities but also manifested as behavioral indignities at relational levels during everyday encounters with other people.

6.2.2. Discrimination within important social institutions and in the encounter with people with in important positions in society

In addition to these everyday encounters, these young Norwegians also face verbal and behavioral indignities within important institutions and during encounters with people with important positions in society, for example, in kindergarten, at school, in the labor market, and when meeting police officers or individuals within the health care system. Apart from the labor market, the presented examples of perceived discrimination within important institutions concern times when the participants faced discriminatory actions by an individual working within an institution or representing an institution. Thus, they receive *microaggressions* during encounters with individuals in important positions within several important social institutions in Norway. These findings resonate with other scholars who have pointed to how ethnic minorities and so-called second generation immigrants face discrimination within Norwegians institutions. Fangen and Lynnebakke (2014) highlight discrimination in the educational system, whereas Midtbøen (2014a) finds evidence of employment discrimination against the so-called second-generation immigrants in Norway even when they are fluent in Norwegian and have accurate educational qualifications when applying for jobs. Hence, in line with Fangen and Lynnebakke (2014) and Midtbøen (2014a), this study finds that discrimination occurs within important social institutions in Norway and during encounters with individuals who represent these institutions and the system. But whereas these scholars point specifically to the educational system and the labor market, the findings in this study expand on this by showing that discrimination permeates all facets of life and occurs within many, and maybe even most, important institutions and arenas that one encounters throughout the lifespan, also in leisure activities and everyday encounters, as discussed above.

Many of these young Norwegians experience discrimination on arenas and by authorities that are meant to protect them. One of the most shocking stories in this regard is the story of how a nurse at the hospital treated Tora. This story illustrates that discrimination occurs at relational levels manifested as denigrating acts towards these young Norwegians within institutions that are meant to protect them. When discrimination is perceived in the encounter with people in positions of authority within Norwegian public services, the result and the consequence might be a lack of trust towards the individuals and the authorities within the system as well as a lack of trust towards the system itself, which can be said to be problematic in a democratic society. Thus, perceived discrimination does not only have consequences for the individuals who perceive the discrimination but might additionally be a democratic problem

since it can result in a lack of trust towards individuals within important social institutions and additionally a lack of trust towards important social institutions in the society.

Although these institutions (kindergartens, schools, hospitals, and the police etc.) are constructed in a way that is supposed to be inclusive for all inhabitants, the encounters that play out within these institutions may imply discrimination. And when these experiences multiply, discrimination may also occur on a structural level, according to Elgvin's (2021) view on structural racism. The fact that several shared that they or individuals they know of with similar backgrounds have perceived discrimination during encounters with individuals within important social institutions in Norway, suggests that the findings of this study are in accordance with the claim presented by Elgvin (2021) that structural racism can be seen within social institutions in Norway. Elgvin (2021) stresses that there must be more than "a few bad apples" and that structural racism occurs when a sufficient number of individuals within important social institutions show discriminating or racist inclinations, and these are connected by informal discourse.

Although this study has uncovered discrimination within important social institutions, analyzing the informal discourse within these institutions is beyond its scope. Hence, it is impossible to determine whether the experiences of these young Norwegians can be considered as structural racism. But the findings indicate, as Elgvin (2021) states, that dismissing a discussion about the existence of structural racism in Norway may be risky. Future studies with a larger sample of participants could examine perceived discrimination within important institutions in Norway in light of the informal discourse within these to better be able to uncover whether structural discrimination and structural racism exist in Norway and the extent of this. Although there are laws and institutions in Norway which are meant to secure inclusion and where everyone is equal under the law, there is a need to question whether there actually is structural racism in Norway as individuals seem too often perceive racial discrimination in the encounter within the same systems that are designed to protect them at different phases throughout their lives. Hence, although the Norwegian system may not be discriminating in itself, these young Norwegians perceive discrimination within important social institutions in the Norwegian system during everyday encounters with individuals within important social institutions the Norwegian system during everyday encounters with individuals who represent these.

6.3. Discrimination is multifaceted

The findings of this study suggest that ethnicity and race are the primary grounds of discrimination against these young Norwegians. However, this type of discrimination was experienced differently according to gender and sexual orientation.

