

Youth perspectives on citizenship discourses:

Navigating exclusionary public sphere rhetoric
against the backdrop of ‘inclusive’ citizenship
education

by

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR
(PhD)



UH
IGIS
2023

University of Stavanger
NO-4036 Stavanger
NORWAY
www.uis.no

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ISBN: 978-82-8439-163-2

ISSN: 1890-1387

PhD: Thesis UiS No. 698

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors: Professor Hande Eslen-Ziya, who encouraged my applying for the position and was always ready to explore ideas; Associate Professor Silje Normand, a vital source of useful information and who paid special attention to detail; and Professor Ketil Fred Hansen, my main supervisor, who challenged my thinking.

I am thankful for the collegial environment we had on our PhD floor (N-fløyen; for those who know, you know), sharing our victories and struggles, both in person during lunches and social gatherings, and virtually through online meet ups during numerous Covid-19 lockdowns.

The administrative staff at the university have been lifesavers, guiding myself and my colleagues through the labyrinth which can be the technical side of completing a doctorate. There are too many dedicated staff to acknowledge everyone by name, however, I would like to mention the central role which Jeanette Rollheim plays.

I'm thankful for the opportunity I had to spend six weeks at Aarhus University in Denmark, where Professor Tabish Khair provided helpful feedback on my third article. Visiting Denmark and its similar but not quite the same socio-political environment was both a welcome change from Norway, as well as providing a context for reflection.

I am forever indebted to the teachers who agreed to provide access to their students and facilitated consent from parents. Most importantly, I would like to thank the students who agreed to participate in the group discussions and shared their thoughts and insights. This dissertation would not have been realised without their thoughtful contributions.

Vital to data collection are also my co-interviewers, Josh Dickstein and Heidi D. Stokmo, who gave of their time to help collect the data.

Furthermore, they offered insightful discussion and analysis, particularly as we worked together on the fourth article. Thank you so much for being part of the journey.

I would like to thank my good friend Associate Professor Reidar Staupe-Delgado who shared his own PhD journey with me (some years prior), encouraged me that I *was* qualified to embark on such a journey myself, and supported me throughout.

I would also like to acknowledge newer friends I have made on this journey, such as Associate Professor Tanu Biswas and Associate Professor Pattamawan Jimarkon. Thank you for your friendship!

My family are, of course, those I owe the most to in this process. – Particularly my husband, Kyriakos, and my children, Helene and Athan. I cannot adequately express my appreciation for their supporting my decision to pursue a doctorate as well as their encouragement throughout the process.

Summary

This dissertation is an exploration of youth perceptions of citizenship and attendant discourses. The research is situated within the Norwegian context where the language offers two important words for citizen: ‘statsborger’ or legal citizen and ‘medborger’ or co-citizen. The dissertation takes the inclusive discourse of citizenship education in schools as an implicit foundational starting point, while explicitly exploring the exclusionary rhetoric of othering visible in public debate. The empirical data consists of group interviews with 44 students in three 10th grade classes in three Norwegian schools.

The first article offers an analysis of how participating students discuss membership dimensions of citizenship, drawing on the interplay of discourse with the material to express varying degrees of inclusive and exclusionary stances. The findings show that students in these 10th grade classes consistently appeal to material or sensory tokens to justify belonging or otherness, whether understood as Norwegian-ness or legal citizenship. Paying special attention to the role of the material (herein covering physical appearance, clothing, and audible language) for justifying or challenging belonging allows racially and religiously prejudiced citizenship discourse to be more clearly highlighted. The findings in this article point to a need to set aside discomfort and embarrassment regarding frank discussions on material aspects embedded in racialised and exclusionary citizenship discourses in order to aid youth in deconstructing racialised and religious prejudice.

The second article is a case study (from one school) of student discussions of rights and responsibilities. Student participants spoke of rights as belonging to the majority or to the minoritized Other. In line with earlier research findings, students referenced human rights as national rights or values, while making explicit connections between majority rights and minority responsibilities and implicit references to the responsibility of the majority to protect minority rights. This analysis indicates a need in citizenship education and its adjacent field of human rights education (HRE) for both legal literacy and a deeper discussion of human rights. This can, for example, be achieved through a focus on the local context so that youth may better understand minority barriers to rights, as well as the role of the majority in issues of social justice.

The third article focuses on the two Norwegian words for citizen: *statsborger* and *medborger*, translated in this dissertation as legal citizen and co-citizen. The findings are analysed through the lens of subject positions and capabilities, with the results showing that students appropriate categories and storylines within public debate in order to frame different citizen subject positions as either one of ‘us’ or ‘them’. Dichotomies and overlaps are also visible in descriptions of citizen capabilities as either legal, ideal, or societal. Legal capabilities, understood as the juridically defined rights of majority and minority legal citizens and co-citizens, are less clear to students and are at times obscured by societal capabilities, or the rhetoric within public debate—such as anti-immigrant narratives—which may hinder minority capabilities. Additionally, ideal capabilities, or democratic values, often stand in conflict with the exclusionary rhetoric of public debate. The main contribution which these research findings offer is that a citizenship lens allows for a nuanced exploration of citizen subject positions and attendant capabilities within a democracy, including exploration of the challenges which minority citizens may face. Being explicit about the who (subject position), what (categories), and how (storylines) of democratic participation will allow students a more critical

understanding of citizenship (both legal citizenship and co-citizenship) than the predominantly values-centred discussions which are often a staple of citizenship education.

The fourth article was co-authored together with my co-interviewers, as in the article, we explore the role of (in)visible difference, affect, and resistance in discussions on citizenship—both for the students and for us as researchers. In the group discussions, we found that positionality played a central role, in framing understandings of citizenship, belonging, and discrimination. As white researchers who also experience (in)visible differences, we reflect on the students' explicit discussions of difference, as well as their reactions to our implicit and explicitly acknowledged difference. Additional reflections are put forth on leveraging invisible difference to create space for an inclusive understanding of citizenship, resisting ideas of ethno-nationalism. This discussion demonstrates the potential which experiences with (in)visible difference have for contributing to more inclusive understandings of citizenship—both legal citizenship and co-citizenship. Further potential implications are that acknowledgement of invisible difference by white majority educators may help to open space for an understanding of difference as a citizenship resource.

In this capstone or extended summary, I explore in detail the context for the study, map the relevant literature, discuss theory and methodology in depth, as well as ruminate on the contributions of the dissertation to the field. Some of the main overall findings echo those of prior research, such as the need for a vocabulary which facilitates explicit engagement with citizenship issues, and concretely tackles the lived reality of both minority and majority citizenship. Specifically, by approaching citizenship education through the lens of the concept, the multi-dimensionality of citizenship can be explored while the discourses which youth use to make sense of the concept become visible. This dissertation highlights both youth understandings as well as misunderstandings, and problematises not only exclusionary discourses which frame racialised

minorities in Europe as Other, but also lack of clarity on (minority) citizen rights—which are vital for the realisation of an inclusive and just society. Moreover, *difference* in all its varied forms must not be shielded away from but must be addressed directly, positively, and as the resource which it is.

Norsk sammendrag:

Denne avhandlingen utforsker hvordan unge mennesker oppfatter borgerskap og assosierte diskurser. Forskningen min er plassert i en norsk kontekst, hvor språket inneholder to viktige begreper knyttet til borgere og borgerskap: «statsborger» og «medborger». Det grunnleggende og implisitte utgangspunktet for avhandlingen er den inkluderende diskursen i medborgerskapsundervisning (citizenship education) i skolen, samtidig som studien eksplisitt utforsker den ekskluderende retorikken om «den andre» («Other»), som er synlig i samfunnsdebatten. Empirien består av gruppeintervjuer med 44 elever fordelt på tre 10.-klasser i tre norske skoler.

Den første artikkelen utgjør en analyse av hvordan deltakende elever diskuterer medlemskapsaspekter ved «medborgerskap», og trekker på samspillet mellom diskurs og materialitet for å uttrykke varierende grad av inkluderende og ekskluderende syn på begrepet. Funnene viser at elever i disse 10.-klassene konsekvent viser til materielle eller sensoriske tegn for å redegjøre for tilhørighet eller fremmedhet, uavhengig av om det er forstått som norskhet eller statsborgerskap. Ved å vie spesiell oppmerksomhet til materialets rolle (herunder fysisk utseende, klær og hørbart språk) for å rettferdiggjøre eller utfordre tilhørighet, er det mulig å framheve en tydeligere diskurs om rasialiserte og religiøse fordommer. Funnene i denne artikkelen tilsier at selv om tematikken kan være ubehagelig og skape forlegenhet, er det viktig med ærlige diskusjoner omkring de materielle aspektene innebygd i rasialiserte og

ekskluderende borgerdiskurser. Dette vil så kunne hjelpe ungdom med å dekonstruere rasialiserte og religiøse fordommer.

Den andre artikkelen er en casestudie (basert på én skole) med elevdiskusjoner om rettigheter og plikter. Deltakerne diskuterte rettighetene som følger tilhørighet til majoriteten eller den minoriserte «andre». I tråd med tidligere forskningsfunn, henviste elevene til menneskerettigheter som nasjonale rettigheter eller verdier, mens de gjorde eksplisitte forbindelser mellom majoritetsrettigheter og minoritetsansvar med implisitte henvisninger til majoritetens ansvar for å beskytte minoritetsrettigheter. Denne analysen indikerer et behov for både juridisk kompetanse og en dypere diskusjon om menneskerettigheter i medborgerskapsundervisning og dets nærliggende felt «menneskerettighetsundervisning» (Human Rights Education). Dette kan for eksempel oppnås gjennom et fokus på den lokale konteksten slik at ungdom blir bedre rustet til å forstå barrierene for minoriteters rettigheter, samt majoritetens rolle i spørsmål om sosial rettferd.

Den tredje artikkelen fokuserer på de to norske borgerbegrepene: «statsborger» og «medborger» (i denne avhandlingen oversatt som «juridisk borger» og «medborger»). Funnene analyseres gjennom subjektens posisjoner og handlingsrom, hvor funnene indikerer at elevene henvender seg til kategorier og historielinjer innenfor samfunnsdebatten for å framstille ulike posisjoner knyttet til borgersubjekter som del av «oss»- eller «dem»-kategorier. Dikotomier og overlapping er også synlig i beskrivelser av borgernes handlingsrom som enten juridiske, ideelle eller samfunnsmessige. Juridiske handlingsrom, forstått her som de juridisk definerte rettighetene til nasjonale majoritets- og minoritetsborgere og medborgere, er mindre tydelige for elevene og er til tider tilslørt av samfunnsmessige handlingsrom, eller retorikken i samfunnsdebatten – slik som anti-innvandring-narrativer – som igjen kan hindre minoritetens handlingsrom. I tillegg står ideelle handlingsrom, eller demokratiske

verdier, ofte i konflikt med den ekskluderende retorikken i samfunnsdebatten. Hovedbidraget her er et borgerperspektiv som muliggjør en mer nyansert utforskning av borgersubjektsposisjoner og tilhørende handlingsrom innenfor demokrati, inkludert av utfordringer som minoritetsborgere står overfor. Det å være eksplisitt om hvem (fagposisjon), hva (kategorier) og hvordan (historielinjer) i demokratisk deltakelse vil derfor bidra til at elever oppnår en mer kritisk forståelse av borgerkonsepter enn de overveiende verdisentrerte diskusjonene som ofte er gjennomgående i medborgerskapsundervisning i dag.

Den fjerde artikkelen ble skrevet sammen med mine medintervjuere og utforsker hva slags rolle (u)synlige forskjeller, affekt og motstand spiller i diskusjoner om borgerskap – både for elevene og for oss som forskere. I gruppediskusjonene kom vi fram til at posisjonalitet var sentralt for å ramme inn forståelser av borgerskap, tilhørighet og diskriminering. Som hvite forskere som også opplever (u)synlige forskjeller, reflekterer vi over elevenes eksplisitte diskusjoner om forskjeller, samt deres reaksjoner på vår implisitte og eksplisitt erkjente ulikheter. I tillegg reflekterte vi over tematikker som å dra på disse usynlige ulikhetene som et verktøy for å skape rom for en mer inkluderende forståelse av borgerskap, som igjen kan være med på å motstå ideer om etno-nasjonalisme. Denne diskusjonen viser at erfaringer med (u)synlige forskjeller har potensial til å bidra til en mer inkluderende forståelse av medborgerskap og statsborgerskap. Ytterligere implikasjoner kan være at hvite lærere som er del av majoriteten ved å erkjenne usynlige ulikheter kan være med på å bidra til å skape rom for forståelse av forskjeller og ulikheter som en ressurs for medborgerskap.

I denne kappen redegjør jeg for studiens kontekst, kartlegger relevant litteratur, diskuterer detaljene rundt teori og metodikk, samt drøfter avhandlingens bidrag til feltet. Noen av de overordnede hovedfunnene gjenspeiler tidligere forskning, som for eksempel behovet for et ordforråd som eksplisitt muliggjør engasjement i spørsmål om borgerskap, og konkret håndterer den levde virkeligheten til både minoritets- og majoritetsborgere.

Spesifikt, ved å nærme seg medborgerskapsundervisning gjennom et borgerperspektiv, kan multidimensjonaliteten i borgerskap utforskes samtidig som diskursene som ungdom bruker for å forstå konseptene blir synligere. Denne avhandlingen framhever både ungdomsforståelser så vel som misforståelser, og problematiserer ikke bare ekskluderende diskurser som rammer rasialiserte minoriteter i Europa som «den andre», men også mangel på klarhet om (minoritets)borgeres rettigheter – som er avgjørende for realiseringen av et inkluderende og rettferdig samfunn. Dessuten må forskjeller i alle sine varierte former ikke skyves unna, men adresseres direkte, positivt og som de ressursene de er.

Prologue

Citizenship can mean everything or nothing, depending on one's positionality (e.g. gender, class, 'ethnicity') and situation in life. One's legal citizenship or statelessness can set limits on one's freedom of movement—particularly if one happens to be from 'certain parts' of the world. Legal citizenship also delineates, to a large extent, the rights one has available, the access to privileges and freedoms. For some, acquiring a new citizenship could be the ticket to a better life with expanded opportunities. For others, regardless of their legal citizenship, they will always experience some degree of marginalisation. Some never think of legal citizenship and take for granted the rights and privileges that are attached to it. Due to this, some have very little understanding of those rights and privileges, and they relate citizenship to nationalistic notions of membership—which are often conflated with racialised narratives on belonging and identity, and 'us' versus 'them' rhetoric.

The story which precedes this doctoral exploration of citizenship begins when I, as a little white girl, moved to Southeast Asia with my family before starting first grade. I was welcomed and showered with attention by the people in whose country I was a guest. However, I always knew I was a guest, as my family was required to regularly visit government offices, fill out forms, and stand in line to obtain or renew our visas. I would compare passport colours with my friends with other nationalities, laugh at ugly passport photos, and overhear comments about someone being granted a longer, shorter, or different type of visa due to their legal citizenship. Growing up in and travelling in Southeast Asia, I learned that my passport was one of my most priceless possessions, and it was always kept in a safe place if not on my person.

In my teens, I left Asia and spent a few years in both Western and Eastern Europe, and vaguely realised that I had no real attachment to my country of legal citizenship. I then moved to East Africa, where I spent most of

my twenties. In Kenya, I again experienced being a privileged guest, and became quite adept at navigating the legal bureaucracy surrounding visas. Furthermore, in Kenya, my future was permanently altered when I gave birth to a mixed daughter (Afro-European). While it was easy enough for me to claim legal citizenship for my daughter at my local embassy, it would take some years for me to fully understand the influence of nationalistic discourses which would come to impact upon the way that my daughter would relate to citizenship as well as the way that others would relate to my daughter's citizenship and identity.

When I was in my late twenties, I moved with my daughter to the Middle East. There I met the man who is my husband, and a son was born into our family. As a blonde white woman, I was again a privileged guest, but was still obligated to navigate the bureaucracy of being a foreign national. However, an unforeseen pain entered my life at realising that not everyone was quite as enamoured with my beautiful daughter's darker complexion, and thus my daughter's identity was often pontificated on by unsolicited bystanders.

Fast forward some years to when we, as a family, moved to Norway and were forced to realise that European citizenship does not equate to belonging. Our children adapted to school, each in their own way. Our daughter floundered for a while, eventually restricting herself to not speaking up in class. She assessed her academic strengths and weaknesses, and in due time found her sense of accomplishment through being in the top percentile of her classes. Our son, on the other hand, although white was still different. He could not sit still, and as he grew older, he spoke up more in class, challenging institutions. While the school system in Norway now has an educational policy emphasis on critical thinking, his teachers did not appreciate his type of engagement, likely feeling harassed by his constant critique of the status quo.

'Difference' was also an issue for us, as parents. Over five years of job instability left us extremely frustrated, painfully aware that our

international work experience was not recognised by Norwegian institutions. I tried following the advised ‘integration’ route of getting a local higher education, volunteering, and participating in the local community, but am still a figurative outsider. My husband has worked harder than anyone half his age, but eventually he had to take a job that nobody else wanted in a distant part of the country.

Our friends are predominantly legal citizens of other countries, many of them people of colour, and most with heart-breaking stories of limited access and marginalisation. Most of our white Norwegian friends have their own affiliations to difference which grant them deeper insight into the challenges connected to citizenship and access. Thus, our political views as a family, as well as most of our extended circle, are not borne out of a theoretical adherence to social justice alone, but a lived experience of the challenges of citizenship—both legal citizenship and co-citizenship. If our family, as mostly white European citizens, face such challenges navigating the socio-economic landscape in my mother’s home country, how much more difficult are the challenges for those with Other or marginalised citizenship, restricted access, and greater ‘deportability’?

These experiences have led to an interest in citizenship—both legal citizenship and co-citizenship—and the way it is experienced and conceptualised by people in diverse positionalities and life situations. Thus, when the opportunity to conduct research on citizenship and democracy presented itself, citizenship naturally became my primary focus.

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Acronyms

CDA Critical discourse analysis

CE Citizenship Education

HR Human Rights

HRE Human Rights Education

NRK Norsk rikskringkasting AS [Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation]

NSD Norsk senter for forskningsdata [Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS]

SSB Statistisk sentralbyrå [Statistics Norway]

1 Introduction

This dissertation is an investigation of youth understandings of citizenship and the attendant discourses, drawing on group interviews with 10th grade students in three Norwegian lower secondary schools. The concept was explored through Norwegian vocabulary for legal citizenship (statsborgerskap) and co-citizenship (medborgerskap). The underlying premise for the research is that students are exposed to a variety of discourses which they must navigate. This dissertation focuses specifically on two: democratic citizenship education in school (Kymlicka, 2017), and public debate regarding citizenship and minorities within society. From these dual and potentially conflictual discourse regimes, youth make sense and craft their own meaning of citizenship. The research and group interviews were situated within the school context; however, the discussion focus was primarily on public sphere discourse, such as exclusionary rhetoric regarding immigrants (Al-Hussaini, 2017, 2020; Fangen & Vaage, 2018; A. D. Johansen, 2020; Ø. D. Johansen, 2019; Landro, 2019; Moore, 2019; NRK P3, 2017; NRK1, 2017; Polakow-Suransky, 2017).

Critical childhood studies (Spyrou, 2018) as well as the emerging field of childism (Wall, 2010, 2019) offer a lens for understanding children and youth as actors in society. The focus within these fields is on understanding children's and youth's responses to the world as context specific, while the field offers a critique of the linearity of developmental psychology (Spyrou, 2018). While there are power dimensions inherent in categories of adulthood versus childhood, the starting point for this dissertation is that children and youth *are* citizens, taking up the *being* rather than *becoming* side of the debate on children's citizenship (Spyrou, 2018). Children and youth's active citizenship capabilities can be seen in such examples as Severn Cullis-Suzuki and her peers' speech at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, Rachel Parent's GMO labelling activism, climate activists Greta Thunberg, Vanessa Nakate, Elizabeth Wathuti,

and young plaintiffs in numerous class action lawsuits against governments failing to address climate change.

Furthermore, Osler and Starkey point out that

Debates about citizenship and education are not the sole purview of academics. The fact remains that young people are rarely given opportunities to contribute and yet, as important stakeholders in education and in society, young people have much to contribute to such debates and to the formulation of a relevant and effective education for citizenship (2003, p. 244).

Thus, the objective within this dissertation is to highlight and explore the negotiations which youth engage in when encountering potentially conflictual discourses on complex concepts – such as climate change or citizenship. Through this exploration, adults, teachers, and educators are given the opportunity to think deeply about complex societal discourses, both ideal discourses espoused by educational policy documents and populist discourses visible in public debate, and how youth navigate and make sense of the contradictions. The hypothesis is that through exploring citizenship in its full complexity, youth will have the wherewithal to navigate conflictual discourses, explore the relational messiness of citizenship, and challenge prejudicial assumptions.

For teacher education, exploring student understandings of citizenship discourse is important as democratic citizenship is an intrinsic part of social science curricula (Schulz et al., 2016), and in Norway has received an added emphasis with the 2020 introduction of a new national curriculum (covering grades one to thirteen). The updated curriculum has three interdisciplinary topics—one of which is ‘Democracy and Citizenship’ (Demokrati og Medborgerskap) or democracy and co-citizenship (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017), and this topic has been included in all but two subject curricula. Given this increased emphasis, it is vital for educators to gain insight into how their students negotiate complex and conflictual citizenship discourses in order to be

prepared to respond to students' need, helping them navigate challenging issues, addressing potential misconceptions or knowledge gaps, and creating a safe space for critical relational dialogue (Mezirow, 2003).