6.3.1. Discrimination manifests itself differently across gender

Gender does not seem to influence where and when discrimination is perceived, but it does seem to affect how discrimination manifests itself. Most of the female participants shared that they had received discrimination manifested as verbal indignities that, although for the most part seemingly without intention, communicated denigrating, hostile messages and insults clearly based on stereotypes and prejudices. These were comments that in themselves were not insulting but that carried insulting messages. One of the male key participants, Nico, similarly shared that he had perceived discrimination manifested as verbal indignities but that these, on the contrary, intentionally communicated denigrating hostile messages and insults as illustrated while he shared how some guests had treated him at a party that he attended. These are comments that clearly were based upon prejudices toward the receiver and that in themselves were insulting. This narrative was also shared by a few of the female participants, as presented in Chapter four and as briefly discussed above, but most of the young women emphasized that they had experienced that when being verbally harassed, this included unintentionally communicated insulting messages based upon stereotypes and prejudices, for example through comments that seemingly were meant to compliment but that carried a denigrating message. Some key participants expressed that they believed women to be more vulnerable to verbal harassment and that men are more at risk of being physically harassed (i.e. violence), due to a common belief and expectation that men are more capable of protecting and standing up for themselves. This finding implies that men might be more exposed to physical harassment than women due to how they are perceived regarding their physical traits, such as their height and muscles. Additionally, this might explain why these young Norwegians had perceived discrimination manifested as verbal harassment more often than physical harassment. When believed to be less likely to stand up for oneself or when perceived as physically weaker due to physical traits or gender, discrimination might manifest as verbal rather than physical harassment which was presented as a possible reason for gendered differences in relation to discrimination by several participants.

6.3.2. Intersections of multiple marginalized identities might influence how discrimination manifests itself

Although most key participants highlighted race and ethnicity as the ground for the discrimination they had perceived, intersecting dimensions of identity such as sexual orientation seem to have affected how discrimination manifested itself towards some of these participants. Moreover, some emphasized that it can challenging to identify the grounds of discrimination when multiple aspects of one's identity is marginalized in society.

In contrast to what these young Norwegians stated regarding how men are more exposed to physical harassment than women, neither of the two male key participants in this study shared that they had experienced discrimination manifested as physical harassment. On the contrary, the two key participants who had been physically harassed were women. In this regard, the most outstanding story was Sophia, who shared that she had been knocked down on the street. She explained that both her skin color and her sexual orientation were used in the verbal argumentation during the incident. Sophia shared that this argumentation made it hard to know what aspect of her identity that was discriminated against, which made the emotional burden heavier to bear in the aftermath of the experience as she was unaware of the grounds for the discrimination she faced. This incident occurred based on multiple grounds and due to a combination of multiple oppressed identities, and therefore counts as an example of intersectional discrimination (Fibbi et al., 2021, pp. 15-16; Nadal et al., 2015, p. 158).

This story suggests that the intersections of multiple marginalized identities can make individuals more vulnerable to being discriminated against and violated. Furthermore, it illustrates that perceiving intersecting discrimination can make it hard to disentwine the many components of differential treatment from each other when facing discrimination (Fibbi et al., 2021, pp. 15-16; Nadal et al., 2015, p. 158), and intersectional discrimination might thus reinforce the discrimination that individuals perceive (Norwegian Ministries, 2020, pp. 13-14). Moreover, with reference to the discussion regarding gendered difference, this story additionally illustrates that the intersections of manifold aspects of identity might influence how discrimination manifests itself as it is in contrast to the suggested gendered differences in how women are more vulnerable to verbal harassment, as this story is an example of physical harassment manifested as violence toward a woman. This thus demonstrates the importance of accounting for multiple dimensions of identity when studying perceived discrimination as the interactions between these different aspects might influence how discrimination is perceived, how it manifests itself, and additionally the emotional consequences that follow (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2008, p. 68).

The unawareness of which aspect of one's identity that is the ground for the discrimination that one has faced might lead to insecurity. However, some episodes of perceived intersectional discrimination might include elements that make it possible to recognize which aspect of one's identity that was the ground of the discrimination. Tora shared that she believed that multiple aspects of her identity influenced how she perceived discrimination during everyday life. She said that she perceived discrimination both based on her being a woman and her being brown, but that being identified as a brown woman simultaneously made her vulnerable to some types of discrimination while protecting her from others, referring to how the intersections of manifold aspects of identity result in different modes of discrimination and privilege (Crenshaw, 1991, pp. 1241-1245). While Tora shared how she was treated by a nurse, she shared how she and her wife discussed the incident in the aftermath. She shared that they had discussed whether it was her sexual orientation, her gender, the intersection of the gender and the occupation of her wife, or the color of Tora's skin which was the ground of the discrimination she faced. Tora expressed that she recognized the contempt she felt and that she knew that the discrimination occurred on the grounds of her skin color. Hence, although Tora is aware that the discrimination she faced could be a result of the intersections of manifold aspects of her identity and thus could be an incident of intersectional discrimination (Nadal et al., 2015, pp. 147-150), she expressed that she was confident that this was discrimination on the grounds of her skin color due to the fact that she has experienced discrimination on this ground so many times that she now recognizes when it occurs. This suggests that although individuals are vulnerable to perceiving intersecting discrimination, they might be able to identify the grounds of the discrimination they face as they recognize how discrimination manifests itself differently based on the different aspect of the identity that is the ground of the discrimination they face.

This study revealed that these young Norwegians mostly perceive discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity and race, and that they perceive discrimination within many important arenas throughout the lifespan. Apart from the two examples presented above that indicate that the intersections of multiple identities influence how discrimination is perceived and how it manifests itself, this study found few examples of intersectionality in regards to perceived discrimination shared by the key participants. However, it is important to be aware that this likely is a consequence of the limited number of participants included in this study. The stories that did illustrate how intersecting dimensions of identity shape experiences of perceived discrimination, touched upon discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, and gender.

Although this study discovered few stories of intersectional discrimination, it suggests that intersecting dimensions of identity do shape how perceived discrimination manifests itself and that it influences the emotional consequences that follow in the aftermath of perceived discrimination as it might create unawareness of which aspects of one's identity that has been the ground of discrimination. In sum, the findings of this study suggest that it is essential to be aware of multiple dimensions of identity when studying perceived discrimination, as the interactions between these different aspects influence how discrimination is perceived as well as the emotional consequences that follow. The study clearly shows that these young Norwegians perceive discrimination within many important institutions throughout life and suggest that there are no gendered differences concerning the extent of discrimination, where discrimination occurs, or in the emotional consequences that follow perceived discrimination. However, the findings suggest that there are gendered differences in how discrimination manifests itself and additionally that the intersections between multiple dimensions of identity influence how discrimination manifests itself and that the unawareness of which aspect of the multiple dimensions of identity that has been the ground of discrimination that one has faced might make the emotional consequences that follow in the aftermath heavier to bear.

6.4. Limitations

The limited time frame and scope of this study influenced the number of participants included, and it is not possible to generalize based on a small number of participants. However, the stories of these young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds contribute to elucidate important aspects regarding discrimination that should be explored further in future studies with a larger sample. A larger sample of participants and an equal number of men and women could have better elucidated the gendered differences that might be found in relation to the discrimination that these young Norwegians perceive. Moreover, a more diverse sample of participants in terms of having aspects of identity that are marginalized in society, could have provided a better understanding of how intersecting dimensions of identity influence perceived discrimination. However, this study examines how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds in terms of having one or both parents born outside Norway perceive discrimination, and other aspects of one's identity were not set as inclusion criteria when recruiting participants. Future studies with a larger and more diverse sample of participants may better show the extent of intersecting discrimination and intersectional microaggression and how these manifests themselves in

relation to other additional intersecting dimensions of identity then those that have been addressed in this study, for example nonbinary people or people with disabilities.

This study focuses on young adults. As all but one of the participants are under the age of forty, further research should investigate how discrimination is perceived through all phases of life, to examine whether the findings presented in this study are particular for people of a young age or if these findings can be generalized across the life span. This might especially account for the emotional consequences that follow from perceived discrimination, as well as for the institutions that relate to people of all ages and how discrimination is perceived during leisure time as leisure activities often vary across life stage. This study suggest that perceived discrimination have long-term emotional and behavioral consequences for the victims even when immediate reactions to experienced discrimination are lacking, and that this is a result of many smaller incidents of microaggressions that together become big. Thus, longitudinal studies of perceived discrimination, which follow participants over a longer period of time and throughout different phases of life, could examine whether and how perceived discrimination at early stages in life would have long-term emotional and behavioral consequences upon the participants when they get older.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This study aimed to explore how young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds perceive discrimination, and how intersecting dimensions of identity shape these experiences. Intersectionality as an analytical lens combined with the theory of microaggression has guided the analysis of the data.