This is especially important since citizenship is a contentious concept and has been approached and defined in various ways (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018). For example, Marshall (1950) focuses on different types of rights; Joppke (2007) outlines status, rights, and identity; Bloemraad, Kymlicka, Lamont, and Hing (2019) explore various aspects of citizenship membership; while Stokke (2017) argues for a delineation of four dimensions of citizenship as membership, legal status, rights, and participation. There are also idealised notions of citizenship strongly tied to normative understandings of what citizenship ought to be. Within this dissertation, the normative understanding of citizenship discourse is outlined as per Kabeer's (2005a; Lister, 2007) *inclusive citizenship* concept, with its sensitising themes of justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity.

Perhaps as a result of the complexity of the concept, the focus in citizenship education research with children and youth has for the most part not been on their understanding of the concept of citizenship in and of itself, but on aspects of citizenship, such as democracy and democratic values (Solhaug & Osler, 2018), or politics and participation (Mathé, 2019). An important example of the implicit citizenship focus within the field is the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), which is currently in its third cycle (IEA, 2022). The 2022 study is yet to be published, but the 2016 study included data from 24 countries and over 3500 schools and focused on youth's civic knowledge and political participation (Schulz et al., 2016).

For the dissertation, an organisational framework was necessary in order to make sense of the complexity of citizenship as a concept, the diversity of approaches utilised in citizenship education research, as well as additional relevant research. Thus, the organisational framework for

exploration of citizenship aspects is based on delineations which centre three dimensions: membership and identity, legal status and rights, and democratic engagement (Leydet, 2017; Osler & Starkey, 2005; K. Stokke, 2017).

Furthermore, in this dissertation, citizenship is used as an overarching concept, while the terms legal citizenship (*statsborgerskap*) and co-citizenship (*medborgerskap*) are specified where these delineations are relevant. The terms majority and minority are used frequently, with minority being predominantly understood as those who are often targets of anti-immigrant rhetoric while also being used liberally to cover those whose experiences, norms, and / or cultural identifications differ from the majority. While such a broad definition of minority would normally include LGBTIQ+ persons as well as those with disabilities, these individuals / groups are outside the scope of this dissertation. (For further discussion of majority / minority terms, see section 3.2 in chapter three.)

1.1 Research questions, methods, and outcomes

The literature mapping (Chapter 2 – Situating the debate) will show that citizenship education (CE) in many of its popular iterations has a strong focus on inclusivity. Whether this inclusivity aim is realised in national curricula is the subject of much research and debate; however, this dissertation’s main research question begins from the premise that inclusivity is a central normative objective of CE in schools. Furthermore, CE focuses implicitly on citizenship, while this dissertation approaches citizenship explicitly through the aforementioned organisational framework for citizenship dimensions.

The main research question is presented first, followed by the sub research questions as they are addressed in the four articles which present the central findings of this dissertation:

- 1) How do youth perceive citizenship and attendant discourses amid the cacophony of diverse rhetoric on citizenship, particularly the rhetoric in public debate which others minorities within society?
 - a) How do youth understand membership discourses on citizenship belonging? How do youth frame inclusive or exclusionary discourses? What markers do youth utilise in such discussions?
 - b) How do youth—particularly majority youth—understand discourses on citizenship rights and responsibilities? What discourses do they draw on in exploring the rights of the minority in relation to the majority, including participation rights?
 - c) What discourses do youth draw on in conceptualising the citizen subject position, as well as the attendant capabilities? What discourses are visible in their understandings of the citizen subject position and capabilities of minorities versus the majority?
 - d) What role does positionality and (in)visible difference play in perceptions of citizenship? How do students and we as researchers reflect on positionality and (in)visible difference in negotiating discourses on the meaning of citizenship?

The methodology used for the data collection was group interviews, which opened a space for students to discuss the issues with their peers. Research participants were 10th graders in three lower secondary schools in Norway. Eight group interviews were conducted with a total of 44 students, with students from one class in each of the three schools broken into smaller groups. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed, resulting in approximately 200 pages of data.

The four resultant articles are as follows:

- a) The first article (Material interpolations: Youth engagement with inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses) has been

published in the *Journal of Social Science Education* (Dansholm, 2022a).

- b) The second article (Majority rights and minority responsibilities: young people's negotiations with human rights) has been published in the journal *Human Rights Education Review* (Dansholm, 2021).
- c) The third article (Students' understanding of legal citizenship and co-citizenship concepts: Subject positions and capabilities) has been published at the *Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education* (Dansholm, 2022b).
- d) The fourth article (Visible and invisible difference: Negotiating citizenship, affect, and resistance), which is co-authored with my co-interviewers (Joshua Dickstein and Heidi D. Stokmo), is under journal review.

1.2 Democratic citizenship education

This dissertation is set against the backdrop of citizenship education which has been prioritised in Norway. As the country report for the 2016 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) shows (Huang et al., 2017), in addition to educational policy on citizenship education (CE) as part of the Norwegian national curricula, democratic CE is understood to be integral to the overall educational experience in schools. It could be argued that this approach has been effective as Norwegian students scored in the top five overall for civic knowledge in the 2016 ICCS (Schulz et al., 2016). However, while they scored high on civic knowledge, Norwegian students scored below average in eight out of nine measures for student engagement. In the measures for student attitudes, Norwegian students scored above average in endorsement of gender, ethnic and racial equality, while they scored average or below in placing importance on personal responsibility, social movements, and conventional citizenship.

Before delving more deeply into the Norwegian national context, CE will be discussed within the broader context. Due to historical factors, Norwegian notions of citizenship, democracy, and CE are strongly anchored in Western traditions. This dissertation does utilise non-Western citizen concepts, and it is important to be explicit about the contextual origins of central conceptualisations so as to avoid framing them as universal.

Western conceptions of citizenship have strong ties to notions of democracy, and earlier educational thinkers were intentional about connecting citizenship, democracy, and education. For example, van der Ploeg explains Dewey's understanding:

Crucially for Dewey, [...] democracy is conducive to education. The more communal social life is (so, the more democratic it is), the richer and more varied the communication is, and the more experience and interests are shared, the more educative social life is. Also, the more renewing social life is and the more scope for flexibility and openness there is, the more creativity and personal initiative are stimulated and rewarded, and in turn, the more educative it is (2019, p. 4).

However, while these thinkers may have idealised a democratic CE that was open and inclusive, nation building projects have utilised CE for their own agenda. Banks explains that,

Prior to the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the aim of schools in most nation-states was to develop citizens who internalized national values, venerated national heroes, and accepted glorified versions of national histories (2018, p. 26).

Banks thus shows that heterogeneity has not always been historically acknowledged, and yet it is a reality of nation states, and ongoing immigration and emigration continue to challenge state bounded homogeneous notions of citizenship. In response, CE has attempted to re-articulate and emphasise inclusivity through a variety of conceptualisations

of CE. These include, for example, multicultural citizenship (Cha et al., 2018), global citizenship (Abdi et al., 2015), cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler, 2017b), and intercultural citizenship (Alred et al., 2006). This is in addition to potentially politically motivated variations, such as active citizenship, which has in some instances been co-opted by governments with the aim to address, for example, shortfalls in institutional service delivery or ‘educate’ refugees and new citizens in ‘national values’ (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018).

Rhetoric in the public sphere continues to frame diversity as problematic and even dangerous, while strong anti-immigrant sentiment is visible in many Western nations (Fangen & Vaage, 2018; Hervik, 2019; Moore, 2019). In acknowledgement of these challenges, CE researchers in the Western context have conceptually explored the challenges inherent in CE (Banks, 2017b; Osler, 2017b; Solhaug, 2013); researched both the impacts of policy formulation and teacher responses to challenges (Eriksen, 2018; Fylkesnes, 2018, 2019; Sætra & Heldal Stray, 2019); and researched children and young people’s understanding of certain dimensions of citizenship, such as community and civic engagement, as well as intercultural empathy for social inclusion (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Solhaug & Osler, 2018).

However, very little of the CE research specifically focuses on how children and youth understand the concept citizenship—perhaps because the concept can be defined in multiple ways with diverse foci. Thus, due to the complexity of the concept of citizenship, as well as the ideologies which frame the issue on both the side of inclusion and exclusion, this dissertation explores citizenship as per youth understandings of divergent discourses. This has necessitated a recourse to differing conceptual frameworks which help to craft a larger picture of the relationship to citizenship.

This dissertation begins with a brief overview of the connection between citizenship as a concept and CE, followed by a mapping of the field of CE, with a look at adjacent fields, such as human rights education (HRE).

In addition, it considers fields of research which contribute to the understanding of citizenship dimensions and the main research question (RQ), such as research on minority youth and their feelings of belonging or exclusion, children's and young people's understandings of rights as well as their views on insider / outsiders, discourses of whiteness in ethno-national belonging, and Norwegian research on the ramifications of the July 22nd tragedy. However, before moving on to mapping the field (Chapter two), I will present a brief overview of the context within which this research was conducted, namely Norway.

1.3 National context—Norway

Solhaug, Borge, and Grut's (2020) country report on social science education in Norway offers some important insights into the development of the subject within the national curricula. They highlight the various twists and turns that politics and policy have impacted on national curricula development over the last decades, with the 2006 iteration marginalising social sciences in favour of the "five 'basic skills' of reading, writing, calculation, oral and digital skills" (Solhaug et al., 2020, p. 50). Heldal Stray's (2010) discourse analysis of the 2006 iteration of the national curriculum shows that, in contrast to international discourse regimes which build on democratic citizenship, the national discourse regimes pertaining to educational policy were strongly focused on measurable outcomes and the objective of competing in the international market. Incidentally, Heldal Stray's (2010) analysis was published one year prior to the horrendous events of 2011 where youth, enthusiastic about inclusive democratic participation, were specifically targeted in a mass murder.

It is also noteworthy that while the 2006 national curricula was updated in 2013 (in other words, after the publishing of Heldal Stray's analysis / critique and the tragedy of 2011), the term 'co-citizen' (*medborger*) was not use in the general part of the curriculum, nor in the social science curriculum, or even the curriculum for the elective subject "Democracy

in Practice” (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013b, 2013c, 2013a). A word search reveals that while the terms ‘democracy’ and ‘participation’ are used repeatedly, there is no use whatsoever of any Norwegian term for citizenship in any of these documents. While Heldal Stray’s (2010) analysis has already problematised the discourse implications, it is interesting to note the sheer linguistic absence of citizenship in these documents.

It is also interesting to note that while democratic values are far from absent in the National Education Act, which has been in place since the late 1990s (Opplæringslov, 1998), Biseth, Seland, and Huang (2021) indicate that Norwegian policy-makers may have become complacent in regards to democratic CE due to Norwegian students comparatively high scores on civic knowledge in ICCS Reports. However, as also mentioned in Biseth et al.’s (2021) review of civic and citizenship education in the Norwegian context, while Norwegian youth score high on civic knowledge and many democratic values, they are not among the top in participation or belief in the importance of political engagement (Schulz et al., 2016).

In preparation for revision of the national curriculum, the so-called Ludvigsen commission produced a report for the Ministry of Education and Research, titled “The School of the Future – Renewal of subjects and competences”, where they highlight the competencies needed for future citizens (Ludvigsen et al., 2015b). The commission focused on exploring competencies which students will need in the future, changes which need to be made to the curriculum, and what would be required of educator stakeholder. The current national curriculum was launched in 2020 (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017) and seems to answer to the critique of the earlier curriculum specifically by including democracy and citizenship (or co-citizenship) as a core interdisciplinary theme, not confined to social sciences. However, it remains to be seen what this change will mean for democratic CE in Norway, and particularly for children and young people’s understanding of democratic citizenship.

This brings us to the topic of the Norwegian language which has more than one word for citizen: namely, borger, statsborger, and medborger. The two which I focus on in this dissertation can be translated as legal citizenship (statsborgerskap) and co-citizenship (medborgerskap). However, while the word I have translated into English as co-citizenship (medborgerskap) has been used since the time of the poet Ibsen (H. F. Nilsen, 2021), it has not been part of Norwegian vernacular (Jdid, 2021). For example, in Jdid's (2021) comparative research on active citizenship in Norway and Denmark, she academically translates the word 'medborger' into the concept of active citizen. However, in her empirical interviews with people in local communities, she found that while 'medborger' was a familiar word in Denmark, it was not particularly helpful in Norway. Thus, she found the word for civic engagement (samfunnsengasjement) to be more relevant for discussing active citizenship with people in local communities in the Norwegian context.

'Medborger' has been defined in, for example, the Norwegian Lexicon (Thorsen, 2018), where the definition emphasises membership, framing co-citizenship in contrast to exclusion and marginalisation, with social citizenship presented as a synonym. However, other uses of 'medborger' treat the word as a synonym for the all-inclusive English citizen. For example, the United Nations Association of Norway website has a page on 'Democracy and co-citizenship' (Demokrati og medborgerskap). Firstly, they discuss citizens' (borgernes) active participation, and later define co-citizenship (medborgerskap) as having two dimensions: a rights dimension and a participation dimension. The section then moves on to a brief discussion of the concept of global citizenship, which they title 'globalt medborgerskap' (FN-Sambandet, n.d.). Furthermore, a White Paper on 'Youth, Power and Participation' (NOU, 2011) uses the term in an active citizenship type discussion, defining co-citizenship (medborgerskap) as having both participatory and political dimensions. Furthermore, the Norwegian version of the Ludvigsen report alternates between various iterations of citizenship terms, such as borger (citizen),

‘samfunnsborger’ (societal citizen), and ‘medborger’ (co-citizen) (Ludvigsen et al., 2015a). Likewise, the English translation of the report uses diverse iterations, while ‘medborger’ specifically is translated as co-citizen (Ludvigsen et al., 2015a, 2015b).

Secondly, with the introduction of the new national curricula in 2020 and the interdisciplinary theme ‘Democracy and Citizenship’ or democracy and co-citizenship (Demokrati og Medborgerskap) (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017), educators have received a renewed mandate to integrate democracy and co-citizenship into their teaching. However, research on teachers’ understanding of democracy and co-citizenship in schools may take for granted understanding of the word. For example, Sætra and Heldal Stray (2019) asked educators what they consider to be the most important aim of teaching in democracy and co-citizenship (demokrati og medborgerskap). In their research, they use Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) model of different types of citizenship: the politically informed citizen, the rational autonomous citizen, and the socially intelligent citizen. Through analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data gathered from educators, Sætra and Heldal Stray (2019) show that most teachers aim to educate for rational autonomous citizens. While educators within this research were not explicitly asked what they understood co-citizenship to be, it nevertheless demonstrates that co-citizenship as a topic in schools may be understood differently than the definition offered by, for example, the Norwegian Lexicon (Thorsen, 2018).

I have thus chosen to focus on the word’s etymology (‘med’ meaning ‘with’) and use the translation co-citizenship, as ‘medborgerskap’ does not yet have a generally agreed upon layman’s definition.

How then, one may ask, can we ask youth to define terms which are fraught with conceptual conflict? This was part of the challenge of the dissertation research and I approached the issue by discussing the terms (statsborger, medborger) in and of themselves as well as from the

perspective of public debate on citizenship more generally—specifically by viewing and discussing a two-minute television clip from the national broadcasting station, NRK (NRK P3, 2017). This clip consists of a minority citizen (Faten Al-Hussaini) discussing citizenship issues with a right-leaning politician (Siv Jensen), and covers commonly associated ideas, namely: participation, identity, national belonging, values, and language (for more details on the television clip, see the Methodology chapter, section 4.3).

Looking more broadly at the Scandinavian and Norwegian contexts, ethnic homogeneity has generally been understood as the norm (Jensen et al., 2017). However, even as far back as the Viking period, ethnic diversity in the Nordic region was a fact of life due to migration, raiding, and slaving (Raffield, 2019). Additionally, Norway has a number of official historical indigenous and national minorities, for example, the Sami, the Kven, the Roma, and Jews; however, Eriksen (2020) shows that the term ‘ethnic Norwegian’ (etnisk norsk) is still used as a pseudonym for white—while minorities and non-white Norwegians are framed as Others. There is also a tendency for Norwegians to see themselves as victims of colonisation rather than colonisers (Fylkesnes, 2019) due to the hegemony of Danish culture and language during the Dano-Norwegian empire. This can result in a collective amnesia of both their participation in the colonisation endeavours of the Dano-Norwegian empire, as well as their own harmful treatment of their indigenous and national minorities, such as the ‘Norwegianification’ project which all but erased the cultural identity and language of a large percentage of the Sami (Eriksen, 2018). Norway also has a self-image as a champion of human rights and equality, which is bolstered by its foreign policy and ‘do-gooder regime’ of facilitating development and peace-making (Vesterdal, 2019). – For example, facilitating negotiations in the Oslo Accords (1993-1995) and the Sri Lankan conflict (1992-2006). However, this commitment to human rights is not always translated into practice at home. For example, Lile (2019) shows in his

discussion of human rights education (HRE) in Norway that the state deems the educational emphasis on humanistic and Christian values as equivalent and therefore do not see the need for an HRE action plan.

With regard to legal citizenship, unlike North and South America where *jus soli* (birthplace) is an equally legitimate criterion for citizenship, *jus sanguinis* (parentage) is the default eligibility factor in Scandinavia (Brochmann & Seland, 2010). However, the Norwegian statistics bureau (SSB) continues to frame Norwegian legal citizens with immigrant backgrounds and children of Norwegian legal citizens as Other through their definitional focus on immigrant background in national population statistics. The claim is that basing statistics on legal citizenship status is “unsatisfactory” since it does not reflect issues of immigration and legal citizenship status can change (SSB, 2017). The Norwegian statistics bureau (SSB) thus crafted a definition in 1994 based on birthplace of the individual, the parents, and grandparents – centring a generational understanding of who is immigrant regardless of their legal citizenship status (SSB, 2017). A 2014 report shows that this definition leads to a stringent classification system, and a person with three immigrant / foreign grandparents and one Norwegian would presumably not be considered immigrant. For instance, the 2013 percentage of persons born in Norway with two immigrant-background parents and four immigrant or foreign grandparents was 2.3% (one classification), while the percentage of persons born in Norway with one immigrant-background and one Norwegian parent and two immigrant or foreign and two Norwegian grandparents was 3.6% (different non-immigrant classification) (Dzamarija, 2014).

Thus, as per these definitions, the so-called immigrant population currently stands at 15.1% of the population, plus an additional 3.8% born in Norway who have two immigrant-background parents plus four immigrant or foreign grandparents (SSB, 2022c). The website highlights that immigrants combined with their children are now over one million (SSB, 2022b). However, in accordance with the SSB definition, this

statistic would include immigrant parents partnered with so-called non-immigrant Norwegians, but not children from these unions. The largest group of immigrants in Norway is Polish at over 100,000, while Lithuanians and Swedes follow with approximately forty and thirty-five thousand respectively (SSB, 2022a). Persons with refugee backgrounds collectively make up 4.5% of the national population (SSB, 2022e), while 66% of these persons are now Norwegian legal citizens.

Statistics on persons with immigrant background who are Norwegian legal citizens are not offered in headings but can be found through SSB database searches. An older page discussing immigrants in Norway states that by early 2017, 31% of immigrants had Norwegian legal citizenship while 71% of children born in Norway with immigrant-background parents had Norwegian legal citizenship (SSB, 2017). A more recent webpage on transitioning to Norwegian citizenship offers real numbers combining statistics from 2012 to 2021 (over 170,000) (SSB, 2022d). Additionally, a record number (over 40,000) of immigrants gained Norwegian legal citizenship in 2021 due to the law, implemented in 2020, opening for dual citizenship (SSB, 2022f). Over 50% of these were European legal citizens.

The Scandinavian research on legal citizenship policy shows that Norway has taken a middle ground between Denmark and Sweden regarding criteria for new legal citizens (Jensen et al., 2017). Integration narratives are an important part of naturalisation debates, and while the Danish rhetoric is that prospective legal citizens should earn the right through proving that they are integrated, Sweden posits that legal citizenship is one of the stepping stones towards full integration (Brochmann & Midtbøen, 2020). Brochmann and Midtbøen (2020) argue that Norway aims to both preserve the integrity of legal citizenship in the eyes of the majority, while also not discouraging immigrants from working towards gaining legal citizenship status.

1.4 Thesis structure

The dissertation begins with an overview of relevant literature, including a mapping of citizenship education (CE) as per the organising framework with subcategories: membership and identity, legal status and rights, and democratic engagement. The mapping, or situating the debate, is followed by a chapter exploring the theoretical frameworks utilised in the thesis, followed by a chapter on methodology. An encapsulated discussion of the articles is provided, after which there is a concluding chapter focusing on empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributions.

2 Situating the debate

Citizenship education (CE) is a very broad field, and there are various traditions within the field. For example, in some countries, it is called civic education and this is reflected in the title of the collaborative second cycle report “IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study” (Schulz et al., 2016) which examines students’ civic knowledge and participation in multiple countries around the world. Whether there is, in fact, a difference between civic education and citizenship education (CE) is debateable, and there are multiple definitions of both, while the name can vary depending on the country (Muleya, 2018). Many studies avoid making an explicit distinction by using the all-inclusive term civic and citizenship education (Biseth, Hoskins, et al., 2021; Schulz et al., 2016). Both terms may also be used individually within the same text without definition of differences (Lee, 2006; Schulz et al., 2016). Furthermore, in Lee’s (2006) exploration of the Asian context, he shows that some countries combine civic education with, for example, moral education, tailoring the educational approach to the country context. Additionally, within the European context, Audigier (2000) shows in discussing the key concepts of education for democratic citizenship that the meaning of the word citizenship varies from country to country.