The study found that these young Norwegians perceived discrimination at a relational level on multiple arenas throughout life, also in leisure activities and during everyday encounters. The findings additionally found that discrimination was perceived within important institutions and during encounters with people with important positions in society. Furthermore, discrimination mostly manifested itself as microaggressions in the form of unintentional as well as intentional verbal and behavioral indignities based on prejudices and stereotypes.

Further exploration additionally revealed that immediate reactions seldom occurred at the moment when discrimination was experienced, which suggests that it can be challenging to realize that one has been discriminated against before reflecting on the incident in the aftermath of its occurrence. Moreover, findings from this study showed that it can be hard to speak up against discrimination as one often questions whether one's experiences can be defined as discrimination or not, and since speaking up against discrimination often feels hopeless as it does not result in any noteworthy positive changes.

When it comes to the possible consequences of perceived discrimination, I have argued that perceived discrimination might have long-term emotional and behavioral consequences for the victims even when immediate reactions are lacking. The lack of an instant response but emotional consequences in the aftermath has been particularly mentioned in relation to smaller incidents of perceived discrimination that together later become big. This study further argues that emotional consequences of perceived discrimination follow victims of discrimination throughout their lifespan and influences the way they feel and behave in the moment but mostly in the aftermath of incidents of discrimination. Future research should examine these long-term emotional and behavioral consequences further. This study thus identifies a need for more longitudinal studies that examine whether and how perceived discrimination at early stages in life influences the lives of these young Norwegians when they get older.

Considering the findings in light of an intersectional lens, this study found that ethnicity, and race were the primary grounds of discrimination for the participants. Furthermore, it revealed that discrimination was experienced differently according to gender and sexual orientation, and that gendered differences could be found in the way in which discrimination manifested itself. This, however, should be further examined in future studies. Research regarding intersectional discrimination with a larger and more diverse sample of participants has been identified, to enable further examinations of how intersectional discrimination manifests itself and the emotional consequences that follows from perceived intersectional discrimination.

This study contributes to our understanding of perceived discrimination from the viewpoint of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds by raising their voices and sharing their stories. Although this study is small, with a limited timeframe and a limited number of participants, it has started to scratch the surface of intersectional discrimination, a field within which seemingly few studies currently exist. Moreover, whereas other studies typically focus on discrimination within one specific institution, such as schools or the labor market, this study was not limited to one particular institution and revealed that discrimination is perceived within a variety of arenas and institutions in Norway. This study found that discrimination is widespread and something permeating the lives of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds. In line with the theory of microaggression, this study showed that perceived discrimination is not necessarily always about serious infringements that would be

considered severe enough for punishment under the law, but rather about a never-ending series of minor incidents and experiences, which when accumulated over time have significant impacts on the lives of these young Norwegians as emotional and behavioral consequences of perceived discrimination influence their lives, also in the aftermath of times they have faced discrimination. Hence, this study contributes to both the scholarly literature and current debates on discrimination in Norway. Particularly, the way discrimination is experienced within the most important societal institutions that young people encounter throughout the life-span, as well as in the encounter with people of authority, suggests that debates about whether structural discrimination exists in Norway should not be dismissed, but explored further.

References

- Andriessen, I., Fernee, H., & Wittebrood, K. (2014). *Perceived discrimination in the Netherlands*.
- Angell, O. H. (2011). Challenges to equality in the welfare state: The Norwegian case of Drammen *Beliefs and Values*, *3*(1). https://vid.brage.unit.no/vid-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/98923/equality_welfare_state%201.PDF?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Anthias, F. (2013). Intersectional what? Social divisions, intersectionality and levels of analysis. *Ethnicities*, *13*(1), 3-19. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796812463547
- Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 1(3), 385-405. https://doi.org/10.1177/146879410100100307
- Bangstad, S. (2021). *Strukturell Rasisme: Et forskningsnotat (Structural Racism: A researchnote)*. https://www.kifo.no/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Strukturell_rasisme_rapport.pdf
- Berger, M., & Sarnyai, Z. (2015). "More than skin deep": stress neurobiology and mental health consequences of racial discrimination. *Stress*, 18(1), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.3109/10253890.2014.989204
- Berk, R. A. (2017). MICROAGGRESSIONS TRIOLOGY: Part 3. Microaggressions in the Classroom. *The Journal of Faculty Development*, *31*(3), 95-110.
- Carter, S. M., & Little, M. (2007). Justifying Knowledge, Justifying Method, Taking Action: Epistemologies, Methodologies, and Methods in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, *17*(10), 1316-1328. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732307306927
- Cho, C. L., Corkett, J. K., & Steele, A. (Eds.). (2018). *Exploring the Toxicity of Lateral Violence and Microaggressions: Poison in the Water Cooler*. palgrave macmillan. https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-319-74760-6.

- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241-1299.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: choosing among five approaches* (Vol. 4th ed., international student ed.). SAGE.
- Cummins, J. (2017). Teaching Minoritized Students: Are Additive Approaches Legitimate? *Harvard Educational Review*, 87(3), 404-425,453.

 https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/teaching-minoritized-students-are-additive/docview/1942145838/se-2?accountid=8579
- Dankertsen, A., & Kristiansen, T. G. S. (2021). "Whiteness Isn't about Skin Color."

 Challenges to Analyzing Racial Practices in a Norwegian Context. *Societies*, 11(46).

 https://doi.org/10.3390/soc11020046
- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory*, *9*(1), 67-85. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700108086364
- Elgvin, O. (2021). Strukturell rasisme i Norge: en funksjonalistisk tilnærming til rasisme uten rasister. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 62(1), 99-105. https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-291X-2021-01-08
- Enoksen, E. (2016). Perceived discrimination against immigrants in the workplace. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *35*(2), 66-80. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/EDI-07-2015-0058
- Fangen, K., & Lynnebakke, B. (2014). Navigating Ethnic Stigmatisation in the Educational Setting: Coping Strategies of Young Immigrants and Descendants of Immigrants in Norway. *Social Inclusion*, 2(1), 47-59.
- Fibbi, R., Midtbøen, A. H., & Simon, P. (2021). Migration and Discrimination. Springer.

- Friborg, O., Sørlie, T., & Hansen, K. L. (2017). Resilience to Discrimination Among Indigenous Sami and Non-Sami Populations in Norway: The SAMINOR2 Study.

 Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 48(7), 1009-1027.

 https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022117719159
- Hansen, K. L. (2015). Ethnic discrimination and health: the relationship between experienced ethnic discrimination and multiple health domains in Norway's rural Sami population. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 74(1).

 https://doi.org/10.3402/ijch.v74.25125
- Ladkin, D. (2021). Problematizing authentic leadership: How the experience of minoritized people highlights the impossibility of leading from one's "true self". *Leadership*, 17(4), 395-400. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715021999586
- Lilienfeld, S. O. (2017). Microaggressions:Strong Claims, Inadequate Evidence. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *12*(1), 138-169. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691616659391
- Lippert-Rasmussen, K. (Ed.). (2018). *The Routledge Handbook of the Ethics of Discrimination*. Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Lov om likestilling og forbud mot diskriminering (likestillings- og diskrimineringsloven), (2022). https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2017-06-16-51/KAPITTEL_2#KAPITTEL_2
- Midtbøen, A. H. (2014a). Discrimination of the Second Generation: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Norway. *Int. Migration & Integration (2016), 17*, 253-272. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0406-9
- Midtbøen, A. H. (2014b). The Invisible Second Generation? Statistical Discrimination and Immigrant Stereotypes in Employment Processes in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(10), 1657-1675.

 https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.847784

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2016). Norway's follow-up of Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable

 Development Goals: Agenda 2030 is a global roadmap for eradicating extreme

 poverty through sustainable development and for promoting good governance and

 peaceful societies before 2030.