While this thesis is mainly concerned with the strand of CE which focuses on discourses of inclusion and appreciation of diversity within Western contexts, it is important to be aware that CE is born out of divergent ideas of citizenship and civic life as well as understandings of citizenship as a concept in and of itself. For example, in Mouritsen and Jaeger’s (2018) report on civic education in Europe, they provide an overview of how notions of the ‘good citizen’ lead to differing conceptualisations of what civic knowledge is needed, how one identifies as a good citizens, as well as the implicated virtues and values. Some examples of the aims of CE are training students to become

knowledgeable, curious, imaginative, civilised, rational and autonomous, caring and open-minded (Siegel et al., 2018). However, sometimes these aims can be at odds. Take, for example, the objectives of teaching youth autonomy and critical thinking versus a focus on training them in participation and solidarity. Van der Ploeg and Guérin (2016) argue that the current emphasis on participation and negative attitude towards non-participation in CE show a tendency towards social engineering rather than enhancement of democratic conduct.

Nevertheless, regardless of whether the educational approach is called civic education, citizenship education, or education for democratic citizenship, the focus is on instilling qualities and skills which allow for productive participation in society. Thus, globally there is an emphasis on political and civic or social participation, and in many parts of the world, also a focus on democracy and democratic ideals, as well as the promotion of inclusion in heterogeneous societies—as opposed to explicitly exploring understandings of citizenship. Situating CE within citizenship as a concept will therefore be addressed briefly before moving on to the mapping of relevant CE and other discussions.

2.1 Why do we call it citizenship education?

The history of citizenship as a concept as well as the history of citizenship education (CE) has been explored in, for example, Derek Heater's books *A History of Education for Citizenship* (2003) and *World Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Thinking and Its Opponents* (2004). These books cover the topics from a Western perspective, beginning with Greek philosophers—with a brief dip into Asian and African perspectives. Heater shows that there is a longstanding tradition of philosophising citizenship in global or cosmopolitan terms in order to articulate our responsibility to our fellow human beings. He discusses Nussbaum's theorising on the subject extensively, while showing many

of the challenges related to thinking outside of state and nationalistic confines. Various approaches or typologies of global citizenship have been explored by, for example, Oxley and Morris (2013), while others have reviewed global citizenship at the higher education level (Horey et al., 2018) and systematically at the empirical level (Goren & Yemini, 2017). This literature mainly deals with citizenship values and how these values are transferred to students, without exploring explicitly how students understand the concept of citizenship.

Mouritsen and Jaeger's (2018) model regarding differing understandings of what a 'good' citizen is provides a helpful visual picture of the assumptions behind values, virtues, identities, and knowledge, and highlights the normative dimension of some branches of CE:

Table 1 What is a 'good citizen'?

Model	Values	Virtues	Identities	Knowledge
Civic-republican citizen	Equality Political autonomy (Secularism)	Political efficacy Public reason Participatory skills	Civic patriotism	Political history Participatory institutions
Communitarian-national citizen	Tradition/religion	Respect for authority Normative grounding Civil-society voluntarism	National belonging	National history and culture
Intercultural citizen	Cultural respect and recognition	Dialogue and empathy	Pride in diversity Group identity	Postcolonial history Heritage of different ethnic groups
Cosmopolitan version	<i>Global justice</i>	<i>International solidarity</i> <i>Hospitality</i>	<i>Cosmopolitan</i> <i>Postnational</i>	<i>Human rights</i> <i>International institutions</i>
Classical liberal citizen (political/public actor)	Individual freedom Civil-society pluralism Political neutrality	Tolerance Critical rationality Impartiality	Personal autonomy Mutual rights status	Constitutional rights Representative democracy
Egalitarian version	<i>Social justice</i>	<i>Social solidarity</i>	<i>Reciprocity</i>	<i>Welfare-state institutions</i>
Economic neoliberal citizen (worker/entrepreneur)	Efficiency/ productivity	Selfsufficiency Productive work Market resilience	Selfreliance	Scholastic/ marketable skills Personal economy

From Mouritsen and Jaeger (2018, p. 12).

Why is it then called citizenship education (CE) rather than, for example, moral education? By beginning with citizenship conceptualisations from the perspective of statehood, we gain a better understanding of dimensions or aspects of citizenship. One oft cited exploration of citizenship is Marshall's discussion of civil, political, and social rights (Marshall, 1950, p. 10,11). From this classic liberal viewpoint, the main objective is to secure individual citizens' freedom, with the state's role being that of the protector of individual liberties (Kabeer, 2005b). However, this perspective addresses only one aspect of citizenship and lacks acknowledgement of society as a larger community with heterogeneous groups, as well as individuals with differing needs. Some have sought to provide more nuance to the citizenship discussion by looking at role and status (Heater, 2004; Heldal Stray, 2010), while others expand this to include rights, membership, and identity (Joppke, 2007). One discussion which has been useful within this dissertation delineates four dimensions of citizenship as membership, legal status, rights, and participation (K. Stokke, 2017).

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy's synthesis of citizenship conceptualisations provides three overarching categories, centring a) legal status and rights, b) democratic engagement, and c) membership and identity (Leydet, 2017). – Which align well with Osler and Starkey's (2005) categories status, practice, and feeling, as well as Stokke's (2017) delineation. Furthermore, while these categories are not definitive, they offer a lens for understanding the strands of research within CE, since citizenship is mostly approached as an implicit concept. Thus, there is research which looks at children's and youth's understandings of *rights*, or rights and responsibilities, while the adjacent field of human rights education (HRE) also explores children's and youth's perception of rights. Another strand is that of active citizenship which focuses on participation or *democratic engagement*. While active citizenship is not a main focus of this thesis, the rhetoric of participation converges with discourses on integration for minority and newer citizens (Mouritsen &

Jaeger, 2018), and surfaces as a recurring theme in this dissertation's data. Research on inclusion and appreciation of diversity implicitly covers ideas of *membership*, while a parallel field focuses on children's and youth's attitudes toward in and out groups. Other adjacent fields explore citizenship aspects without explicit recourse to citizenship terminology, such as research on *identity* among minority youth. Additionally, there is a large body of literature which explores citizenship, without focusing on the educational aspect, such as discussions on the politics of belonging (for example (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2007) and the larger debate about minorities within societies, particularly racialised minorities in Western nations (for example (Bloemraad et al., 2019; Erdal & Sagmo, 2017; Lentin, 2008)). The mapping thus utilises an organisational framework which focuses on the three overarching citizenship dimensions: legal status and rights, democratic engagement, and membership and identity.

2.2 Citizenship education broadly

Citizenship education (CE) is an inherently normative field (Olson & Zimenkova, 2015), as are the educational sciences more generally. The German speaking tradition approaches

education as a process that in some way or form should support the emancipation of children towards (a certain degree of) self-determination (Biesta et al., 2015, p. 4).

One of the most well-known concepts within this tradition is that of *bildung*, which can be understood as the development of the individual's potential and agency as well as socialisation and exploration within one's community (Friesen, 2015). Ideas of *bildung* strongly influenced John Dewey and are visible in his 1916 book, *Democracy and Education*. While various CE frameworks have since been developed, this foundational educational concept of *bildung* resonates with an important

normative democratic objective: inclusive citizenship. In an anthology, Kabeer (2005a) highlights the central themes from research with marginalised groups, identifying the following as imperative to inclusive citizenship: justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity. These concepts clarify understanding of inclusive citizenship as a normative ideal and are mirrored in Dewey's writings. From a *bildung* perspective, it could be said that recognition and self-determination relate to the individual's potential and agency, while justice and solidarity relate to one's interaction with and place within the community. The following quotation from Dewey demonstrates the correlation between *bildung*, CE, and inclusive citizenship:

In the broadest sense, social efficiency is nothing less than that socialization of mind which is actively concerned in making experiences more communicable; in breaking down the barriers of social stratification which make individuals impervious to the interests of others [*justice*]. ... For sympathy as a desirable quality is something more than mere feeling; it is a cultivated imagination for what men have in common and a rebellion at whatever unnecessarily divides them [*solidarity*]. What is sometimes called a benevolent interest in others may be but an unwitting mask for an attempt to dictate to them what their good shall be, instead of an endeavor to free them so that they may seek and find the good of their own choice [*self-determination*]. Social efficiency, even social service, are hard and metallic things when severed from an active acknowledgment of the diversity of goods which life may afford to different persons [*recognition*], and from faith in the social utility of encouraging every individual to make his own choice intelligent [*self-determination*]. (Dewey, 1916, p. 141) [*Inclusive citizenship themes added in brackets.*]

The correlation between foundational educational ideas of *bildung*, Dewey's democratic CE, and inclusive citizenship discourse are

important in understanding the ongoing normative aim of transferring values to children which will be of benefit to humanity as a whole. While nation building projects have co-opted CE for nationalistic purposes, social justice movements have challenged homogenous conceptualisations of nationality and highlighted the need for an emphasis on diversity (Banks, 2011, 2013). Meanwhile, in addition to global citizenship, diverse formulations of CE have been put forth by researchers and educators, such as multicultural citizenship, active citizenship, European citizenship, democratic citizenship, and cosmopolitan citizenship (Banks, 2013; Kiwan, 2008; Osler, 2017b). Some also argue that human rights education (HRE) should be a stronger focus due to its emphasis on humanity's collective rights rather than national rights (Kymlicka, 2017; Skeie, 2014; Vesterdal, 2016).

Important Western contributors to CE on a theoretical as well as empirical level include, but are not limited to: James A. Banks (2004, 2008, 2009a, 2011, 2017b, 2017a, 2018), Audrey Osler (Burner & Osler, 2021; Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Magendzo & Osler, 2020; 2000, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017b, 2017a, 2018; Osler & Lybaek, 2014; Osler & Stokke, 2020; Solhaug & Osler, 2018), Will Kymlicka (Bloemraad et al., 2019; 2003, 2011, 2017; Pföstl & Kymlicka, 2015), Hugh Starkey (Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2018; Starkey, 2007; Starkey et al., 2014), and Michalinos Zembylas (Palaiologou & Zembylas, 2018; 2015, 2017b, 2017a, 2019a, 2019b, 2020, 2021; Zembylas et al., 2017, 2018).

Some of the recurring themes in their discussions are democratic and 'soft' ideas of appreciation of cultural diversity, minority contributions to nation states, and promotion of tolerance and dialogue, in addition to rights-based discussions of social justice and human rights. For example, Banks (2017b) discusses what he terms failed citizenship, describing minorities and their community-centred withdrawal from national identity and participation due to processes of disenfranchisement. He outlines levels of citizenship, arguing that recognised citizenship and

participatory citizenship are insufficient, and that transformative citizenship is the goal. Transformative citizenship includes not just participation, but action which leads to the realisation of social justice and human rights for marginalised communities, even if those actions are not legal—such as the actions of Rosa Parks and Mahatma Gandhi.

The recurrence of democratic culturally relevant ideals together with rights can be seen in, for example, Banks' (2013) discussion of the development of multicultural education and its overlaps with CE, while Kymlicka (2017) discusses debates on the connections between CE and human rights education (HRE). Zembylas and Palaiologou (2018) argue that while multiculturalism and diversity as overarching themes encompass many of the challenges in both CE and HRE, there is also an interconnect between the two in *intercultural* perspectives.

In addition to the connections made between multicultural education, HRE, and CE (Banks, 2009b, 2009a, 2013), various theoretical frameworks have been adopted and adapted for use in CE analysis. Solhaug and Osler (2018) use Kabeer's inclusive citizenship framework in their analysis of students' intercultural empathy within the context of CE, while Zembylas (2015, 2019a, 2019b, 2020) has theorised affect, resistance, and the pedagogy of discomfort as tools in CE research and analysis. Other researchers are also employing decoloniality (Andreotti, 2011; Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020). For example, the anthology *Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education* (Abdi et al., 2015) offers contributions on national and regional contexts, such as Canada, Africa, and the Middle East; digital culture and citizenship; critiques of neo-liberal capitalist incursions into education; and discussions of social justice as well as gendered re-envisioning of citizenship and agency.

This brief overview provides a glimpse into the breadth of the discussions, and the literature mapping below is not confined to the field of CE. Adjacent fields, for example, human rights education (HRE) and anti-racist education, supplement the mapping due to the focus within

this thesis being on inclusion. Overall, most of the mapped research falls within the broad spectrum of educational research. Furthermore, due to the Nordic or Norwegian context of this dissertation, there is strong emphasis in the mapping on research from the Nordic countries.

2.3 Membership and Identity

Numerous researchers have implicitly approached the citizenship aspect of membership through looking at discourses which serve to include or exclude. Much of this literature either implicitly or explicitly focuses on the relationship between the majority and the minority, where minority as a term broadly covers immigrants and others who are at the margins of societal membership.

2.3.1 Educational policy, curricula, and textbooks

Beginning at a macro-meso level, following are some examples of the research which focuses on discourses. On the international level, Fylkesnes (2018) conducted a literature review exploring the term cultural diversity in teacher education research and found that while much of the research does not define the term, through the lens of Whiteness it becomes evident that the term is often used as a pseudonym for the non-white Other. Likewise, Osler and Lybaek (Osler, 2017a; Osler & Lybaek, 2014) compared educational policy on CE in the U.K. and Norway, and showed that despite the differences there is an understanding that minorities are essentially deficient and need guidance to learn ‘our’—or the majority’s—values and democratic way of life.

Utilising anti-discrimination perspectives, Røthing’s (2015) analysis of 8th-10th grade social science textbooks and Norwegian national curricula from 1997 to 2013 led her to conclude that there is insufficient discussion and acknowledgement of power, and of racism as a problem in

Norwegian society. Eriksen (2018) analysed discourses surrounding the Sami indigenous minority in the Norwegian Core Curriculum 2017 and found tensions between the political ambition to include Sami perspectives and the reifying of Sami perspectives into a single story. Normand's (2020) analysis of Norwegian textbook representation of 'immigrant Others' from 1905 to 2013 shows the shift from a complete absence to a conflictual inclusion, where both their stories and voices are represented while their presence in Norway is also problematised and linked to societal problems. Fylkesnes (2019) utilised the concept of Whiteness to analyse the term 'diversity' within six Norwegian policy documents on teacher education, including the 2009 White Paper on teacher education and the 2010 primary school teacher national guidelines. Through her analysis, she problematises emergent themes, such as the hierarchal description of student categories as per their Norwegian-ness as well as the teacher imperative to aid assimilation of non-native Norwegian speakers.

What such examples of the research on the macro-meso level demonstrate is that while there is a political rhetoric on diversity and inclusion which is central at both the national and international level, the proverbial nuts and bolts of translating good intentions into reality is fraught with challenges due to what could be described as the majority gaze. From the majority gaze, everything that 'we' do is normal and acceptable; while everything that 'they' do deviates from this invisible normal and must therefore be either accommodated, managed, or simplified in order to comply with 'our' fixed categories. Thus, 'they' must be assimilated in order to be afforded full citizen membership (Razack, 2004).

2.3.2 Through the lens of teacher educators, teachers, and student teachers

In this section, the meso-micro level of teacher perspectives is explored. Fylkesnes and her colleagues (2018) explored understandings of diversity through interviews with Norwegian teacher educators and found a duality and messiness around the concept. On one hand, diversity was framed as a positive thing and a potential resource, while it was also strongly associated with difference or otherness and understood as something that could be challenging and needed to be managed. Furthermore, Nilsen, Fylkesnes, and Mausethagen (2017) analysed these interviews for the discursive patterns associated with othering. They found seven categories of othering: cultural, social, linguistic, cognitive, migrational, visible, and religious—mostly associated with implicit or explicit use of the pronoun ‘they’.

Looking at inclusion through observation of teachers, Andresen (2020) explored teachers’ navigation of boundaries of Norwegian-ness. She found that while approaches varied between schools with less or more minority students, the notion of Norwegian citizenship as an equality-based ideal was prevalent. However, while ideas of Norwegian culture were often expanded to become more inclusive, ideas of Norwegian values were often more rigid.

In Lindquist and Osler’s (2016) discussions with student teachers in Norway on navigating race and ethnicity, they found that overall, their respondents felt that they lacked the competence to address, for example, discriminatory comments in the classroom. Others admitted that they would likely ignore such comments in order to avoid having to address the issue. Lindquist and Osler (2016) conclude that an explicit language is needed in order to address issues of racial and religious discrimination and that a focus on tolerance is inadequate.

Additionally, research on diversity in the Norwegian educational setting often highlights language. For example, Burner and Biseth (2016) conducted research focusing on teachers' understandings of and experiences working with diversity. Regarding teacher understandings, difference was the most repeated theme, with language, culture, and religion following. As for teacher experiences, in keeping with an earlier educational focus on helping children with minority language backgrounds, helping second language learners was the most repeated theme, followed by inclusion and acknowledgement.

These examples demonstrate a similar trend as the previous section, highlighting the diversity / inclusion rhetoric which teachers understand as central and important to discussions of belonging and Norwegian-ness, while the realities of diversity or *difference* pose challenges. Teachers and educators must thus translate the high-minded ideals of policy documents into inclusive learning environments for students and student teachers, while being part of and influenced by their socio-political environments—as well as policy documents which send mixed signals. Again, the majority gaze may shroud the 'norm' with invisibility and thus raises the question of the situatedness of the teachers. Only Andresen (2020) explicitly states that her research participants were white, while the context and results of the other articles indicates that their informants also viewed membership from the standpoint of the majority. Statistics are not available on the number of teachers in Norway with a minority background (Burner & Osler, 2021), but a perusal of employed teachers on state school websites reveals low levels of teachers of colour and / or teachers with non-Norwegian names (factors which may indicate a minority background).

Some educational researchers have looked at CE from the perspective of minority teachers' experiences. For example, Osler and Burner (Burner & Osler, 2021; Osler, 2017a) have used life history methodology to explore how teachers of colour in Norway and the U.K. draw on their

own experience to challenge prejudicial understandings of citizenship. Similar findings surface in studies from the U.S. For example, Rodríguez (2018) explored the experiences of three Asian American teachers and reported on their renegotiating of the meaning of citizenship in order to empower their students. Vickery (2015, 2017) and Kim (2021) focused on African American women and three teachers of colour from various backgrounds respectively. Their research also highlights experientially informed approaches to social science and CE, and how their informants' positionalities were employed as resources in their citizenship practice and teaching which decentred ethnocentric rhetoric.

In the adjacent field of anti-racist education, Arneback and her colleagues (Arneback et al., 2021; 2021) explore the anti-racist work of both white and non-white teachers in schools. In teachers' work with students (Arneback & Jämte, 2021), they identified various action typologies, namely emancipatory, norm-critical, intercultural, democratic, relational, and knowledge-based. While such work with students was context specific and challenging, their discussion of teachers' anti-racist work with teacher colleagues was particularly telling (Arneback et al., 2021). They found that there were definitive costs to being the teacher colleague who spoke out against racialised prejudicial comments, particularly when the comments were framed as jokes. And yet, while such institutionalised racism could be difficult for white teachers to address, teachers of colour had an additional layer of difficulty in that they themselves were often the brunt of snide remarks or 'jokes'.

Collectively, these findings demonstrate that on the meso-micro level of teachers, institutionalised prejudices which exclude minorities, or the Other, from Western societies are deeply rooted. It thus becomes clear that membership as a dimension of citizenship is granted or denied on a variety of levels, and the challenges for teachers vary depending on their positionality. It could be deduced from the research that the difficulty for

majority teachers who view the issues predominantly from that of the majority perspective is to be able to fully recognise the barriers to membership faced by minorities. This would require a willingness to educate themselves on the issues beyond what conflictual messages are conveyed by policy documents to the point that they are able to challenge societal prejudicial norms. From the research in Norway, it seems that this is the case for most teachers. For majority teachers who are sensitised to minority barriers to full membership, they still face difficulties in challenging institutional prejudices. Moreover, for minority and teachers of colour, while they are usually acutely aware of institutionalised prejudices, their lived experience demonstrates the multi-layered difficulty of challenging exclusive membership discourses with their students and among their colleagues, while also experiencing othering themselves.

2.3.3 School environment and student perspectives

Research has also been conducted on concepts related to membership in school environments and from student perspectives. Some of this research has been conducted in lesson settings where both the teacher's and students' dialogues are analysed, while in other research, the researcher teaches one or more lessons as part of the (action) research methodology.

Svendsen (2014) used the theory of affect as a conceptual lens for analysing a school lesson with 13-14 year olds regarding the benefits and challenges of multicultural societies. She found that due to the teacher avoiding explicitly addressing racialised issues in contemporary society, while simultaneously negating race as a defunct biological category, the lesson failed in its purpose. The discussion became racially charged, with some student group work discussions reifying stereotypes, eventually resulting in angry reactions from othered students.

Eriksen (2020) also encountered an avoidance of discussing race among children (ages 10-13) in her research. As part of her research methodology, she conducted lessons on what it could mean to be Norwegian. She found that monocultural conventions were the most repeated theme in definitions of Norwegian-ness. This was followed by ancestry, then liberal multiculturalism with reference to legal citizenship. She also used the concept of affect in analysing the data and shows that majority students tried to be inclusive towards minority students, and while they quickly resorted to ancestry or genealogy to define Norwegian-ness, they were uncomfortable with being very definitive about skin colour as an indicator of Norwegian-ness. Other students resorted to sarcasm to cover their embarrassment at having made potentially racist comments, due to insecurities regarding the correct vocabulary for such discussions. Interestingly, after Eriksen's lessons with the students, the preponderance of answers changed slightly. Liberal multiculturalism took first place followed by monocultural conventions, affective responses, and then ancestry or genealogy.