 https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/departementene/ud/vedlegg/utvikling/sdg_rap

 port_full_en.pdf
- Nadal, K. L., Davidoff, K. C., Davis, L. S., Wong, Y., Marshall, D., & McKenzie, V. (2015).
 A Qualitative Approach to Intersectional Microaggressions: Understanding Influences of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, Sexuality, and Religion. *Qualitative Psychology*, 2(2), 147-163. https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000026
- Nairn, S. (2019). Research paradigms and the politics of nursing knowledge: A reflective discussion. *Nursing Philosophy*, 20(4). https://doi.org/10.1111/nup.12260
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Seventh Edition ed.). Pearson Education Limited.
- Norwegian Ministries. (2020). The Norwegian Government's Action Plan against Racism and Discrimination on the Grounds of Ethnicity and Religion: 2020-2021. Extracted Version. .

https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/589aa9f4e14540b5a5a6144aaea7b518/action_plan-against-racism-and-discrimination_uu.pdf

- Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Equality. (2020). *Ethnic discrimination*https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/equality-and-diversity/ethnic-discrimination/id670393/
- Offermann, L. R., Basford, T. E., Graebner, R., Jaffer, S., De Graaf, S. B., & Kaminsky, S. E. (2014). See No Evil: Color Blindness and Perceptions of Subtle Racial Discrimination in the Workplace. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20(4), 499-507. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0037237

- Pierce, C. M. (1970). Black psychiatry one year after Miami. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 62(6). https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2611929/pdf/jnma00514-0103.pdf
- Pierce, C. M., Carew, J. V., Pierce-Gonzales, D., & Wills, D. (1977). An experiment in Racism: TV Commercials. *Education and Urban Society*, 10(1), 61-87. https://doi.org/10.1177/001312457701000105
- Punch, K. F. (Ed.). (2014). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Small, M. L., & Pager, D. (2020). Social Perspectives on Racial Discrimination. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 34(2), 49-67. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.34.2.49
- Statistisk sentralbyrå. (2021). *Livskvalitet i Norge 2021*. https://www.ssb.no/sosiale-forhold-og-kriminalitet/levekar/artikler/livskvalitet-i-norge-2021/_/attachment/inline/c2d3a9a8-5dad-4745-ac05-e5f2417ffec0:b844119bf0cfaaf253f214b7ac75c316792b4624/RAPP2021-27_web.pdf
- Straiton, M. L., Aambø, A. K., & Johansen, R. (2019, 2019/03/20). Perceived discrimination, health and mental health among immigrants in Norway: the role of moderating factors. BMC Public Health, 19(1), 325. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-6649-9
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice. *American Psychologist*, 62(4), 271-286. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative Quality: Eight "Big-Tent" Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410383121

United Nations. (2015). Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E

United Nations. (2021). Equality and Non-discrimination.

https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/thematic-areas/human-rights/equality-and-non-discrimination/

Yilmaz, K. (2013). Comparison of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Traditions: epistemological, theoretical, and methodological differences. *European Journal of Education*, 48(2), 311-325. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26357806

Appendices

Appendix 1: Informed Consent Form

Are you interested in taking part in the research project "The experiences of young

Norwegians with minority backgrounds regarding discrimination and hate speech"?4

Background and Purpose of Research Project

My name is Kiri Elida Paulsen Brevik, and I am a master's student at the Department of Health

Promotion and Development at the University of Bergen, where I study Global Development with a

specialization in Gender in Development. This study, and the interviews which will be conducted with

it, is part of the research for my master thesis regarding the experiences of young Norwegians with

minority backgrounds regarding discrimination and hate speech.

Who is responsible for the research project?

The Department of Health Promotion and Development at the University of Bergen is the institution

responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

The sample for this research project has been selected by the given selection criteria; the participant is

Norwegian and lives in Norway, and both or one of her or his parents was born outside Norway. The

participant has to be over the age of eighteen. The research also seeks to engage people with expert

knowledge regarding the presented topic. The inclusion criteria for these participants is that they work

within organizations or governmental instances working within the field.

What will happen with the information you provide?

If you chose to take part in the project, this will involve that you will be interviewed by the researcher.