Erdal and Strømsø's (Erdal, 2019; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018, 2021) research focused on students' negotiations of national belonging. The researchers collected 289 written samples and conducted 33 group interviews and group activities (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). One key finding is the centrality of language in negotiations of belonging. In a group activity where the students organised different markers of belonging (such as parentage, skin colour, and speaking Norwegian), students placed speaking Norwegian at the centre (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). In students' discussion of belonging, ancestry was the starting point for defining their own Norwegian-ness, but as diverse opinions were added to the conversation, other markers, such as growing up in Norway, gained prominence (Erdal, 2019). Their findings also highlight the visual or physical appearance as central, particularly in first impressions regarding who is Norwegian (Erdal & Strømsø, 2021). Importantly, they show that while discussions of national belonging

often take ethno-nationalist rhetoric as the starting point, young people are open to negotiating and widening boundaries based on their own and their peers' experiences.

Solbue, Helleve, and Smith (2017) conducted case study analysis of a classroom environment which most of the students considered inclusive. Almost fifty percent of the class had immigrant backgrounds and the teacher's role in facilitating an inclusive environment was implicit. Conflict was arbitrated amicably, and all students felt responsible for maintaining an inclusive environment. However, there was one girl who was outside the inclusive fellowship even while the teacher tried to facilitate inclusion and some students reflected on the suboptimal situation. Thus, even in ideal cases, there can still be challenges to creating an inclusive environment.

Solhaug and Kristensen (2020) conducted quantitative comparative analysis of Danish and Norwegian high school (ages 16-19) students' intercultural competence using an inclusive citizenship framework. They measured for 1) empathy, emotion, and perspective taking, 2) self-assessed cognitive knowledge of the Other and diversity, 3) intercultural awareness, and 4) self-assessed interpersonal relations. Independent variables included gender, languages spoken at home (multilingualism), cultural capital, and degree of school diversity. Females scored higher than males on empathy (1), awareness (3), and somewhat in knowledge (2). Overall, the most significant correlations were between gender (female) and the empathy dimension (1) followed by gender (female) and intercultural awareness (3). Some significance was also detected between the degree of cultural capital and the knowledge dimension, as well as bilingualism and knowledge. Additionally, Norwegian students scored higher than Danish students on empathy (1, moderately), and awareness (3, somewhat).

Solhaug and Osler (2018) conducted quantitative research with students (grades eight to thirteen) from five schools in Norway (N = 1006). In

addition to inclusion of the independent and dependant variables used in the study above, this study included multiple dimensions of adapted human rights teaching and perception of human rights teaching as independent variables. While most of the hypotheses tested in this study were only mildly to moderately significant in the regression analysis, gender stood out as significant. Both studies show that the gender difference, with females scoring higher on empathy and awareness than their male counterparts, is supported by previous research. Furthermore, they argue that women's socio-historical position as subordinate to men has engendered stronger identification with and empathy among women towards marginalised groups or individuals.

Another focus within research on school environments and membership is that of aggression and bullying. Research highlighting minority and immigrant children in schools shows that the aggressive behaviour and bullying perpetrated by minority or immigrant children is a function of their need to belong—or membership, while there are other underlying causes for majority children's perpetration of bullying (Fandrem et al., 2012, 2021; Strohmeier et al., 2012). Additionally, negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration were correlated with racialised bullying, while perceived popularity was correlated with general bullying (Caravita et al., 2020). Research on the impact of class environment shows that teacher intolerance for racialised bullying had a strong impact on culturally open children, while it had less impact on those with stronger prejudice (Bayram Özdemir & Özdemir, 2020).

A special issue in the *European Psychologist* journal focused on immigrant youths' adaptation challenges and resources (Motti-Stefanidi & Salmela-Aro, 2018). The editors showed through discussion of the included cases that while inclusion by host communities is positive, discrimination and exclusion not only have negative impacts on youth development, but they can also become risk factors in radicalisation.

Additionally, there is a field of research that more generally explores children's and youth's perspectives on the Other, or attitudes towards in and out groups (Oppenheimer & Barrett, 2011). A special issue on the topic, covering six countries, highlighted socio-historical factors and the presence or absence of conflict as playing a significant role in children's perspectives on the Other (Oppenheimer, 2011). Following this line of enquiry, Lam and Katona (2018) found that, adjusting for socio-economic factors, most Hungarian youth (13-18 years) held to stereotypes regarding favourable and unfavourable out-groups. Research has also been conducted on both sides of Cyprus. Mertan's (2011) research focuses on Turkish-Cypriot 7-11 year olds' and found that students had a strong national pride as well as a high degree of negative associations with Greek-Cypriots. On the other side of the island, Christou and Spyrou (2017) compared research conducted over several years, and found that Greek-Cypriot children's (10-12 years) relationship to the Turkish-Cypriot Other developed and became more nuanced after the opening of the green-line border between the north and the south and personal visits to the other side. Such research shows that local contexts and stereotypes shape prejudicial attitudes towards the Other in children and youth, and Mertan (2011) specifically highlights the role of the mediascape in promulgating nationalist storylines.

Other research explores children's and youth's sociolinguistic appraisals of belonging. Kinzler and DeJesus' (2013) research with 5-6 year olds found that while the children categorised people as 'nice' or 'mean' depending on their behaviour, appraisal of their nationality—in this case American or not—was based solely on their linguistic accent. Røyneland and Jensen's (2020) research with 17-19 year old Norwegians provided them audio and visual material for assigning belonging. The results show that while prejudice related to skin colour is strong, speaking a regional Norwegian dialect—rather than the standard or Oslo dialect—increases the likelihood that a person of colour may be categorised as Norwegian. This could be a very context specific finding to Norway, as their survey

results show that dialect acquisition is considered open to immigrants in contrast to research from the Netherlands where immigrants are made to feel uncomfortable speaking dialect (Cornips, 2020).

There is also considerable research focusing on minority youth within Western nations—particularly youth with immigrant parents—examining their experiences in school as well as their relationship to the majority more generally. For example, Abu El-Haj and Bonet (2007; 2011) researched Palestinian-American youth post 9/11 and analysed their negotiated identities and the ways in which they express active citizenship, drawing conclusions for CE. Meanwhile, Anthias (2002) explored Greek-Cypriot British youth's negotiated belonging in the U.K., where they navigate between being neither black nor white. While minority groups in these research projects are different, the findings echo themes from research with Norwegian minority youth, showing the navigation of hybrid identities in white majority societies that often delegitimise hybridity.

Within the Norwegian context, research on minority youth has explored their political engagement (Jacobsen & Andersson, 2012), their self-representation on social media (Mainsah, 2011), identity work among minority youth (Andersson, 2000), their appraisal of symbolic recognition (Nærland, 2019), Muslim girls' experiences in physical education (Walseth, 2015), religious disclosure among youth (Vassenden & Andersson, 2011), minority language students in school (Hilt, 2017), as well as gaming and identity construction among minority youth (Dralega & Corneliussen, 2018). This research paints a picture of the challenges which minority youth face in claiming belonging within a society where national identity is closely knit with conceptions of whiteness (Svendsen, 2014).

A newer generation of Norway's minorities echo this frustration and have added their own voices on issues of belonging and their place in Norwegian society. Minorities have submitted opinion pieces, been

interviewed, and taken up controversial issues on national television and in media outlets (Al-Hussaini, 2017, 2020; A. D. Johansen, 2020; Lundestad Joof, 2019; NRK P3, 2017; NRK1, 2017; Sebjørnsen, 2010), as well as in book and magazine anthology contributions (Naqvi, 2019; Saleem, 2019). Another example is Bushra Ishaq's (2017) book detailing her extensive research on Norwegian Muslim views: *Who speaks for us? Muslims in modern Norway—who are they and what do they think?*

Furthermore, in 2022, Ahmed Fawad Ashraf was awarded Opinion of the Year by the Oslo Association of Editors (Bjerklund, 2022) for his contribution to building up a healthy debate culture around difficult topics in the Oslo area. In his own opinion piece (Ashraf, 2022), in addition to experiences of racism, he discusses his eventual decision to stop identifying as Norwegian—and rather identify himself as having been born in Norway or, while abroad, as working for a Norwegian newspaper. He argues that this has been a freeing decision, helping to reduce the amount of micro-aggression he faces in connection with identifying as Norwegian. Ashraf (2022) envisions the next generation of Norwegians of colour as being more successful than his generation in carving out space for self-defined identity—in like manner to the increased acceptance of non-binary gender identities.

In conclusion, in these popular and academic contributions, minority Norwegians argue both for the right to belong as well as the right to a non-binary or hybrid identity.

2.4 Legal Status and Rights

There is also considerable research which focuses on the legal status and rights dimension of citizenship. In addition to policy approaches to formal citizenship and naturalisation (Brochmann & Seland, 2010; Jensen et al., 2017) as presented in the contextualisation section of the

introduction chapter (section 1.3), the field of Human Rights Education (HRE) offers insight into understandings of rights. There are also studies which focus on rights more generally while others focus specifically on responsibilities.

2.4.1 Macro level: Policy and education

One important contribution to the field of Human Rights Education (HRE) within the Norwegian context is Vesterdal's (2016) dissertation. His research shows that while the Norwegian educational policy documents espouse human rights (HR), they are framed as values and inclusive principles—serving as unifying rhetoric rather than a critical function. Furthermore, he argues that HR act as a part of Norway's branding and political image (Vesterdal, 2019), which garners soft power. Additionally, HR values are understood to correlate with Norway's humanistic values and thus contribute to a positive national identity. Such a 'feel good' approach to HR could be argued to decentre the power of HR as juridical rights.

Lile (2019) further shows that there is a rhetorical policy adherence to HR which has been inscribed into law; however, due to an understanding of equivalency between HR and Norway's Christian and humanistic values, there has been a refusal to adopt a national plan of action for implementation of HRE.

These examples show that HR educational policy is framed by the majority perspective—an understanding of 'us' as a sufficiently just democratic nation. This results in an unwillingness to critically examine injustices or HR violations within the Norwegian context.

2.4.2 Teachers' understandings

With regard to teachers, Vesterdal's (2016) research shows diversity and ambiguity in their understandings of human rights (HR). Furthermore, lack of formal HR training combined with the understanding of HR as part of Norwegian national values lends itself to implicit teaching on HR as core principles in correlation with democracy. Thus, there is a commitment to HR while critical exploration of (potential) local HR violations is lacking. Conversely, explicit HR teaching usually involves study of severe abuses in distant lands, leading to a dichotomous understanding that HR violations happen in Other undemocratic countries rather than in peaceful democratic Norway.

The othering of HR violations can similarly be seen in the Cypriot context. Zembylas, Charalambous, and Charalambous' (2016) research shows Greek-Cypriot teachers highlighting the HR abuses suffered by their own community while most teachers ignored the suffering of the Turkish-Cypriot Other.

In further workshops with teachers, the researchers facilitated exploration of HR teaching using a critical hermeneutical approach (Zembylas et al., 2017). In the Cypriot context with its history of conflict, through the workshops, the teachers realised that they would have to begin by examining their own beliefs, affective emotions, and relationship to the issue of HR abuses, while they also critically reflected on the potential challenges of classroom tensions, parental and collegial objections, and curricular limitations.

These examples, particularly those from Norway, confirm the trend in Western nations (Barton, 2020) reported in detail by Hahn (2020) in comparative research on the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, and the U.K. She shows that explicit study of HR in schools usually focuses on abuses in Other countries rather than those within 'democratic' Western nations. Thus, the majority perspective is that 'we' are innocent of HR

violations while the Other is culpable. However, the results from the workshops in Cyprus (Zembylas et al., 2017) indicate that it is possible to foster critical reflection amongst teachers regarding HR violations in their local context(s).

2.4.3 Children's and youth's perspectives

The research on children's and youth's perspectives approaches rights from a variety of perspectives, as well as within different country contexts and shows the importance of the local and school context in students' understandings of rights.

Helwig and Turiel (2002) conducted a literature review of research on children's understanding of rights. They show that in contrast to research from the 1960s and 1970s which cast in doubt children's ability to understand concepts of rights, more recent research in both Western and non-Western contexts demonstrates children's ability to grasp issues related to rights as well as socio-political organisation.

A body of research spearheaded by Martin D. Ruck examines and compares children's and youth's understanding of rights. One of his earlier collaborative projects focuses on the changes that take place between childhood and adolescence. In Ruck, Keating, Abramovitch, and Koegl's (1998) research with Canadian students (8-16 years), they found that understandings of rights generally develop from concrete to abstract; thus, they argue that students' understanding is centred on how they view rights in their own lives. However, when the researchers zeroed in on self-determination versus nurturance rights (Ruck, Abramovitch, et al., 1998), they found that understanding of self-determination rights were more likely to develop from concrete to abstract, while understandings of nurturance rights were not. Thus, they

argue that global or universalistic frameworks regarding children's reasoning on rights must be nuanced.

Interestingly, a later study focusing on mixed-race adolescents and their mothers in South Africa (Ruck et al., 2011) found that both mothers and children were more likely to support children's nurturance rights than self-determination rights. This demonstrates the prioritising of certain rights over other rights.

Tenebaum and Ruck (2012) investigated British young people's (11-24 years) understandings of young asylum seeker's religious versus non-religious rights—explicitly focusing on the rights of the Other. They found that younger children were more likely to support young asylum seekers' rights in general, while for the whole sample, religious rights were more likely to be endorsed than non-religious rights. A second analysis of the data took a closer look at the types of reasoning used to justify or reject young asylum seekers' rights (Ruck & Tenenbaum, 2014). Through the lens of moral reasoning versus social conventions, they found that moral reasoning was more likely to lead to support of young asylum seekers' rights while social conventions were used to reject their rights. This echoes the earlier references to the importance of societal contextual factors and the mediascape in influencing children and young people's views.

In addition to Ruck and colleagues' studies, further studies have approached the topic in diverse country contexts and from different perspectives. A study entitled “‘No-one respects them anyway’: secondary school students' perceptions of human rights education in Turkey” is the result of qualitative research with 13–14-year-olds. Çayır and Bağlı (2011) argue that unfortunately the inclusion of human rights teaching into the Turkish school curriculum had not fostered a sense of empowerment in youth. Conversely, students were aware of both national and global injustices and felt powerless.

A study in the U.K. followed up on seven schools which had implemented an initiative called ‘Rights, respect, and responsibility’ (Covell et al., 2008). They found that children in participating schools had a keen understanding of both rights and responsibilities and expressed their liking of the school environment in terms of feeling respected. Interestingly, when the researchers conducted a follow up survey with children from both implementing and non-implementing schools, they found that children at implementing schools perceived respect for Caucasian children to be greater than respect for minority, overweight, or children with disabilities. Such a result would seem to indicate that discrimination against minority, overweight, or children with disabilities was greater at implementing than non-implementing schools. The researchers speculate, however, that levels of discrimination were likely not very different at implementing and non-implementing schools, but that increased awareness of children at implementing schools—gained through the initiative—correlated to an increase in perceptions of discrimination.

Research in the Nordic context can be exemplified by Brantefors’ (2019) article “‘They don’t have as good a life as us’: a didactic study of the content of human rights education with eleven-year-old pupils in two Swedish classrooms.” Her research findings mirror themes from Vesterdal’s (2016) research with teachers, where HRE is conflated with democratic education, and HR is understood in terms of violations—specifically those happening in Other countries.

Research in Lesotho by Thakaso and Preece (2018) shows that young people (18-30 years) are very aware of their responsibilities to the community. However, they found that while young people have knowledge of rights, they explain that the language of rights was not part of their upbringing and they do not always feel confident claiming their rights.

Carter and Osler's (2000) research in a strict British school setting shows that students may view rights as being granted arbitrarily, while some students thought of the need to claim rights as a sign of weakness.

Multi-country research on youth's (13-17 year olds) understanding of rights was conducted in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Colombia, and the U.S. (Barton, 2020). The findings report rights being framed by youth in individualistic terms, closely linked to their own experiences and spheres of influence, while they demonstrate less understanding of institutional mechanisms for protecting rights. Additionally, they found that the context impacted how youth related to HR violations. For example, youth in the U.S. were more likely to frame violations as endemic to the Middle East, while youth in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Colombia were more likely to discuss HR in their own country or even neighbourhood.

Jerome, Liddle, and Young (2021) utilised deliberative discussions with youth (12-18) regarding case studies on human rights issues as a way of exploring their perspectives on rights. Their analysis reveals some shortfalls of deliberative discussions which led to more superficial exploration of HR issues than was the aim of the project. Specifically, they highlight restricted empathy and opinion-based appraisal of cases, a task completion approach with students concluding with certainty, consensus-driven discussions, as well as personal and mediascape knowledge being heavily relied upon.

Bjerke (2011) reports on results from Norway which were part of an international study on young people's (ages 8-9 and 14-15) views on responsibility. The participating children were very aware of their responsibilities, which fell into three categories: personal—such as personal hygiene and homework; social—moral behaviour towards fellow human beings; and collective—such as classroom tidying or chores. Additionally, they found students identified both the positive and negative sides: the freedom of decision-making and learning that comes

with responsibility as well as the blame that comes with having the responsibility.

These examples demonstrate the breadth of research that has been done on children's and youth's perspectives of the rights and responsibility dimension of citizenship. The research demonstrates that the context as well as the research participants' lived experience impacts noticeably on their understandings of rights. Thus, it can be challenging, similar to the challenges for teachers, for those from the majority to see issues from the perspective of the minority.

2.5 Democratic Engagement

Democratic engagement has been promoted under the banner of active citizenship which, as Mouritsen and Jaeger (2018) point out, has been framed as the solution to a wide variety of societal problems. A report on "Active citizenship in INCA countries" (Nelson & Kerr, 2006, p. iv) argues that due to varied countries contexts, the definition of active citizenship remains fluid while key elements are engagement and participation—including participation in civil and civic society. Furthermore, Ross (2012) argues that many nation states have been concerned with the low levels of voter turnout and therefore advocate for active rather than passive citizenship. This concern has been specifically projected on to younger generations (Aguilera-Barchet, 2013; Loader et al., 2014), and even youth's online activism has been dubbed 'slacktivism' (Lane & Dal Cin, 2018).

It is interesting to note the dichotomy in the discussion of children's and youth's participation which echoes themes in Bjerke's (2011) discussion of children's view of responsibility: adults want children to behave responsibly, but also want them to know their place and not meddle in issues which are considered not their concern—a discourse which has

been aimed at Greta Thunberg as well (Biswas, 2021). Thus, youth are criticised for not being interested in and participating in political processes, while Lansdown's (2009) discussion of children's participation rights shows that a prominent barrier is that adults deem children incapable of contributing to decision-making. In a similar vein, Craft (2012, p. 176) describes contrasting discourses in childhood and youth studies as 'childhood at risk' and 'childhood empowered'.

Despite these tensions, there is a strong focus in CE on participation, and much of this discussion is framed as the need for teachers and educators to foster qualities in their students which lend to their becoming active participating citizens (Heldal Stray & Sætra, 2017).

2.5.1 Examples of research with teachers

Sætra and Heldal Stray's (2019) research explored teachers' understanding of what kind of citizen they aim to educate for, building on three ideal types: politically informed citizenship, rational autonomous citizenship, and socially intelligent citizenship. They found that teachers focused to a large extent on knowledge and skills as well as critical thinking and less on democratic participation.

Yoon and Templeton (2019) examined—through the lens of their own experiences—the challenges inherent in the first step of children's participation: listening to children. From a teacher perspective, they identified "time constraints, curricular goals, and administrative demands", while from a researcher perspective, they found "institutional time, adult-informed theory, and research goals" posed challenges (Yoon & Templeton, 2019, p. 61).

2.5.2 Youth participation

There are numerous bodies of research which focus on different dimensions of children's and youth's participation. For example, some research focuses on participation at pre-school or kindergarten levels (Bergersen, 2016; Ree et al., 2019; Ree & Emilson, 2019), while other researchers have focused on voice in participatory research with youth (Liebenberg et al., 2020).

Pontes, Henn, and Griffiths (2019) specifically tried to measure the correlation between youth (age 18) taking a civics course with the likelihood of political engagement. They found that there was a higher likelihood of these youths voting, however what the study was unable to determine is whether there was a selection bias—are young people who choose to take a civics course more likely to vote regardless?

Osler and Starkey (2003) question the so-called “deficit model” framing the need for CE. Their interviews with young people (ages 13-14) in Leicester, UK, explore their identities, their community affiliations, as well as how they engage on a civic level. In addition to expressions of cosmopolitan hybrid identities, they also show young people's contribution to their communities, for example, through participation in charity or fundraising drives. In the case of children of immigrants, they may contribute to the family by, for example, acting as an interpreter at government offices and thereby also learn about state institutions.

There has been considerable concern regarding youth's apparent apathy towards political issues, and questions regarding the effectiveness of youth's online participation, while low levels of trust in politicians is a frequently mentioned factor for lack of engagement (Aguilera-Barchet, 2013; Schulz et al., 2016). The research suggests that nuanced understanding of youth's relationship to democratic and political engagement is needed and that these changing patterns of engagement

demonstrate the need to re-think conceptualisations of democratic participation (Bennett, 2012).

One instance of re-thinking categories is Amnå and Ekman's (2014; 2013) research exploring the democratic engagement of youth (age 16). In addition to the standard categorisations of active and passive, they identified two more categories which they term 'disillusioned citizens' as well as 'standby citizens'—who keep themselves informed of happenings within the political public sphere while not actively engaging. Their data reveals the largest percentage of students fall into the 'standby' category.