It will take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour. The interview will include questions about the

participants' experiences related to discrimination, and hate speech in Norway. All information gathered

will be treated carefully, and personal information about you will only be available for the researcher

and the academic supervisor of the researcher. All the participants in the study will be made anonymous

and will be given pseudonyms. It will not be possible to recognize the participants in the final written

⁴ I initially wanted to include the concept of "hate speech" in this study, and therefore asked questions regarding this during the interviews. However, during the period when the interviews were conducted I quickly came to realize that the limited scope and timeframe of this study made it hard to include both of these concepts. I therefore chose to focus only upon discrimination, to better be able to thoroughly examine and explore discrimination from the viewpoint of young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds.

54

thesis. With your consent, I will voice record the interview. The recording will be deleted immediately after the interviews have been transcribed. All gathered information and data will be stored at a computer that is protected by a password to make sure to secure the confidentiality of the participants. The study and the following thesis will be completed by the end of May 2022.

Participating in this study is voluntary

To participate in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw at any point without the need for an explanation, and there will be no negative consequences if you decide to withdraw from participating in this study.

Your personal privacy - how I will store and use your personal data

I will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. I will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act). In addition to the researcher will the supervisor of the researcher have access to information gathered in relation to the project.

Your rights

As long as you can be identified in the collected data material, you have the right to:

- Access the personal data that is being processed about you
- Request that your personal data is deleted
- Request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- Receive a copy of your personal data, and
- Send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives me the right to process your personal data?

I will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with The Department of Health Promotion and Development at the University of Bergen, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Additional thoughts

I am aware of my privilege as a white Norwegian. I have never experienced discrimination based upon my ethnicity or race. I acknowledge that I will never be able to fully understand the emotions of those who have. I want to thank you for sharing your story. The topic of this study is sensitive and involves many emotions. When talking about this topic, it is a risk that I might unintendedly phrase myself wrong. If this is to happen, I highly encourage you to make me aware of this by giving me feedback.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- Victor Chimhutu (academic supervisor)

Department of Health Promotion and Development

E-mail: victor.chimhutu@uib.no

- Kiri Elida Paulsen Brevik

MPhil Student in Global Development Theory and Practice

Department of Health Promotion and Development

E-mail: kiri.brevik@student.uib.no

- UiB Data Protection Officer: Janecke Helene Veim

- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: personverntjenester@nsd.no

or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Kiri Elida Paulsen Brevik

Researcher

Consent Form

By signing below I acknowledge that I have received and understood information about the project "The Experiences of young Norwegians with minority backgrounds regarding discrimination and hate speech", and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- To participate in an interview

- For my recorded voice to be stored until transcribed

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. June 2022.

(Signed by participant, date)

56

Appendix 2: Interview Guide, Participant Group 1: Young Norwegians with minoritized backgrounds

a. Biographical Information

- How old are you?
- What is your legal gender?
- What is your occupation?
- What is your parent's country of origin?

b. Perspectives and understandings of Discrimination

- How do you understand the term *Discrimination*?

c. Experiences of discrimination

- Have you ever experienced discrimination?
- In what way did you experience discrimination?
- Why do you believe that you experienced discrimination?
- What did the person who discriminated against you base his/her discrimination upon?
- Do you think this experience would be different for a woman/man?
- Do you know if your female/male friends/colleagues have different experiences?
- Do you believe that there is any difference in the experiences of discrimination toward women versus men?
- What do you believe should be done to hinder discrimination?

d. Responding/reacting

- How did you react when you experienced discrimination?
- How did you respond when you experienced discrimination?
- Why do you believe that you responded/reacted in the way you did?
- Are there any specific elements/personality traits/experiences that you believe influenced the way you responded/reacted?
- Do you know anything about your political and/or juridical rights relating to discrimination in Norway?
- How did you obtain information regarding your political and/or juridical rights relating to discrimination in Norway?

- What political initiatives do you think would help to eradicate hate speech in Norway?

e. Challenges and possible Opportunities

- Do you recall your own needs after experiencing discrimination, and how you got them covered?
- Did you report the incident to any official instances?
- Do you recall any challenges that appeared when you reported the incident? How did you meet these challenges?
- What could have made the process of reporting easier?
- Did you feel safe, and did you trust, the authorities that helped you when you reported?
- Do you know how and to whom you can report discrimination to?

f. Personal opinions

- Which initiative(s) do you think is/are the most effective in the fight against discrimination in Norway?
- Which initiative(s) do you think should be taken at the national level to protect people who are at risk of being discriminated against in Norway?
- Is there something that you have not been asked about that you would like to share?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide, Participant Group 2: Experts

a. Biographical Information

- How old are you?
- What is your legal gender?
- What is your occupation?
- What is your parent's country of origin?