Hegna's (2020) chapter on youth political and civic participation examines the 2016 ICCS data from four Nordic countries: Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Norway. She lays out the arguments regarding factors leading to engagement, such as knowledge, background, and networks, bearing these in mind in her construction of indicators. Her independent variables include gender, parents' background, parents' education level, and students' educational aspirations. With engagement including such possibilities as school democracy, civic channels, discussion of socio-political topics, and intention to vote and participate politically, Norway had the largest percentage of rather / very active (22%) students. Hegna (2020) also compared engagement with interest in social and political issues. Interestingly, while Norwegian students scored highest in engagement, they scored overall lower than the other countries in interest. The different country contexts yielded different results for whether majority or minority students were more engaged. In Sweden, it was students with immigrant parents who were more active, while in Denmark they were more passive. No difference was noted in Norway. Furthermore, Hegna (2020) discusses the ICCS data regarding use of the internet to search for information on global happenings and use of social media to participate, as well as the increase in Norwegian students' engagement from the 2009 to the 2016 ICCS. She argues that

the increase in engagement combined with the relatively low levels in internet searches and social media posting indicate that traditional forms of civic engagement are on the rise while online engagement is declining. Whether this quantitative data can be used to draw such conclusions could be questioned in light of the extensive research on both youth's nuanced approach to online participation, as well as their careful approach to social media use (Bennet et al., 2010; Bennett, 2012; Bennett et al., 2011; Chalhoub et al., 2017; Lane & Dal Cin, 2018; Loader et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2019; Vromen et al., 2015).

Another nuanced look at political participation and media use examines Norwegian university students. Hovden and Moe (2017) found correlations between specific types of media use, economic and cultural capital, field of study, and political engagement. Within the four groups which they identified, they found diversity in the ways that students accessed news, whether online or from traditional sources; preferences for either international or local news; political participation through membership and meetings or through op-ed articles; as well as differing preferences in cultural entertainment.

Seippel and Strandbu (2016) utilised quantitative methods to explore political leanings of Norwegian youth (ages 14-17). Their research focus was the connection between right-leaning orientations, scepticism towards immigrants or nativism, and (dis)trust in political institutions. They found two strands of right-leaning orientations, namely nativism and economic liberalism, with only the latter being associated with lower levels of trust in institutions. Overall, they found that the political leanings of youth closely follow the trends in the general populace.

Mathé (2019) explored students' (age 16) understanding of the concept of politics, from which surfaced three categories: shaping society, ruling a country, and discussion and debate. Additionally, together with the students she explored the relationship between people and politics and encountered different understandings of this relationship depending on

the degree of political engagement of the students themselves. Together with her colleague (Mathé & Elstad, 2020), she also explored students' effort in social studies. The strongest indicators for effort in social studies were students' perception of the relevance of the lessons for preparation as full citizens as well as their perception of their own self-efficacy in the subject.

These studies explore various dimensions of children's and youth's democratic participation, while the focus is (predominantly) implicitly on the majority as there is limited acknowledgement of the potential challenges to access, or participation, which minorities face. While active citizenship has been framed as a cure to various societal problems, CE is often targeted at immigrants and refugees while alluding to the idea that assimilation is a requirement (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018). Jdid (2021) demonstrates this explicitly in her dissertation on active citizenship norms in Norway and Denmark where she draws on policy detailing refugee integration. She shows that participation is strongly emphasised in policy documents, including detailing of the types of participation which are recommended, while the onus is placed on refugees to become responsible active citizens in society.

This points to the overlap between the citizen dimensions of *democratic engagement* and *membership and identity*, and it could be argued that it is at this intersection that the research on assimilation sits. Some examples include Veck, Pagden, and Wharton's (2018) research, drawing on Zygmunt Bauman, to discuss the tensions between exclusion, assimilation, and inclusion, as well as the (negative) reaction of (some) majority parents to inclusion versus assimilation in schools. There are also studies which explore the generational impacts of assimilation on minorities (Alba et al., 2011), and the impacts of assimilation on minority children's bonding in school (Bondy et al., 2019; Peguero et al., 2017). Regarding children's and youth's democratic participation, the literature on majority children's perspective of the Other—such as children's

perspective on ‘their’ rights—addresses one aspect of the inclusive participation question; however, more research is required to fully address the question of how majority students perceive minorities’ participation as active citizens.

2.6 July 22nd and citizenship

A smaller nationally focused field which is relevant to this discussion is research conducted in the wake of the July 22nd Utøya tragedy of 2011. The event promoted national debate on such issues as democracy, freedom of speech, multiculturalism and immigration, while anti-immigrant rhetoric increased with the election of a right-leaning government (Fangen & Vaage, 2018). What is often glossed over in discussions of immigration, minorities, and multiculturalism is that minority legal citizens with non-Western backgrounds are often lumped together with non-Western residents and refugees as part of the racialised Other (Gans, 2017). Thus, legal citizenship status is in effect invalidated.

The research on post-July 22nd issues includes exploration of school discussions of democratic citizenship and the terror attack (Anker & von der Lippe, 2015), what it means to be Norwegian and multicultural Norway post-July 22nd (Erdal, 2018; Kolås, 2017), media debates on freedom of expression and multiculturalism post July 22nd (Eide et al., 2013), the impact of anti-racist efforts and diversity programs (C. Stokke, 2019), anti-immigrant rhetoric after July 22nd (Wiggen, 2012), survivors’ reflections on media post-July 22nd (Glad et al., 2018), constructs of July 22nd remembrance (Hakvåg, 2015), and victims and survivors’ social media use (Frey, 2018). Political participation—particularly having been present at the 2011 Utøya event—has also been used in public debate as an argument for minority retention of legal citizenship for those threatened with expulsion (Berge, 2015; Kessel, 2017; Orange, 2013). Thus, the tragedy of July 22nd forms an important

part of the national context for discussions of minority citizens and discourse within the public sphere.

3 Theory

This dissertation is embedded in the citizenship education (CE) tradition, however, as the mapping of relevant literature has shown (Chapter two), citizenship as a broader concept encompasses numerous dimensions. The mapping also demonstrates that due to inherent heterogeneity, varying frameworks have been utilised by CE researchers in order to facilitate exploration of implicit citizenship dimensions. In order to account for this heterogeneity, this thesis utilises an organising framework focusing on three dimensions of citizenship, namely: legal status and rights, democratic engagement, and membership and identity (Leydet, 2017; Osler & Starkey, 2005; K. Stokke, 2017). Within the articles which offer the main findings of the dissertation, this organising framework is supplemented by various theoretical lenses which capture the nuances of the citizenship dimensions discussed with informants.

However, there are a number of underlying assumptions which play a role in the research process, including norms and values. CE is also a normative endeavour and a recurring theme in the literature is the ideal of inclusion versus exclusion. Thus, in addition to the overarching organising citizenship framework, this chapter will explore underlying assumptions, such as values and normative, as well as discursive understandings of inclusivity, focusing on Kabeer's (2005a) inclusive citizenship with its sensitising concepts which are utilised in each of the articles which present the findings of this thesis.

Furthermore, this chapter offers an explication of the terms majority and minority, discussion of the theoretical lenses used in the articles, as well as an exploration of theoretical approaches to methodology and analysis.

3.1 Organising Citizenship Framework

With the diversity of conceptualisations of citizenship available, it is vital to be clear about how citizenship is conceptualised in this dissertation. Many discussions of citizenship focus on one dimension without explicitly acknowledging that citizenship is multi-dimensional. This is especially true in citizenship education (CE) where the concept itself is rarely the central theme. However, Osler and Starkey (2005) offer a delineation of citizenship as status, feeling, and practice in their CE book “Changing Citizenship” which correlate with the dimensions utilised in this dissertation.

Firstly, Stokke’s (2017) delineation is particularly relevant to exploration of citizenship dimensions as his focus is on inclusion, which is a normative objective of democratic CE. He highlights four dimensions as membership, legal status, rights, and participation, arguing that without experiencing inclusion in all four dimensions, full citizenship will not be realised. The article explores developments in citizenship thinking, such as the cultural turn and the global turn, concluding that “citizenship politics [is] contentious interactions over the institutionalisation and realisation” of citizenship (K. Stokke, 2017, p. 204). His analysis includes issues such as identity politics, while he clarifies:

Whereas membership and legal status are about cultural and juridical inclusion in communities of citizens, both rights and participation are about the entitlements and responsibilities that follow from such inclusion (K. Stokke, 2017, p. 194).

This approach is important, particularly in setting politico-institutionalised inclusion in focus. However, when exploring dimensions as per CE research, the axes do not correlate perfectly. For example, Norwegian-ness is often conflated with legal status in findings from research with children and youth (c.f. (Erdal & Sagmo, 2017; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018; Eriksen, 2020; Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020), thus it is vital for identity to be highlighted in dimensional delineations. Secondly,

as the literature mapping has shown, CE does not have as strong a focus on legal status and thus I have chosen to combine legal status and rights.

In line with Osler and Starkey's (2005) dimensions, the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Leydet, 2017) offers three generalised categories: legal, political, and identity. I have adjusted the dimension titles to better reflect the strains of research visible in CE, namely: Membership and identity, legal status and rights, and democratic engagement.

As Stokke (2017) highlights, the membership and identity dimension of citizenship does include legal status or legal citizenship. However, in popular debate, legal citizenship is often side-lined by ethno-nationalist rhetoric centring 'cultural' belonging (Fangen & Vaage, 2018). Thus, some would argue that Norwegian legal citizenship (*statsborgerskap*) does not necessarily equate to being Norwegian. This is underscored when considering who is doing the defining. Self-definition might offer one viewpoint, while external perceptions might proffer another, as Osler and Starkey (2005) also highlight in their discussion of the dimension feeling. Leydet (2017) states that identity can be the most problematic or challenging dimension to clarify as there may be multiple overlapping and competing viewpoints and aspects to consider.

Legal status could be understood as a straightforward dimension including the notion of rights, and at times this may be the case (Leydet, 2017), as with Osler and Starkey's (2005) status dimension. However, they also highlight that different countries have diverse status regimes, while they show that status may not grant unrestricted access to rights. Therefore, while I combine the categories of legal status and rights (K. Stokke, 2017), I also choose to highlight rights explicitly. Additionally, perceptions may play a role in rights. As shown in research with children and youth, some rights may be prioritised over others while certain rights may be considered more legitimate than others (Ruck et al., 2011; Ruck & Tenenbaum, 2014).

As for democratic engagement or participation, Stokke's (2017) discussion shows that this can be seen both as an entitlement as well as a responsibility. Osler and Starkey's (2005) practice dimension draws in ideas of agency enacted in spaces one feels a sense of ownership – not necessarily dependent on legal citizenship. As the earlier discussion of active citizenship has shown, democratic participation is an important objective for politicians as well as educators (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018; Nelson & Kerr, 2006; Ross, 2012). However, conceptualisations may be problematic in at least two ways. In looking at participation expectations for children and young people, there may be conflicting discourses about their capabilities – whether they should mind their own business and not concern themselves with adult matters (Biswas, 2021) framing them as too young to participate (Lansdown, 2009), or conversely, that they have agency and a responsibility to participate in solving world problems (Bennett, 2012; Bennett et al., 2011). In regards to minorities, active citizenship discourses may become conflated with assimilation narratives where immigrants, refugees, and other minorities are expected to adopt 'our' Western values and way of life in order to be considered responsible active citizens (Jdid, 2021; Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018).

These three dimensions – membership and identity, legal status and rights, and democratic engagement – act as the organising citizenship framework for this dissertation. These dimensions are not exhaustive, and these categorisations may not be ideal in every citizenship discussion. However, in order to highlight this dissertation's contribution to CE, this organising framework offers a way forward.

3.2 *Majority and minority*

Inherent in understandings of democratic citizenship is the centrality of deliberation and negotiation between groups (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001), such as between the majority and minority. However, defining the terms

majority and minority can be problematic. Firstly, the terms are context dependent. Secondly, they can lend themselves to the reproduction of stereotypes.

The context of this dissertation informs the basic understanding of who might be considered majority and minority. As the discursive conflict is often between democratic CE (understood as inclusive) versus exclusionary public sphere rhetoric, definition of the majority could be approached from the perspective of public debate on the ‘immigration problem’ (Fangen & Vaage, 2018). Within such a context, it could be argued that the majority are those who are unlikely to experience othering due to being categorised as an ‘immigrant’—for example, due to physical appearance, audible language, name, or clothing. This, of course, excludes certain minority groups, such as LGBTIQ+ and persons with disability, as outside the scope of this dissertation. However, as these groups which are outside the scope of this dissertation indicate, not everyone whose difference is less visible—and thus may be identified as part of the majority—would necessarily define themselves as part of the majority. For example, Ekelund (2021) highlights the case of a Norwegian / Scottish young man who experienced pressure to identify *only* as Norwegian rather than as Norwegian *and* Scottish. This seems to echo the Norwegian statistics bureau’s understanding of persons with one (‘ethnic’) Norwegian parent as non-immigrants (Dzamarija, 2014). In the context of this dissertation and how positionality impacts on understandings of citizenship, a liberal definition of minority is therefore frequently applied which includes such hybrid positionalities, including those with less visible difference.

This broad definition thus begs the question, is ‘minority’ a synonym for ‘marginalised’? I would argue they are not synonyms; however, from rhetoric in the public sphere, such as anti-immigrant narratives, it is understood that the minority are more *likely* to be marginalised. It could also be questioned whether the minority are equivalent to Spivak’s subaltern (Balibar & Spivak, 2016). Without going in-depth into

intersectionality, it could be understood that the subaltern are a subgroup of the minority and perhaps ‘minority’ in more than one category (Crenshaw, 1989). Thus, when I discuss issues such as limited access to rights, it is with the understanding that not all minorities under such a contextually broad definition experience marginalisation to the same degree. – Particularly in the context of populist discourses which posit whiteness as legitimate European-ness.

Hybridity is a term used in this dissertation and which includes those, such as Ekelund’s (2021) Norwegian / Scottish young man, who sit at the crossroads of cultures. While Bhabha’s (2015) hybridity pertains specifically to the meeting of coloniser and colonised, I use the term more broadly in reference to the space between majority culture and minority culture. Furthermore, I have avoided defining culture, using it broadly to cover norms—including those which the majority might consider Other.

This understanding is, of course, influenced by own experience of sharing certain features with the majority, namely physical appearance and ancestry, while lacking other features, such as linguistic skill and cultural norms or understandings. To clarify, this is not to claim that a white ‘expat’ experiences the same degree of othering as, for example, a non-white refugee or even a work migrant / expat of colour. However, in a more general sense, the white expat (work migrant) also has a positionality which includes (in)visible difference—which offers the *potential* to relate to Otherness. On the other hand, in addition to class (power) dimensions, white expats (work migrant) may have the option of hiding or allowing their differences to remain invisible. Thus, the terms majority and minority are used with the understanding that they carry inherent subjectivity and inequality, and thus are often arbitrary.

3.3 *Theoretical approaches to methodology*

Theory and concepts play an important role in pointing a spotlight on issues to be considered when analysing data, but there are also epistemological issues and underlying assumptions. In order to be clear and open about my epistemological stance, I will start with a discussion of the values and norms which have guided this research.

3.3.1 *Feminist epistemology, values, and normativity*

Democracy and democratic ideals are much taken for granted values in Western contemporary societies. They have strong normative functions and are often invoked in research, such as Harding's (2004, p. 56) statement that "Democracy-advancing values have systematically generated less partial and distorted beliefs than others." She later admits that there is considerable ambivalence regarding what constitutes democratic methods, neither does she clarify why democratic values are better (Crasnow, 2014). Regardless of her lack of explication, it is clear that democratic values play an important role in society, particularly Western society.

However, at times values—normative, moral, and political—can become conflated. For example, there are strong Western normative ideas about the importance of a nation being democratic, while globally, individuals are encouraged to be good citizens (although what a 'good' citizen is would be context specific). The normative value of a democratic government is so high in Western esteem that other values, such as sovereignty and peace as opposed to war, are often ignored in order to, for example, install a 'democratic' government in non-compliant countries. Of course, there are usually other real reasons behind government installations, however the politically acceptable justification is usually promotion of democracy and free participation for citizens. This is the case, despite the fact that citizen participation in democratic

governance is contentious (Christiano, 2018). Alternately, values may be context specific or situated within the lifeworld, such as in CE. What constitutes a good citizen in a Norwegian context may not be the same in Kenya or Singapore (Lee, 2006).

Awareness of potentially conflictual values and underlying assumptions is vital for clarifying what knowledge is valued and sought after. Academic norms emphasise objectivity in research, which some have called ‘the view from nowhere’ (Wylie, 2014, p. 68). However, feminist standpoint theory highlights the fact that academic norms themselves are built on a particular socio-historic lifeworld and therefore are often, essentially, blind to their own biases (Harding, 2004). Wylie’s (2014) discussion of contrasting archaeology cases shows that an uncritical self-imagined objectivity can sorely mask biases, while open cooperation with peoples with marginal lifeworld perspectives can unmask false assumptions. This was the case when cooperative research on human remains confirmed oral tradition regarding close ties between ancient inland and coastal peoples, contrary to earlier assumptions regarding ancient peoples being regionally bounded (Wylie, 2014).

Harding (2004) credits Hegel with being a proponent of the view that approaching research issues from the standpoint of the non-dominant perspective facilitates objectivity by offering a clearer explication of underlying assumptions. The example given is that of examining slavery from the perspective of the slave rather than the master. She further shows that other thinkers have impacted academic thought by approaching research from the perspective of the underdog, such as Marx approaching economics from the perspective of the worker. Harding’s rendition of feminist standpoint theory has received critique (Crasnow, 2014), however, highlighting taken for granted value traditions, or lifeworlds, through approaching research topics from an inverse or minority perspective is an important contribution to transparency and the creation of knowledge.

Harding (2004) uses the terms weak and strong objectivity when describing the difference between the traditional approach and the feminist standpoint approach where objectivity is understood to be tied to a clear explication of the situatedness or lifeworld of the researcher/s and participants. Whether terms such as weak and strong objectivity in themselves are helpful or not is debateable; however, that open discussion of underlying values and assumptions contributes to transparency and accountability is clear.

The normative can often become conflated with the moral, where, for example, the value of participation as a moral good is translated to a normative imperative that citizens must participate. Diverse values can also lead to different understandings of what constitutes participation. Jdid (2021) provides a helpful example of this in her overview of strands of ‘active citizenship’ research in Denmark and Norway. One strand investigates “impact of ethnic diversity on volunteerism and community cohesion”; a second focuses on “civic engagement and integration of specific groups in society, most notably immigrants and youth”; a third “explores changes in patterns and trends of participation, especially in relation to developments in the Scandinavian welfare states”; a fourth explores “women’s social movements and examining political and social inclusions and exclusions”; while a fifth highlights “civic participation in light of naturalization policies and the backlash against multiculturalism in Scandinavian countries, investigating the role that nationhood has played in state conceptualizations of active citizenship” (Jdid, 2021, pp. 33, 34). These five strands of research illustrate the conflict which can exist between underlying values in definitions of, for example, active citizenship.

Conflicting values are also visible in the political sphere. Policy papers, including educational policy (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017), frequently include an understanding that diversity should be valued while conservative or right-wing populism promulgates exclusionary discourses. Thus, there is a clash of underlying assumptions

regarding what is needed for a cohesive society; the right-wing's valuing of homogeneity seems to lead to the assumption that it is a requirement for the formation of belonging and cohesion while research suggests the opposite:

People form social bonds readily, even under seemingly adverse conditions. People who have anything in common, who share common (even unpleasant) experiences, or who simply are exposed to each other frequently tend to form friendships or other attachments (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 520).

Additionally, this excessive valuing of homogeneity and the resultant exclusionary discourse acts against the right-wing interest of cohesive society by contributing to the radicalisation of minorities (Moaveni, 2019; Sister-hood, 2019). Therefore, values and their corresponding underlying assumptions must be illuminated.

Diversity as a value can thus be linked to Harding's (2004) insistence on the importance of democratic ideals in methodology. Wylie (2014) also invokes democratic theory in her discussion of the philosophical rationale for collaborative archaeology—and the importance of including minority perspectives. Both Wylie (2014) and Crasnow (2014) acknowledge that in encouraging diversity of voices, care must be taken to ensure that this does not result in a confusing cacophony. However, Wylie shows that many researchers share “the liberal democratic conviction that more ideas, diverse voices, and angles of vision are inherently a good thing where the production and evaluation of knowledge is concerned” and that it is vital “that there are mechanisms in place which can counter ‘group-think’ dynamics” (Wylie, 2014, p. 77,78). While Crasnow (2014) critiques both Harding and Wylie's discussions, she builds on their reasoning while framing diversity of voices as interests. She concludes: “Interests must be collective interests, arrived at through negotiation, ‘struggle-with’, and engagement both among the community of knowers and with the dominant social

structure” (2014, p. 160). Thus, she invokes both diversity and democratic ideas in her discussion of objectivity.

While it could be argued that objectivity is an obsolete obsession, feminist discussions indicate that as per their definition of strong objectivity, democratic methodologies are more reliable—or objective—for gaining knowledge. What then are the underlying assumptions regarding what is democratic? From both a political and academic perspective, we understand that this is not a given.

Firstly, Christiano and Bajaj’s (2022) general definition of democracy is a “method of collective decision making characterized by a kind of equality among the participants”. The assumption is made that Western right-wing governments espouse democratic values, demonstrated by their framing ‘others’, or Muslims, as undemocratic (Silva, 2017). Thus, the political right seems to equate participant equality with homogeneity. A public controversy on Native American bones discussed by Wylie mirrors this discourse, where some posited the issue as “a conflict between science and a fundamentally different (non-scientific) worldview” (Wylie, 2014, p. 71) while claiming that the artefact in question belongs to everyone with no allowance for minority interest claims. Here again there is an assumption of ‘everyone’ being homogeneous while othering a minority framed as irrational, unscientific, or undemocratic due to differing interests or values. Conversely, liberal democratic understanding differs decidedly in that equality is not understood as homogeneity, while the presence of differing voices and values, as well as struggle between these, is understood as a type of moral or social good. Wylie argues that minority Others are often in the best position “to expose error or distortion not only in specific beliefs but also in framework assumptions and entrenched norms of practice” (2014, p. 78). In other words, Other voices expose lack of objectivity—or subjectivities—which allows for a more effective disentanglement of fact from opinion. Thus, my epistemological standpoint is that the best understanding of democratic

methodology is where the value of diversity is prioritised over that of homogeneity, and therefore knowledge becomes, in a sense, more objective when considered from *different* or Other perspectives.

This reflects in various aspects of my research methodology choices. My dissertation is regarding youth, but inspiration from feminist standpoint led me to approach the topic of youth understanding of citizenship with an emphasis on the minority perspective, where their challenges are highlighted, both in the interview guide and in the later data analysis. In other words, democratic values engender the understanding that young citizens are not a monolith—neither the minority or the majority—and in order to be able to illuminate taken for granted assumptions regarding citizenship, differing positions and challenges must be highlighted.

Following this thought, my understanding of these democratic methods calls for nuance, and therefore I chose a qualitative approach, namely group discussions. As shown by earlier definitions of democracy and democratic ideals, dialogue and negotiation are important parts of the process, and nuance can be understood as a democratic value as well. Thus, my underlying assumptions and valuing of diversity inform both my theoretical and methodological approach.

3.3.2 Discourse analysis framework and social constructs

Discourse analysis offers an important lens through which to explore discussions of citizenship—particularly debates on the minority and majority. While the framework is often referred to as a methodological tool for analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) begins from a theoretical understanding of how we view and understand the world. Hajer defines discourse as

“a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that is produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities” (1997, p. 60).

Hajer highlights two additional concepts: discourse-coalitions and storylines. He defines discourse-coalitions as “the ensemble of (1) a set of story-lines; (2) the actors who utter these story-lines; and (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based”; while storylines are “the discursive cement that keeps a discourse-coalition together” (Hajer, 1997, p. 65). He further refines storylines, specifying that they are

“narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding” (Hajer, 1997, p. 62).

The storyline unifies different pieces of the discourse, with ideas acting as metaphors—metaphors which are appealing and sound right to the hearer. The storyline also acts as a positioning mechanism, showing where the individual or entity fits into the story (Hajer, 1997, pp. 62, 63, 65).

Using this theoretical framework allows citizenship to be understood in light of discursive storylines. For example, one storyline may focus on the politically engaged citizen, while another might centre on the neighbourly helpful citizen. A discourse-coalition may then tie these together framing the good citizen as the ‘active’ citizen. Storylines play an important role in public debate, and the blending together of storylines to form a discourse-coalition is visible in, for example, whiteness having been integrated into discourses on European (Norwegian) citizenship.

Van Dijk is well-known for his formulations of critical discourse analysis (CDA), and describes the central tenants as follows:

a detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of concrete models (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 258, 259).

Here he highlights the idea that some discourses are dominant, and he explicitly argues that CDA is the “study of the relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 249). Furthermore, he makes no apologies for the decidedly normative stance of the framework. He argues that power dynamics suppress minorities, highlighting the objective of dominant groups to change the minds of the marginalised in order to normalise conformity and deference, and shows group membership to be a source of social power (van Dijk, 1993, p. 254). Additionally, he highlights the use of discourses which allow the dominant group to maintain the moral high ground by portraying themselves as charitable and tolerant due to their caring treatment of the deviant Other (van Dijk, 1993, p. 263).

Through the theoretical framework of CDA, it is therefore understood that students’ opinions and negotiations regarding citizenship are not utterances in a vacuum. Rather, they are commenting on the storylines and discourse-coalitions made up of the ideas, categories, and concepts which have hitherto defined their social reality. These discourses inform their idea of themselves within the social structures, and where they see themselves within the confines of the dominant discursive ‘normal’. Discourses also inform their understanding of what is socially expected of them and their peers, and where they stand in relation to their peers—whether as a member of or on the margins of the dominant discourse. This theoretical underpinning therefore permeates the work in this dissertation, framing understanding of what is meant by *discourse*. This leads into a discussion of the storylines and discourse-coalitions which are central to this citizenship exploration: inclusive and exclusionary discourses.

3.4 Inclusive Citizenship – a normative endeavour

As citizenship education (CE) is a normative endeavour with critical strands focusing on inclusive citizenship, it is important to explore the discourse of inclusion – a positive discourse. Kabeer (2005a) and her colleagues conducted research with marginalised communities in various parts of the world in order to explore this idea and synthesised the findings into four main themes. The benefit of this conceptualisation (discourse-coalition) of inclusivity is that it draws on the views of informants from both the global north and the global south. While this dissertation is set within a global north context, many of those who are excluded in Western nations' citizenship rhetoric by right-leaning discourses are either themselves from the global south or are the progeny of global south migrants.

However, while some in global north nations who have global south ancestors are still migrants, others are legal citizens (*statsborgere*) of Western nations and yet are still made to feel like outsiders. Thus, the concept (discourse-coalition) of inclusive citizenship is augmented by Mbembe's (2015) discussion of *access* at the event of "Rhodes must Fall". His discussion is striking, since he is speaking of black students—part of South Africa's majority—feeling like outsiders on South African university campuses due to legacies of colonialism and white supremacy narratives. He argues:

...when we say access, we are also talking about the creation of those conditions that will allow black staff and students to say of the university: "This is my home. I am not an outsider here. I do not have to beg or to apologize to be here. I belong here".

Such a right to belong, such a rightful sense of ownership has nothing to do with charity or hospitality.

It has nothing to do with the liberal notion of 'tolerance'.

It has nothing to do with me having to assimilate into a culture that is not mine as a precondition of my participating in the public life of the institution.

It has all to do with ownership of a space that is a public, common good (Mbembe, 2015, p. 5).

Mbembe's description of access, which I call 'access-as-belonging' in order to encapsulate the ideas articulated in this passage, mirrors citizenship discourse and contains all the requisite elements in its recourse to the language of rights and belonging. As will be shown, his arguments both coalesce with and supplement the normative discourse of inclusive citizenship.

Four central themes emerged from Kabeer (2005a) and her colleagues' discussions with informants as the main ideals which were deemed vital in order for citizenship to be experienced as inclusive. These ideals (or storylines) are justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity.

Kabeer shows that *justice* as a value is not understood for her case study participants in terms of retribution or revenge, but rather as "a notion of justice which revolves around when it is fair for people to be treated the same and when it is fair that they should be treated differently" (2005b, p. 3). As an example, she describes the case from Nigeria where, although villagers identified themselves and their belonging according to ethnic or tribal groups, they have an expectation that the state should treat them all fairly and equally regardless of ethnic identity. In other words, justice is equitable 'access-as-belonging' (Mbembe, 2015).

Recognition as a value bares similarities to the discussion of justice. Kabeer shows that participants desire "recognition of the intrinsic worth of all human beings, but also recognition of and respect for their differences" (2005b, p. 4). Oft parallel issues within citizenship discourses are those of belonging and identity, and Kabeer states, that from the cases,

it is apparent that membership of the nation state often means little to its members, compared to other forms of subnational communities with which they identify and through which they exercise their claims and obligations (2005b, p. 21).

The recognition of subnational belonging or identity is particularly important in light of decolonial scholar Mbembe's (2015) admonition on the need for a pluriversity which recognises epistemic diversity as well as 'ethnic' diversity.

The value of *self-determination* centres on "people's ability to exercise some degree of control over their lives" (Kabeer, 2005b, p. 5). This can again be tied back to a need for pluriversity, where different ways of living and different life priorities are given space. – Or more explicitly, that the right to self-determination does not carry with it a precondition of minorities assimilating into majority culture (Mbembe, 2015).

Solidarity is understood as "the capacity to identify with others and to act in unity with them in their claims for justice and recognition" (Kabeer, 2005b, p. 7). Harkening back to Mbembe (2015), this could be understood as figuratively making space for the Other to feel comfortable and sharing ownership of public goods.

These four ideals (storylines)—justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity—are central sensitising concepts for understanding inclusive discourse in this dissertation and are reflected on in the articles. Additionally, 'access-as-belonging' (Mbembe, 2015) plays a critical role in understanding what these storylines mean to minority citizens and people of colour in Western nations or settings.

3.4.1 *Exclusive citizenship*

These four ideals or storylines of justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity or – rather the opposites – can be used to examine discourses of exclusionary citizenship.

For example, exclusionary rhetoric posits that a *just*, well-functioning society is one where everyone is the same. – As in a valuing of homogeneity. This discourse is exemplified by Fangen and Vaage’s (2018) analysis in their article “*The Immigration Problem*” and *Norwegian Right-Wing Politicians*. Their analysis shows that Norwegian right-wing politicians frame Norway as a Christian nation with shared ideals or culture. Conversely, the immigrant Other is framed as a threat, where continued immigration – including refugee intake – is doomed to result in

loss of identity, the marginalization of Norwegian culture, and the dominance of multiculturalism, which together “will tear our country apart” (Fangen & Vaage, 2018, p. 466).

Thus, there is no *recognition* or appreciation of the value of difference co-existing and living side by side. Furthermore, this type of storyline does not recognise Norway’s complicity in colonialism, as the lens of Nordic exceptionalism obscures Norway’s treatment of the Sami while its former status as subject of the Danish and Swedish kingdoms consecutively serves as self-absolution (Eriksen, 2018; Fylkesnes, 2019). Additionally, these ‘same-ness’ storylines do not recognise and thus obscure the longstanding heterogeneity which is part of Norway’s history (Helakorpi, 2019; Ryymin, 2019).

In a similar vein, *self-determination* is denied due to the expectation that the Other must conform to ‘our’ way of doing things: they must assimilate. Mamdani (2002) argues that “culture talk” frames identities as static, positing modernised(ing) Christianity in contrast to the premodern uncivilised Islam. Furthermore, this right-wing rhetoric

understands “original citizens” (Razack, 2004, p. 145) as the hosts with the right to dictate the terms of citizenship. Drawing on Gullestad, Razack argues that this provides the ‘real’ (a.k.a. white or ‘ethnic Norwegian’) citizens “a moral basis to instruct and to determine the conditions of daily life while guests are always in the position of respecting the morality of the household” (Razack, 2004, p. 145).

Such storylines clearly do not provide *solidarity* to the Other, but rather obstacles, explicitly negating ‘access-as-belonging’ (Mbembe, 2015). This storyline posits that solidarity can only be proffered to “their own” who are understood to be the same. This is problematic and increases the vulnerability both of those with immigrant backgrounds, be they legal citizens or residents, as well as heterogeneous “original citizens” (Razack, 2004, p. 145) who exhibit Otherness.

3.5 Sensitising Concepts

In navigating meaning and making sense of data, some researchers discuss the role of what they call sensitising concepts in guiding the analysis (Carpentier, 2017). One of the early proponents of such an approach is Herbert Blumer, who argues that in contrast to definitive concepts, sensitising concepts give

the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look (1954, p. 7).

In other words, sensitising concepts do not act as frameworks but rather are ideas which draw our attention to potentially fruitful aspects to highlight or explore further. Bowen elaborates, stating

Sensitizing concepts draw attention to important features of social interaction and provide guidelines for research in specific settings (2006, p. 14).

In the specific setting of exploring discourses of inclusive and exclusionary citizenship, there is a need for sensitising concepts which can highlight identifying features of the discourses. Thus, justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity act as sensitising concepts or features of inclusive citizenship discourse, whereas the inverse or lack of these indicate exclusionary discourse.

Faulkner (2009) explores ways of utilising sensitising concepts within ethnographic research, and describes four ideal iterations: thick exploitation, thin exploitation, thick exploration, and thin exploration. He characterises exploitation as the use of existing concepts while exploration is the development of new concepts. Furthermore, in discussing the process of ethnographic research, he describes thin use – in contrast to thick – as instances in which concepts are utilised temporarily in the course of the research process, but which are periphery to the main findings. While this dissertation is not an ethnography, I would nevertheless categorise my use of the four sensitising concepts (justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity) as thick exploitation, as they are existing ideas taken from Kabeer's (2005a) book which I utilise in all four articles in order to identify discourses of inclusive citizenship.

3.6 Theoretical frameworks within articles

The articles which offer the main findings of this dissertation cover various dimensions of citizenship, drawing on diverse theoretical frameworks. As a brief overview, the articles are listed below with citizenship dimensions in parenthesis (*membership and identity, legal status and rights, democratic engagement*):

Article one (*membership*): The discursive-material knot framework (Carpentier, 2017) is used to analyse youth recourse to sensory tokens, such as physical appearance, clothing, and audible language, to ascribe or negate national belonging;

Article two (*rights, democratic engagement*): ‘Access-as-belonging’ (Mbembe, 2015) and Stokke’s (2017) four-dimension citizenship model [legal status, rights, membership, and participation] are used to discuss minority and majority rights and responsibilities;

Article three (*legal status and rights, democratic engagement, membership and identity*): Subject positions (Hall, 1996; Törrönen, 2001) with their accompanying roles, categories, and storylines, as well as capabilities (Nussbaum, 2003; Sen, 2001), allow for analysing the who, what, and how of youth conceptions of citizenship;

Article four (*membership and identity*): Positionality and (in)visible difference (Alcoff, 2006; Brighenti, 2007) as well as affect and resistance (Eriksen, 2020; Hynes, 2013; Zembylas, 2019a, 2019b) provide a framework for exploring the relationship between personal affective experiences with citizenship and (in)visible difference, belonging, and discrimination.

3.6.1 *Discursive-material knot theory (article I)*

A framework which compliments critical discourse analysis (CDA), and which was utilised in my first article, “Material Interpolations” (Dansholm, 2022a), was adapted from Carpentier’s (2017) discursive-material knot theory. While CDA highlights the idea that social reality is interpreted through the lens of the categories, storylines, and discourse-coalitions which frame our experience, the materiality of our world must

not be ignored. Carpentier's (2017) framework acknowledges the material without excluding discourse, and this is why he describes it as a 'knot'. Furthermore, Carpentier (2017, pp. 33–38) explores various definitions of the material and materiality, ranging from Gosden's landscape and artefacts to Laclau and Mouffe's events or phenomena that occur regardless of our will. In a pragmatic attempt to not be drawn into an extensive philosophical debate on the interconnections and prominence of one (material or discourse) over the other, I define the material simply as that which is or can be encountered (or not encountered due to absence), often materially or sensorily—and which we interpret through categories and discourses. These 'somethings' which can be encountered may have, as argued by Carpentier (2017, p. 70), particular affordances and offer invitations as well as dislocations.

In discussions of inclusion and exclusion, the material or sensory tokens of physical appearance play an important role—even while they are often denied. For example, Alcoff points out that:

in the very midst of our contemporary skepticism toward race as a natural kind stands the compelling social reality that race, or racialized identities, have as much political, sociological, and economic salience as they ever had. As Goldberg puts it, liberal Western societies today maintain a paradoxical position whereby "Race is irrelevant, but all is race" (1993, 6). The legitimacy and moral relevance of racial concepts is officially denied even while race continues to determine job prospects, career possibilities, available places to live, potential friends and lovers, reactions from police, credence from jurors, and the amount of credibility one is given by one's students. Race may not correlate with clinal variations, but it persistently correlates with a statistically overwhelming significance in wage levels, unemployment levels, poverty levels, and the likelihood of incarceration (Alcoff, 2006, p. 181).

Thus, physical appearance, often interpreted in terms of racialised discourse, is an important material aspect of citizenship belonging. However, racialised physical appearance is only one of various material markers which are often used as signifiers in discourses of inclusion and exclusion. Other material elements surfacing in this dissertation include clothing and audible language. I include clothing in particular which has been imbued with symbolism, such as a clerical collar, a habit, or the hijab. I furthermore argue for including audible language under the category of the material as while it is not material in the same sense as physical appearance or clothing, audible language or sound is encountered and can be recorded as is—while it is interpreted through discursive categories. In order to better demonstrate this understanding of audible language as material and the invitations and dislocations it offers, I argue the following:

The interpolation of the material or sensory tokens often calls for a reconfiguration of discourse. For example, someone standing in a queue may make assumptions regarding the person behind them based solely on their voice, language, or accent. Within this example, the person's voice is encountered, eliciting certain discourses, and thus can be understood as material. Discursive categories connected to voice and audible language answer such questions as: What gender is it? What language is being spoken? If the language is known, what accent is it? Thus, without having seen or spoken to the individual, a view of the person may already have been formulated based on discourses attached to "that accent" or language or gendered voice. These discursive categories or assumptions may be challenged by seeing the person's physical appearance which may prompt a different set of discourses: Does the person's physical appearance match the assumed gender? Does the language match the assumed skin tone? Do the clothes match the assumed accent? Thus, while the sound of the voice or audible language has not changed, the interpolation of other material markers can dislocate initial discursive categories which were assigned to the encountered

voice, essentially disrupting discursive premises, and necessitating an adjustment.

Drawing on this theorisation provided a framework for acknowledging the role which the material plays in discourses of inclusion and exclusion. Erdal and Strømsø (2021) highlight in their discussion of the connections between first impressions and the nation: visibility and ‘race’ are encountered first while dialogue and interaction may mediate initial perceptions. Researchers have underscored the need for a language or vocabulary for educators to use in discussion of prejudice with youth (Hilt, 2017; Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Svendsen, 2014). Thus, I propose that by being explicit about the material dimensions of prejudice, researchers and educators may have a better chance of helping students to deconstruct the discourse.

3.6.2 Access-as-belonging and four citizenship dimensions (article II)

Mbembe’s (2015) access-as-belonging has been discussed earlier in conjunction with inclusive citizenship discourses. However, in my second article, “Majority rights and minority responsibilities: young people’s negotiations with human rights” (Dansholm, 2021), access-as-belonging was explicitly merged with a citizenship model which includes four dimensions: legal status, rights, membership, and participation (K. Stokke, 2017). Citizenship can be conceptualised with specific foci in mind. For example, role and status is one approach (Heater, 2004; Haldal Stray, 2010); while Bloemraad, Kymlicka, and Lamont (2019) focus on membership more in depth by defining citizenship dimensions as: legal membership, social or interpersonal membership, and cultural membership.

Stokke's (2017) approach to the delineation of citizenship is centred on the analysis of axes of inclusion—in order to enable an explicit discussion of ways in which minorities can be excluded. He describes this as stratified citizenship. In his model, he argues that access to all four dimensions—legal status, rights, membership, and participation—are needed in order to experience full citizenship. Furthermore, he shows how combinations of access to certain dimensions—rather than all—can lead to different types of exclusion, such as political, cultural, juridical, and social. This resonates with Mbembe's (2015) discussion, where he highlights access as a feeling of belonging. Such belonging engenders not only juridical entitlement to the claiming of rights, but also provides space to express oneself both politically and culturally.

Essentially, Stokke's (2017) delineation of *legal status* as a separate dimension from *rights* highlights the possibility that while one may have legal citizenship, the accessing of associated rights is not automatic. This theoretical understanding of the connection between access to various dimensions of citizenship facilitated the case study analysis of group discussion on rights, focusing on rights outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). Furthermore, the lens highlighted in my data that where minority citizens' belonging is called into question—even if only culturally and socially—their access to rights is hampered.

3.6.3 *Subject positions and capabilities (article III)*

In my third article, "Students' understanding of legal citizenship and co-citizenship concepts: Subject positions and capabilities" (Dansholm, 2022b), the concept of subject positions facilitated the analysis of the different categories and storylines which youth draw on in discussing citizenship. Hall (1996) and Törrönen (2001) trace the idea of the subject position through its earlier iterations in Althusser's interpellations

theory, showing the critique of his theory for internal inconsistencies as well as its static nature. They also work through contributions to understandings of subject positions offered by, for example, Foucault, Fairclough, as well as feminist scholars, such as Butler. Through their review, Hall (1996) and Törrönen (2001) highlight the philosophical perils of ascribing fixedness to subject positions. They argue for recognition of the negotiations which groups and individuals invest in taking up or putting off certain subject positions, whilst influencing and challenging the storylines, stereotypes, and categories attached to specific subject positions or roles. I therefore use the term subject position with an understanding of its fluidity, along with an acknowledgement that how subject positions or roles are understood is largely determined by societal discourses, storylines, and categories surrounding that role. For example, the role of mother evokes ideas of feminine qualities and care of a child or dependent, however it is not fixed but is adapted according to, for example, historical situatedness, class factors, cultural factors, as well as the individual or group inhabiting the role. Similarly, the subject position of a citizen is negotiated according to societal discourses, as well as by who is inhabiting the role.

The concept of capabilities was borrowed from Sen's 'development as freedom' (Nussbaum, 2003; Sen, 2001) where he argues that capabilities should not be understood solely in terms of the options one is said to have, for example, legally, but their *real* possibilities ('handlingsrom' in Norwegian). This necessitates taking into consideration multiple factors, such as gender and social status. These frameworks allowed for teasing out the types of capabilities which may be connected to citizenship. Adapting the concept of capabilities, I outlined three broad categories: legal capabilities or the rights which are juridically codified; idealised capabilities which are framed by democratic values; and societal capabilities which are defined by norms and rhetoric within the public sphere.

These understandings of the conceptualisations of subject positions and capabilities thus made clear within my data that how an individual or group's citizen role was understood and the *real* capabilities (handlingsrom) which the individual or group had was dependent on their majority or minority status as well as a myriad of other factors which impacted on their situatedness.