b. Perspectives and understandings of Discrimination

- How do you understand the term *Discrimination*?
- How widespread is discrimination in Norway?

c. How to report Discrimination

- Do you know how and to whom incidents of discrimination can be reported?
- What are the weaknesses in the reporting-system for discrimination in Norway?
- What could have made the process of reporting incidents of discrimination easier for the victims of discrimination?

d. The Norwegian Government and Norwegian NGOs

- How does the Norwegian Government work to combat or eradicate discrimination in Norway?
- How does Norwegian NGOs work to combat or eradicate discrimination in Norway?
- In what way do the political and juridical framework in Norway contribute to or influence the eradication of discrimination in the country?
- What initiatives have been enacted at national levels to better be able to protect individuals at risk of becoming victims of discrimination in Norway?
- Does the Norwegian Government act in accordance to these?
- How are these initiatives secured and checked?
- What initiatives do you believe should be taken at national levels to better be able to protect people at risk of becoming victims of hate speech in Norway?

e. Norway in a global context

- Norway have ratified UN-conventions that oblige states to work against discrimination and for equality such as the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.
- Do you know anything about how this is reflected in Norwegian politics?
- Do you know anything about how the Norwegian Government act in accordance with the aforementioned UN conventions?
- How is it checked that the Norwegian Governments act in accordance with the mentioned UN conventions?

f. Personal opinions

- Which initiative(s) do you think is/are the most effective in the fight against discrimination in Norway?
- Which initiative(s) do you think should be taken at the national level to protect people who are at risk of being discriminated against in Norway?
- Is there something that you have not been asked about that you would like to share?

Appendix 4: Thematic Network Analysis

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme
	Experienced Discrimination	Divergent and Convergent perceptions of
		Discrimination
		Discrimination Widespread
		Discrimination is present at many important
		arenas
"It's about lots of small		Harassment
things that you		People in authority
experience all the time"		Gendered Discrimination
	Reactions and Consequences	Emotional Consequences and the (Lack of)
		Immediate Reactions
		Trivializing experiences to protect own
		feelings
		It is hard to speak up against discrimination
		Lack of motivation to report incidents of
		discrimination

Appendix 5: NSD Ethics Approval

NORSK SENTER FOR FORSKNINGSDATA

Vurdering

Referansenummer

418638

Prosjekttittel

Mapping Discrimination in Norway

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Universitetet i Bergen / Det psykologiske fakultet / Hemil-senteret

Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)

Victor Chimhutu, Victor.Chimhutu@uib.no, tlf: 96884913

Type prosjekt

Studentprosjekt, masterstudium

Kontaktinformasjon, student

Kiri Elida Paulsen Brevik, kirielida@yahoo.no, tlf: 41768021

Prosjektperiode

31.12.2021 - 18.05.2022

Vurdering (1)

26.01.2022 - Vurdert

Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen av personopplysninger i prosjektet vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet med vedlegg den 26.01.2022, samt i meldingsdialogen mellom innmelder og Personverntjenester. Behandlingen kan starte.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET

Prosjektet vil behandle alminnelige kategorier av personopplysninger frem til 19.05.2022.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG

Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 og 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen vil dermed være den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a.

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER

Personverntjenester vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen om:

- \cdot lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen
- · formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke behandles til nye, uforenlige formål
- \cdot dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- \cdot lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER

Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18), og dataportabilitet (art. 20).

Personverntjenester vurderer at informasjonen om behandlingen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER

Personverntjenester legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må dere følge interne retningslinjer og/eller rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

MELD VESENTLIGE ENDRINGER

Dersom det skjer vesentlige endringer i behandlingen av personopplysninger, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til oss ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. Før du melder inn en endring, oppfordrer vi deg til å lese om hvilke type endringer det er nødvendig å melde: https://www.nsd.no/personverntjenester/fylle-ut-meldeskjema-for-personopplysninger/melde-

endringer-i-meldeskjema

Du må vente på svar fra oss før endringen gjennomføres.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET

Personverntjenester vil følge opp ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet. Lykke til med prosjektet!