3.6.4 Positionality, (in)visible difference, affect, and resistance (article IV)

In the fourth article, my co-interviewers and I took a closer look at positionality (Haraway, 1988)—both student positions as well as our own—in order to gain a better understanding of how these impacted on understandings of citizenship. It became clear that difference was a recurring theme: whether positioning someone else as different or acknowledging personal experience with difference. In addition to the material categories of difference highlighted in the first article, namely physical appearance, clothing, and audible language, we explore invisible difference. Brighenti (2007) argues that visibility has thresholds: beyond one threshold, majority norms and power institutions are normalised to the point that they become invisible—or unquestioned, while beyond the other threshold is exclusion. Alcoff (2006) discusses visibility and difference together, with a strong focus on the continued visibility of race and gender—even while these categories are being denied and deconstructed. We build on these understandings of difference and visibility to explore figurative and literal difference and similarity as well as invisible difference and similarity. To illustrate, a white person in Europe may have linguistic or cultural differences which are unlikely to be identified until they begin to speak and interact. On the other hand, a person of colour in Europe will never be able to hide the difference of their physical appearance, however they may be able to perform their similarity in language and culture. Such issues may factor

into how students relate to citizenship, and their own experiences may be highlighted in their understandings of lived citizenship.

Additionally, as our respondents related to issues of (in)visible difference, we noted their affective reactions which resonated with our (researcher and co-interviewers) experiences of citizenship. Affect theory thus provided a helpful conceptualisation of the way in which macro discourses are felt and experienced at the micro level (Hynes, 2013). For example, anti-immigrant rhetoric in the public sphere may be evoked and elicit a negative reaction in a minority person who is often subjected to such questions as, “Where are you *really* from?”—Even if the one asking the question is not personally anti-immigrant. This is similar to the understanding that great care is needed when commenting on women’s (or anyone’s) weight due to the impact of societal beauty standards. The woman in question may not be overweight or unhealthy, but even an ‘innocent’ comment can evoke unrealistic societal standards and thus elicit an affective response.

Various researchers have explored the connection between affect and resistance (Eriksen, 2020; Hynes, 2013; Zembylas, 2019a, 2019b). Zembylas (2019a) argues that resistance is not limited to organised protest, whether on the macro or meso level, but that it can be played out in the playground or the classroom, in the mundane. Furthermore, he argues that resistance is often unplanned, such as affective responses to the evoking of public sphere discourse. This understanding of affect and resistance aided our analysis of the discussions on citizenship, particularly where our informants or we ourselves instinctively reacted to negative understandings or framings of difference.

4 Methodology

This chapter will begin with an overview of the research methods, including a discussion of changes in methodology over the course of the research. There will then be a discussion of challenges and ethical issues within the dissertation. The chapter will conclude with reflections on coding and analysis.

4.1 Methods overview

This research was undertaken using qualitative methods, with influences from feminist standpoint theory (Crasnow, 2014). Focus group interviews (Marková et al., 2007) were conducted with 10th grade students at three lower secondary schools in Norway. The schools were chosen through convenience sampling, in that they were schools that I had a connection to or where I had received a referral. For example, the first school (S1), which had originally been intended as a pilot, was the school which my son attended (for more details, see section 4.4.1). The second school (S2) had frequent cooperation with the university. The third school (S3) was in a distant, more sparsely populated part of the country, and my sister, as a Norwegian fluent in the dialect of that area, agreed to help by acting as co-interviewer (for more details, see section 4.4.1). While my objective in including this school (S3) was not to test any hypothesis about cultural differences within Norway, the prospect of including at least one school from a different region was important to me. Thus, the schools were not comparable, aside from the fact that teaching was conducted in Norwegian in all three schools and my interviews were with 10th graders. One school (pilot) was a private school (school one / S1), another school had extensive experience cooperating in research (school two / S2), while the last school was in a relatively remote area of the country (school three / S3). The methodology developed and was modified to a degree over the course of data collection, and an overview of the differences can be seen in Table

2 (more details on the methodological changes are presented in following sections).

A home room teacher at each school was the contact person—or gatekeeper—with whom I communicated. The aim was to conduct smaller group interviews with one whole class in each school. The teacher at each school arranged the interview date, collected written parental permission for students to participate, divided the students into smaller groups, and provided me with demographic information on each student—namely gender and majority / minority status (for more details on the subjective nature of this information, see section 4.4.3). Not all parents signed the consent form while some students were absent on the day of the interviews, thus the percentage of students who participated from each class varied from around 50-100% (see table 2 for demographics).

The interviews were conducted in Norwegian, with a native Norwegian speaker acting as co-interviewer. The co-interviewer(s) took notes as well as added questions or clarifications when needed. Due to the distance of S3, my primary co-interviewer (Josh Dickstein) was unable to participate and thus my sister (Heidi D. Stokmo) acted as co-interviewer (although our relationship was not mentioned to the students; for more details, see section 4.4.2 and article four). At S2, both my primary co-interviewer (Dickstein) and I presented ourselves as well as our positionality to the students, while at S3, only I presented my positionality to the students (for more details on the presentation of our positionality see section 4.2, and for the effect of our positionalities within the group discussions, see article four and section 4.4.2).

I designed the interview guide to begin with a written activity. At S1 (pilot), I gave the students papers with ‘legal citizen’ (statsborger), ‘co-citizen’ (medborger), and ‘multicultural Norway’ (det flerkulturelle Norge) written in Norwegian for them to use to jot down associated words or ideas. Due to the results from S1 (pilot), specifically, that

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students were unsure as to the meaning of citizenship terms, I was interested to see which Norwegian word for ‘citizen’ first came to students’ minds (‘statsborger’ or ‘medborger’), and therefore took a different approach at the other schools (S2 & S3), asking participants to translate ‘democracy and citizenship’ from English into Norwegian. The written activity was followed by general questions on the meaning of legal citizenship and co-citizenship. (Following the S1 interviews, I made a note to myself to ensure that the group came to a basic consensus on the meaning of legal citizenship and co-citizenship by the end of this set of questions in order to facilitate discussion of the television clip which followed.) In order to highlight debate on citizenship in the public sphere, a television clip was then shown (Al-Hussaini, 2017; NRK P3, 2017). (Following the S1 interviews, I added a short introduction to this television clip into the interview guide.) This clip consists of a young hijabi Norwegian television host, Faten Al-Hussaini, interviewing a right-leaning politician, Siv Jensen. The discussion centres on citizenship, belonging, and participation (see section 4.3 for more on this clip). At S2 and S3, it was after the viewing of this clip that I (and Dickstein at S2) presented my (our) positionality. This was followed by questions exploring legal citizenship and co-citizenship in light of the clip. Questions regarding social media, public debate, and citizenship followed, after which there were rounding up questions and final comments and thanks (see appendix I for the full interview guide). Not all of the data was—or could be—included in the articles / dissertation. Therefore, for example, the written activity data and discussion of social media were not included.

The following table provides an overview of both the demographics at the three schools as well as the differences in methodology.

Table 2 School overview: demographics and methodological differences

School	One (pilot / S1)	Two (S2)	Three (S3)
Students	16	16	12
Groups	2	3	3

Methodology

Group sizes	8	5-6	3-5
Girls	5	8	10
Boys	11	8	2
Majority	10	13	11
Minority	8	3	1
Participation	100%	@ 50%	> 50%
Written activity	Mind-map	Translation	Translation
Interviewers	Dansholm & Dickstein	Dansholm & Dickstein	Dansholm & Stokmo
Presentation of positionality	-	Dansholm & Dickstein	Dansholm

4.2 Interview style

As the main data collection method, I chose focus group interviews as I wanted to provide a space for youth to discuss the research topic in a group of their peers. Akar states that “the experience of expressing personal views in an open space is an empowering one for vulnerable groups like young people” (2018, p. 427).

Wilkinson (2004) takes a feminist perspective in discussing the potential of focus group interviews. She argues that the strength of focus group interviews lies in their ability to avoid artificiality, decontextualization, and exploitation. Regarding artificiality, she argues that a focus group provides a more natural setting due to the group being comprised of people who know each other or have something in common—in this case, classmates—therefore conversation is more natural. This aligns well with Brinkmann’s (2007) discussion, explored below, of avoiding the type of conversation which would seem derogatory in a normal setting. Secondly, Wilkinson (2004) shows that the focus group provides contextualisation as humans are social beings and therefore discussing issues and coming to a consensus or lack of consensus on a topic is more natural in a social setting. This also allows for group dynamics and human interactions to become more visible. Thirdly, the focus group setting reduces the control of the researcher, as participants may argue

or take the discussion off course. While Wilkinson (2004) acknowledges that more traditional researchers may consider this a drawback of focus group interviews, from a feminist perspective, this is a benefit due to the levelling of the power of the researcher/s.

Wilkinson (2004) also offers three cautions regarding the use of focus group interviews: 1) using focus group interviews in inappropriate ways, such as for the purpose of increasing sampling size; 2) using focus groups without epistemological warranting, for example, constructivist research may benefit equally from one on one interviews, while essentialist framed research may require focus groups; and 3) lastly, ignoring the interactive dimension of focus groups, such as reporting solely on individual statements without contextualising. In the case of this dissertation project, an important part of the rationale for using focus group interviews was to allow the dynamics of group conversation to be central, including disagreement and negotiation. Thus, conducting focus group interviews was not for the purpose of increasing sampling size and epistemologically warranted the use of focus groups. The dynamics of negotiation during the conversations were particularly interesting and were highlighted in all of my articles through the use of polyphony (Liamputtong, 2007). (See section 4.4.4 for more on the use of polyphony.)

Wilkinson (2004) further comments on the potential which focus groups have for furthering feminist agendas, such as action research, highlighting the voices of underrepresented groups and consciousness raising. While the explicit aim of this dissertation was not to conduct action research, the opportunity to raise awareness on citizenship challenges faced by minorities in a nation with a façade of homogeneity (Svendsen, 2014) was definitely a bonus.

Brinkmann (2007) reflects on the standard approach to interviewing, exploring in depth knowledge as doxa, opinion, and experience versus episteme, questioning, and justified belief. He argues that the standard

approach to interviews for data collection is grounded in objectivity on the part of the interviewer(s) while eliciting research participants' feelings and experiences as a type of commodity. There has been much critique, especially from feminists, regarding what it means to be objective (Halpin, 1989; Harding, 2004). Haraway (1988) argues that knowledge is always situated, while Harding (2004) posits that an analysis that does not take into account contextual, historical as well as positional perspectives is in essence blind to its own biases.

The traditional approach to interviews has assumed the interviewer as a neutral dispassionate guider of the discussion, allowing the participant to express their views without comment. Brinkmann (2007, p. 1126) comments that in real life, "we often find it a derogatory experience if someone takes the role of objective spectator of our lives", and therefore suggests a more interactive approach.

The alternative he proposes is a type of Socratic dialogue between researcher and participant, where knowledge is co-created through the participation of the researcher in discussion and even challenging of participants in order to delve further into how they justify their beliefs. He shows that Socrates positioned those he conversed with as "responsible citizens, accountable to each other with reference to the normative order in which they lived" (Brinkmann, 2007, p. 1128). He further argues, through an example of an interview session conducted by Bourdieu in 1999, that

Recognizing respondents as responsible, accountable agents is quite possibly a precondition of them being able to act as such, whereas a totalizing caring, therapeutic attitude of unconditional, positive regard can cultivate vulnerable selves that are unable to take action as accountable citizens (Brinkmann, 2007, p. 1132).

He also suggests that this approach is particularly relevant for the "definition of an important general concept" (Brinkmann, 2007, p. 1125)—which citizenship clearly is. He argues that through challenging

interview participants to give good reasons for their beliefs, important knowledge can be created. However, he clarifies that the goal is not arriving at “fixed knowledge”, but that the goal is to

help human beings improve the quality of their conversational reality, to help them know their own society and debate the goals and values that are important in their lives (Brinkmann, 2007, p. 1127).

Complementary to Brinkmann’s (2007) idea of epistemic interviews is that of critical reflection on assumptions, which Mezirow (1998) talks about in his discussion of critical reflection and Transformation Theory. He discusses dialogue and discourse as mediums through which we work through dilemmas that challenge our assumptions and frameworks, and through which we re-orient our understandings. While Brinkmann (2007) focuses mainly on individual interviews, the concept of a dialogical meaning-making process where the researcher(s) is not exempt from engagement was important in development of the interview style. Likewise, Mezirow’s (2003) Transformation Theory highlights instrumental, communicative, and emancipatory as three forms of learning which are essentially dialogical in nature.

Early in the dissertation process, I had chosen focus group interviews as the data collection methodology. However, at S1 (pilot) I had been extra careful not to express my own opinion or try to influence the discussion. Following data collection at S1, I undertook more coursework and further reading which inspired me to add a component into the interview guide. This component (inserted after the viewing of the television clip) consisted of presenting the positionality of myself and my primary co-interviewer (Dickstein) to the students (see Appendix 1 for the full interview guide which includes the scripts of Dickstein and my presentation of our positionality). Dickstein presented his understanding of himself as Norwegian, his growing up in Norway and participation in various Norwegian cultural traditions, such as fishing and hunting, as well as his (Jewish) background. I presented my having grown up and

spent most of my life abroad and my Danish legal citizenship (statsborgerskap) versus my Norwegian co-citizenship (medborgerskap). At S3, only I presented my positionality, as my sister declined (see section 4.4.2 for more details). However, while she may not have contributed explicitly to diverse understandings of citizenship, she contributed to the discursive meaning-making with her perceptive and comfortable interaction with the groups. (See article number four for a fuller exploration of the influence of our positionality and presentation of our (in)visible differences.) Through this presentation of our positionality and interaction, we as researcher(s) engaged directly in the group interviews, presenting diverse experiences of citizenship. Aside from this engagement, however, most of the epistemic meaning-making or discursive exploration was centred on the students' discussion.

In regards to the interview method's relevance to children and young people, Wall (2010), in his book "Ethics in Light of Childhood", describes ethical thinking as an art, a creative process. In contrast to traditional thinkers who tend to frame adulthood and morality in juxtaposition to childhood and childish thinking, Wall (2010) demonstrates that moral development is a lifelong process while Spyrou (2018) shows that the linearity of developmental psychology has received consistent critique. Wall (2010) argues that ethical moral thinking is the creative process of building upon previous ideas and dialoguing with experience – relational experience. Thus, as citizenship education is a normative value-laden endeavour, exploring young people's navigation of inclusive and exclusionary discourse should be done in a creative ethical environment. – A setting where students can dialogue with each other and exchange thoughts, experiences, and understandings of the discourses within their lifeworld. Thus, while Brinkmann's (2007) discussion of the importance of epistemic approaches in interviews focuses on the interviewer or the researcher taking part in the dialogue, it is nevertheless relevant to peer discussion, and the main objective of this methodological approach was to create

space for discussion between the students. This is because the central aim of the research was to gain insight into how young people themselves understand and navigate inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses.

4.3 ‘Faten makes her choice’ television clip

The television clip was shown (from a laptop) at all focus group interviews after the initial set of questions on legal citizenship and co-citizenship, and thus played a role in informants’ understanding of the topic of discussion. Thus, it is important to describe the clip in more detail. The two-minute clip was an excerpt of a conversation between the young Norwegian national television host, Faten Al-Hussaini, and the right-leaning Norwegian politician, Siv Jensen. The conversation ensued in the course of Al-Hussaini’s series “Faten makes her choice” [“Faten tar valget”] (Al-Hussaini, 2017; NRK P3, 2017) where she visited different political parties in preparation for the elections. In the clip shown to the research participants, Al-Hussaini interviewed the Progress Party (FrP) politician, Siv Jensen, directly asking her whether she sees her as Norwegian—with hijab. Jensen skirts the issue in different ways, referring to legal status and linguistic skill, followed by an admonition (in which she uses distancing language) that the most important is to show one wants to be part of society through participating rather than isolating oneself in a minority community. Interestingly, this series regarding Al-Hussaini preparing for voting in elections is only one example of her participation in public societal and political debate (Al-Hussaini, 2020; NRK1, 2017). This would indicate that she is a participating and politically active citizen. In contrast, Jensen’s comment could be understood as an insinuation that Al-Hussaini (or her community) does not participate as she (they) ought in order to be a true Norwegian citizen(s). However, while my informants did not explicitly comment on the issue of participation with regard to the clip, students at

all three schools commented on Jensen's hesitation to affirm Al-Hussaini's Norwegian-ness, describing it alternately as strange or racist.

The short dialogue in the clip covers such topics as social control, legal citizenship (*statsborgerskap*), audible language, belonging, participation, and values (see Appendix 2 for the full transcript). It is a clear example of the types of discussions being had on belonging, participation, minorities, and citizenship more generally within the Norwegian public sphere—which is why this clip was selected. Thus, while most of the research participants said they had not seen the clip before, the topics or arguments within the clip were likely not new to the students (Burner & Osler, 2021).

4.4 Challenges, choices, and ethical issues

This section will reflect on challenges to data collection, methodological development, the impact of gatekeepers on voice and access, the 2020 Covid-19 lockdown, and linguistic challenges. As Guillemin and Gillam (2004) show, in addition to procedural ethics, such as gaining approval for research from an ethics committee (NSD), research entails day-to-day choices which comprise the 'microethics' of research. They argue that reflexivity is a vital ingredient, not only of the research process more generally (Finlay & Gough, 2003), but specifically in terms of ethics within the micro grey zones which are not always covered by more general ethical guidelines. Moreover, they argue that "Reflexivity in research is not a single or universal entity but a process – an active, ongoing process that saturates every stage of the research" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 274). This means that, as a researcher, it is my responsibility to regularly subject my research practice to scrutiny and be conscientious about day-to-day processes, analyses, and choices. This section offers my reflection on these challenges and choices.

4.4.1 Data collection and Covid-19 lockdown

The first school (S1) where data was collected had been intended as a pilot round, to try out the interview guide and use of the television clip. Thus, I contacted the school where my son was a pupil and my son's class provided the first round of informants. I had signed the consent form for my son to join the interviews in order to allow him to choose for himself whether or not to participate. He told me he did not want to join, but on the day of the group interviews, as all his classmates were joining, he decided to join as well. Like some of his classmates—as will be discussed later—he was mostly silent during the interview. My son had only attended the school for one year prior and therefore, while his classmates knew who I was, the group interviews were not marked by familiarity with the students. However, the prior relationship with the headmaster and teacher definitely facilitated access.

All the students in the participating class at S1 joined the interview (although, as it was a private school, the class was smaller than at most public schools). Thus, there were two group interviews, which were bigger than at the other schools (eight students per group), and the students seemed comfortable in their groups with easy joking and laughing that was not overtly distracting. These groups also had the most visible diversity in that there were students of colour in both groups, and minority students were very talkative and free in expressing their opinions. In what could be described from the perspective of affect, both my co-interviewer and I felt an affinity with the students at S1 – to their openness and energy.

In retrospect, the group interviews at the other schools were more formal. Whether this was due to group size or the S1 teacher's enthusiasm to secure permission for all the students to join (see section 4.4.3) can only be speculated on. At the following schools, I requested smaller group sizes, about five students per group, as while S1 participants had been talkative and open, there were some quieter students. Thus, I hoped that

in smaller groups, it would be easier to encourage everyone to participate. However, in retrospect, it does not seem that group size made much difference with regard to students contributing to discussion, as there were always one or two who hardly spoke.

The data collected from S1 was qualitatively rich, and thus immediately after the interviews, I felt that including this ‘pilot’ data would enrich the dissertation project. Thus, there are a number of reasons why I decided to include this school in my data corpus even though it had been intended as a pilot and changes were made to the methodology. Firstly, the discussions were informative and provided important insight. Secondly, many of the themes which surfaced in the pilot group interviews were repeated in the following schools, despite the changes to the interview guide. Thirdly, there was less visible diversity (or minority students) at the second and third school, thus it was important to me to include the voices of the visibly different (minority) students who had participated in the research. Fourth, due to the Covid-19 lockdown, I would have been left with data from only two schools if I did not include the first school.

The interviews from S1 were immediately transcribed, coded, and analysed which allowed for deeper reflection before moving on to the other schools. Some changes were made deliberately after S1: specifically, the written activity was changed; some clarifications were added to the interview guide; the presentation of (our) positionality after the television clip was added; and smaller groups were request. The change in co-interviewer for the third school was partially a matter of availability but was beneficial in that Stokmo is fluent in the area dialect. I (we) discuss the implications of positionality in article four (as well as in the next section 4.4.2).

Interviews at S1 were held in the fall of 2019, while the second two sets of interviews were held in January / February 2020. A fourth school was planned for March 2020; however, this was cancelled due to the Covid-19 lockdown. Thus, after an initial analysis of the qualitatively rich data

I had on hand and consulting with my supervisors, I delved in depth into analysis over the summer of 2020. I had hoped to be able to conduct a further round of interviews at the fourth school after the summer, particularly due to an interest in what students might say after the milestone year (e.g. first Covid-19 lockdown; the murder of George Floyd). However, the school situation in the fall of 2020 was not conducive to research cooperation. Thus, my full data corpus consists of the group interviews from three schools with 44 students in eight groups.

4.4.2 Reflections on positionality and differences in schools

Nencel (2005) describes challenges in her reflective discussion of her fieldwork with sex workers in Peru. She admits that when she first began her research, she did not anticipate the challenges of building a confidential dialectic relationship with her research objects, nor that her male assistant would have more success gaining their confidence. She discovered, through increasing cultural understanding and observation, that her analysis was better aided by feeling and thinking the data, and she was forced to reflect on her positionality from within a totally different context. This highlights issues which can have a bearing on research, such as insider / outsider status. As explored in article number four, between my co-interviewers and myself, we inhabit varying constellations of hybrid insider / outsider status. For myself, I am very aware that my command of Norwegian is less than perfect, and my understanding of Norwegian cultural norms lacking. There is also considerable difference in age between myself and my research objects—youth.

My co-interviewers, Dickstein and Stokmo, and their positionalities, also played a role in what we could call the visual optics of the group interview process, and we explore the role our (in)visible differences

played in how the students related to us (in article four). Our first round of group interviews (S1) revealed that there continue to be stereotypes about researchers, for example, that they wear white coats and hold clipboards, and there is always the possibility that informants respond with what they think we as researchers want to hear. Therefore, we as interviewers made an effort to be on the level with the interviewees, reiterating frequently that there are no ‘correct’ answers and that we were interested in their opinions as youth. However, an explicit analytical focus on power dimensions has been outside the scope of this dissertation.

At the first school (S1), our hybrid positionality (Dansholm and Dickstein) was only implicitly visible. We presented our names and research purpose to the group but did not discuss our personal (citizenship) backgrounds. My son’s school class provided our first interview groups, and my son was relatively new in the school; therefore, I was not yet personally acquainted with any of his classmates. However, I am quite sure his classmates were aware that, for example, we are an English-speaking culturally hybrid household. The minority students within the two groups at S1 were very active in the discussions and seemed comfortable taking up space. Whether this is because the class in general had an open classroom environment or whether the implicit positional hybridity of Dickstein and I created space for difference to be recognised is impossible to say. However, that minority students felt comfortable voicing their feelings was evidenced in various dialogue segments.

At the second school (S2), for the first part of each group interview, our hybrid positionality (Dansholm and Dickstein) was only implicit through our visible and linguistic difference. The students were cooperative and participated, but the atmosphere in S2 interviews was subdued compared to the previous school and group sizes were smaller. After the television clip and presentation of our positionality, the students’ initial comments were directed to us as responses; however, the ensuing discussion

demonstrated that our being explicit about our positional hybridity facilitated further reflection on their own experiences with difference.

The third school (S3) requires some additional discussion. In the first part of the interviews, my linguistic difference was the only indicator of my positional hybridity and Stokmo was my co-interviewer (as explained in article four, she declined to present her positionality as her default approach in meeting new people has been to avoid exposing her difference). The tone in the first interview at S3 was distinctive, as pronounced immigrants-as-threat sentiments were expressed (see (Dansholm, 2021)). After presenting my positionality to the first group, one of the students (S3G1FwI; see articles for coding key) commented on issues of visibility, arguing that just as she is more visible when on holiday abroad, so they (referring to Al-Hussaini wearing a hijab) are more visible in Norway. Reflecting on this response, I understand this as a minimisation of the difference inherent in my hybrid positionality. In other words, white-ness can legitimate belonging where sociolinguistic difference might indicate Otherness.

As we were wrapping up the first S3 interview, Stokmo asked the group if something had happened at the school. The students responded in the affirmative and went on to outline a couple of incidents involving immigrant community members within the school which had caused them concern. This first interview group included a boy with a non-white parent, who did not contribute to the discussion. I tried to engage him, but he declined, and considering the tone of the interview, I refrained from further spotlighting him. After the students had outlined the incidents at the school which they said made them feel unsafe, I asked whether they felt the same apprehension regarding those of immigrant background who have been in Norway longer. They responded that long-time residents were a totally different case and spoke of a classmate whom they consider totally Norwegian. However, one student then went on to say that she had visited this classmate at home and was surprised

to realise that at home her classmate spoke a foreign language which she could not understand, thus in essence othering her.

The second group interview at S3 seemed to go in a similar vein, with noticeable undertones of othering. Therefore, after the television clip and presenting my positionality, I made a point of further highlighting my own cultural difference in contrast to Al-Hussaini's similarity (as discussed in further detail in article four) – taking license from Brinkmann's (2007) ideas of epistemic engagement. Following the second interview, there was a lunch break after which our third S3 group joined us. There was a marked difference in the tone of the third group interview, with in-depth reflections by the students on the challenges faced by immigrants and refugees, as well as the peer pressure that might hinder majority students from befriending new refugee students in the school. While it is impossible to speculate on what type of conversations might have occurred amongst the students over lunch or whether the last group of students simply had another point of view, the difference in tone was noticeable.

While full exploration of the impact of presence, association, and gender dynamics are outside the scope of this dissertation, it is worth highlighting the possibility that the presence or absence of a visibly different and / or male co-interviewer (such as Dickstein's absence at S3) may have had a bearing on how the students related to issues of discrimination and impacted what they felt comfortable expressing. Additionally, my linguistic (and cultural) difference was likely deemed acceptable due to my being given access to the school as a researcher from a university and as someone who appears 'ethnically' Norwegian (white). Therefore, by extension, the person I chose to associate with, invite into the school space, and rely on as co-interviewer was implicitly validated and this was conveyed to the students. My use of the television clip did not seem to engender the same understanding or have the same impact (as having Dickstein physically present at S1 and S2), as the tone in the first two groups at S3 demonstrated. Gender dynamics and the fact

that we were two white women conducting the interviews at the last school (S3) may also have influenced the students' understanding of the conversational space, perhaps causing them to perceive the group interviews as a safe space to 'complain' about immigrants to fellow Scandinavians.

4.4.3 Young voices, access, and gatekeepers

The research participants within this research were youth, and Liamputtong (2007) shows that definitions of vulnerable research participants include children and youth. A central aspect that contributes to the vulnerability of children is the implicit power imbalance (Kjørholt, 2012; Liamputtong, 2007), particularly if the research topic is of a sensitive nature. Discourses of inclusive and exclusionary citizenship could be a sensitive topic, however, because the interview questions were not explicitly asking students about their own experience of inclusion and exclusion, but rather their understandings of public debate on the topic, the research had a less intrusive nature. Additionally, the target group was teenagers ages 14-15 years, and while there is a power imbalance – with us as adult researchers and the interviewees still legally minors – it could be argued that teenagers are, to a degree, more capable of challenging adult authority than younger children.

This does not negate the need to consider whether those deemed minors by the state are cognitively or psycho-developmentally capable of discussing the topic in and of itself. In a study of adolescent social cognition, Brizio, Gabbatore, Tirassa, and Bosco argue that

context-free studies [on adolescence] can hardly be devised. The social, cultural, educational, economic, and autobiographical situations in which the individuals participate play too important a role in how they experience and enact their social life (2015, p. 9).

Firstly, therefore, they highlight the importance of context and contextualisation. They explain that understanding of adolescence as a life stage is a social construct; additionally, the impact of this social construct on youth's self-understanding is also context specific. Contextualisation is thus partially addressed by situating the research within prior Scandinavian research on CE with youth. Moreover, in the methodology, the topic was contextualised in the group interviews through inclusion of the clip from national television (see section 3.3), situating the discussion within a familiar discourse.

Secondly, they argue that adolescence is a tumultuous time of life where they are exploring and expanding their horizons and understandings of their lifeworlds and their relational place in society (Brizio et al., 2015). In other words, exploration and deliberation, including moral deliberation, is essential in this life stage. Wall (2010) shows, through various examples of children's and adolescents' ethical deliberations, that even young children are capable of considering relational interactions and the needs of others – including complex ethical dilemmas. He argues that

Moral education is really a process of moral growth. It is a lifelong effort from birth to death to expand one's narrative and responsive horizons. Such a process of growth does not pass through separate phases of moral being. Nor is it either absent at birth or somehow already fully formed. Rather, moral growth means learning over time to create ever more self- and other-inclusive moral worlds (Wall, 2010, p. 171).

These discussions of youth's cognitive and moral understandings indicate that exploration of inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses – which could also be described as relational discourses – are not outside the scope of youth or adolescents' cognitive psycho-developmental capabilities. Moreover, if we view children and youth as

citizens (Spyrou, 2018; Wall, 2010) – rather than only becoming citizens – then it is essential for their voices to be heard.

Relational development must needs be between people and is often between unlike peoples. The target participants in this research project were youth, while the research questions highlight minority citizens in Norwegian society, thus the objective was for minorities to be represented. Much previous research on the Other in Norway, specifically research on youth, focuses on the minority exclusively. Therefore, I chose to include both majority and minority youth with the aim of creating dialogical space in a natural environment, namely, classmates in smaller groups at school. While some may argue that this leaves much to chance in terms of whose voice is loudest—presumably those who normally speak up in class—it also allows for a dialogue between classmates from the majority and the minority on current (context-relevant) debates within society. On the other hand, it is difficult to predict how youth respond to the opportunity of participating in research. For example, my son, commenting on the group interview that he participated in, said he was surprised at how vocal some students were who are usually rather quiet in class. The constraints of data collection, as will be discussed, impacts on access – my access to respondents and their access to information regarding the research and / or participation. However, in group settings, there is also the dimensions of students having more freedom to participate to the degree that they personally prefer as not all the focus is on one individual. Thus, while the objective was to include and encourage the participation of both minority and majority students, some factors were outside my control. Additionally, there is considerable previous research highlighting minority voices, thus I was content to allow voice within group interviews to be determined by the students themselves.

One challenging aspect of researching the majority and minority is defining who is minority and who is majority. Due to a desire not to insinuate Otherness by having the students define themselves in

dichotomous categories, I asked the teachers to provide demographic information on the students (gender and minority / majority status) and supplemented this information with whatever self-definitions the students offered in the course of the group interviews and other additional information received. As highlighted in article four, the teacher at S1 (pilot) was uncomfortable defining any of her students as minority, including students of colour who she considered well-integrated Norwegians. I therefore explained that (to me) a minority categorisation does not mean that someone is less Norwegian, but that they may have an additional culture; for example, they may be part Spanish or British. At S2 and S3, because of the S1 teacher's hesitancy, I immediately formulated my request for demographics in terms of additional cultural (e.g. European) backgrounds, and the S2 and S3 teachers showed no hesitation in providing demographic information on their participating students. Thus, it could be argued that I used European diversity as a way to de-politicise the issue of minority status.

Nevertheless, such categories could be argued to reify stereotypes and deny students the empowerment of self-definition. Thus, I have had to ask myself whether using these categories is ethical. From a pragmatic perspective, I have chosen to use such categories as they speak to how society largely functions and using these categories allows readers to follow the discussion. From an ideal perspective, I would also argue that there is nothing inherently problematic with being a minority and thus being described or categorised as a minority within Norwegian society should not be seen as a negative. As a Danish citizen in Norway with an Other cultural upbringing, I would argue that I, myself, could be classified as a minority. I thus propose that when discussing the contribution of individual informants to the discussion, demographic information is included primarily to illuminate the voice.

Related to voice are ethical dilemmas regarding who gains access to participation in the research project, and how gatekeepers mediate access (Kristensen & Ravn, 2015). Within the context of this dissertation, the

main gatekeepers were the teachers, who hold the power of access to the classroom. This can be exemplified by a discussion of different teachers' management of parental permission for student participation within this dissertation. At the first school (S1), the teacher received the consent form early and endeavoured to gain permission from all parents. On the day of the interviews, all of the students wanted to participate, but not all had received parental permission. The teacher indicated that it was minority parents who had not yet given permission and sent the first group of students into the interview while she telephoned the remaining parents to explain further about the interviews in order to secure permission for the remaining students to participate in the next group. Thus, this teacher, as a gatekeeper, facilitated access for all her students—minority and majority.

At the second school, the teacher as a gatekeeper seemed to hold more decision-making power, as the school regularly participates in research and thus parents are often involved in granting consent. However, the teacher indicated that not all the students would participate as some of his students have learning challenges and he deemed some students potentially disruptive to group interviews. Thus, participation within this class was facilitated for some students by the teacher and not for others.

At the third school, minority language issues seemed to play a role in the teacher's facilitation of student participation. She apologised for the low number of student participants, explaining that if parent-teacher day had been prior to the data collection date, she would have been able to secure the participation of minority students by speaking face-to-face with the parents. Thus, in this school, the plan for creating a dialogue space between minority and majority students was not actualised, and S3 became a platform for majority students' views on legal citizenship and co-citizenship in 'multicultural' Norway. (Note: Further discussion of the tone of the first two groups at this school is provided in articles two and four.)

In terms of access, Boddy shows that in instances of intercultural research with children where issues of language are at play, “some potential participants lose the freedom to make the choice to agree to take part” (2012, p. 79). This is likely the case with the third school, as the teacher indicated that it was parents with Norwegian as a second language who had difficulty understanding the consent form, thus denying minority students the choice to participate. However, at the second school, the teacher indicated that potentially disruptive students would not attend and appeared to be the one to decline them the right of participation. Thus, it seems that the freedom to choose was also not available to some students at the second school.

Gatekeepers, such as teachers and parents, thus play an important role in determining whose voice is heard. Within the school setting, particularly in research with students, researchers are reliant on the goodwill of the teacher as gatekeeper and must thus largely defer to their judgment and preferences in order to gain access to students. The relationship with the teacher—or gatekeeper—can thus be cultivated in different ways. Either the researcher can seek a close relationship with the teacher and gain their cooperation in designing a more comprehensive data collection methodology that functions well for the teacher’s classroom curriculum, or one can design a data collection methodology that requires minimal time and effort from the teacher. In the case of this research, I chose the latter. In future research, I hope to try other approaches.

In addition to gatekeepers, participants themselves—especially ages 14-15—have the capacity to make their own choices regarding participation. In the case of the third school, several students seemed to exercise their right to decline participation (Boddy, 2012). The teacher had informed me that there would be five students in each group—fifteen in total, however several students did not show up, and thus, only twelve students participated. Additionally, some students spoke very little or not at all in the group interviews—even when I and my co-interviewers encouraged them to contribute. In the group interviews at the first school, which were

larger, some students seemed to have joined simply out of curiosity or because their peers were joining, as they spoke very little during the interviews. Thus, they were afforded access while they themselves decided the degree of participation and contribution—or lack of contribution—of their voice to the discussion.

This discussion shows the challenges that can arise in attempting to attain the ethical ideal of all potential research participants being given the opportunity to choose or decline participation for themselves. Obstacles could be due to gatekeeper preferences or inclinations, or language issues—particularly where second language speaker minorities as participants are involved. A combination of reflexivity and pragmatism must thus guide the process of gaining access to research participants, respecting both the gatekeepers and the research participants' preferences.

4.4.4 Translation and interpretation

Both Norwegian and English were used in this dissertation, and thus translation and interpretation must be considered. Ricœur outlines the contextual differences between discourse as verbal dialogue and text as written narrative, showing that there must be an awareness of “the relation between *erklären* (explanation) and *verstehen* (understanding, comprehension)” (1973, p. 104). Such subtle differences are in like manner discussed by Venuti (2011) where he explores the ethics of translation. He shows that translation cannot exactly mirror the original due to differences in culture, grammar, and intertextuality, therefore translation should be less about the production of a word for word simulacrum and more about representation of meaning. Venuti (2011) argues that ethics and ‘truth’ in translation is the conveyance of meaning in a situated cultural context which is relevant to the reader and has the intended impact on the audience.

Reflection on issues of translation within this dissertation is necessary since the data collection and initial analysis were conducted in Norwegian, while the results and theoretical analysis are presented and written in English. The objective is to present findings from research participants as accurately as possible, and translation can colour meaning. The decision to conduct the interviews in Norwegian was taken in order to facilitate ease of communication. Due to the participants being students in schools where the language of instruction is Norwegian, it was logical to assume that most of the students would be more at ease with interviews in Norwegian as either their mother tongue or main school language of instruction. Thus, the choice to conduct the interviews in a different language than that which is the main language of research dissemination was taken out of consideration for the research participants—to facilitate their voice and freedom of expression.

Reflexivity thus guides decisions regarding the ‘microethics’ (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) of translation—also because Norwegian is my second language. As I am acutely aware of both the dialectic variations in Norway and my own position as a non-native speaker, I have taken a number of steps to mitigate misunderstanding and misinterpretation. I have enlisted the help of native Norwegian speakers in, for example, ensuring my interview guide is clear. I recruited co-interviewers who are not only fluent Norwegian speakers, but proficient in the dialect of the region where the research was being conducted. The co-interviewers were encouraged to, and spoke up, during the interviews when clarification or follow up comments were needed. They also made themselves available to discuss aspects of the interview transcripts that were unclear to me. Additionally, while I conducted analysis on the transcripts in their original language (Norwegian), I received the help of a native Norwegian speaker in proofreading my translations, specifically for excerpts used in the reporting of research results.

That being said, it is only fair and ethical to acknowledge that there were likely comments made by the students in the interviews which I either

did not understand or did not follow up—due to my position as a second language Norwegian speaker—and which could have been interesting and relevant to the topic. On the other hand, this is likely to happen in the course of any interview, that there is misunderstanding or that comments which may merit follow up are missed, even when participants and interviewers all have the same mother tongue.

An ethical consideration which is related to translation is that of interpretation, including both how findings are presented as well as what findings are included and which are left aside (Kjørholt, 2012). Here again, reflexivity is important in considering how and why one chooses to include or not include certain results. Within my dissertation, in addition to critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1993), reflexivity and thematic recurrence have been important aspects methodologically (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Nowell et al., 2017), as the recurrence of themes within the data can be a signal that the finding is significant and should be prioritised for reporting. Qualitative interviews yield rich data, and thus identifying themes can help to streamline the process of analysis.

On the other hand, it is also important to report the nuance and diversity present in the data. Feminist scholars have grappled with this challenge and suggested a methodology for addressing this in the use of polyphony (Liamputtong, 2007). In practice, polyphony means that the voices of research participants are given greater space and less editing of transcript excerpts is employed in order to allow greater visibility of conflicting voices within the data. The objective is not to include everything stated by all participants or interviewees, but to allow excerpts which demonstrate the research findings to speak with their own voice. It could be argued that polyphony employed in this manner allows for greater transparency: By including larger excerpts of the research participants' own words, in a sense, the reader is given the opportunity to verify (or disagree with) the interpretation offered by the researcher. If it were not for the restrictions of journal word count, the Norwegian text could have been included in the articles as well in order for readers to verify the

translation. This is not to say that the interpretation of student discussions is self-evident or that they can be understood in only one way. As Wertz, Charmaz, McMullen, Josselson, Anderson, and McSpadden (2011) demonstrate in their exemplary book, “Five ways of doing qualitative analysis”, there are always multiple ways of interpreting data.

Thus, interpretation, selection, and translation intersect, and ethical reflexivity must be invested in the choices made for each. Questions I ask myself as a researcher in these inter-related processes are: How do I understand and interpret comments and discussions by youth in a language which is not my mother tongue—both Norwegian as a second language and the language of youth, who are not my generational peers? How does my research question and positionality affect what I select from the qualitative interviews as important results to report? How do I interpret and report these findings within my articles and other dissemination channels? How do I translate and convey the meaning of research participants’ comments in a way that truthfully communicates their perspectives? The essence of this reflexivity is demonstrating integrity towards the research participants.

4.5 Coding and analysis

The focus group interviews were recorded with a Zoom H1n audio recorder, and the transcribing of the full audio files in Norwegian was outsourced. The transcriptions resulted in approximately 200 pages of data. After the audios were fully transcribed, I read over the transcripts to check for errors and to add anonymised identifiers for each student’s utterance as per the notes taken by my co-interviewers. I re-read the transcripts multiple times, both to highlight themes as well as to become familiar with all the data (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Nowell et al., 2017)—including the discussion context of noteworthy statements or segments. I initially used NVivo to code the transcripts by extracting excerpts on

Coding data in NVivo resulted in the removal of utterances from the context within which statements were made, therefore I discontinued the use of NVivo. To maintain contextual coherence, I reverted to analysing the full transcripts in Word, making note of recurring themes, and later culling excerpts once a focus theme had been decided on. I did not code the data in the strict sense of *producing* codes. Rather, I highlighted key thoughts in students' utterances, adding a word or a phrase which conveyed the meaning or discourse on noteworthy statements or 'moments' in the data. At a later date, I printed out the anonymised transcripts in full and again re-read and analysed them. Through this process, noteworthy statements or sentiments were not disconnected from their context, and I was continually reminded of the narratives, of the negotiations, of the tone of the discussions, the similarities and difference, the repeated themes. In essence, I immersed myself in the data, reading the full transcripts multiple times with diverse themes in focus. Braun and Clarke (2019) argued that repeated immersion in the data and deep reflection on the narratives and recurring themes are intrinsic methodological aspects of reflexive thematic analysis. Reflexivity was therefore an important analytical tool (Gough, 2003), along with reflecting on the data while reviewing academic literature and discussions with colleagues and supervisors. This contributed to recognising overarching patterns in the data and embedded discourses (van Dijk, 1993) which led to further analysis of focus themes.

Conducting multiple re-readings and analyses of the full transcripts allowed me to look at the whole dataset from different theoretical perspectives. The interview guide aided this process as it allowed for a natural division of sections: initial discussion of the citizen terms, reaction to and discussion of the television clip, social media discussion, and concluding reflections on the terms. Once focus themes had been decided upon and pertinent segments culled, I translated the excerpts. In order to keep the students' voices at the forefront of my discussion and analysis process, I focused on including longer dialogue segments in the

articles and kept the Norwegian version of the segments in my draft articles alongside the English until the very last stage of finalising my articles for submission to journals. At this last stage, I would have a native Norwegian speaker conduct a final proofread of the translated dialogue segments.

Literature on feminist research methodology was beneficial in approaching reflexivity in analysis, particularly critiques of traditional understandings of objectivity (Crasnow, 2014; Harding, 2004). The ‘view from nowhere’ (Wylie, 2014, p. 68) was not the aim, however understanding the subjectivity of my positionality necessitated seeking out discussion with colleagues and acquaintances with a different positionality than my own as part of the reflexive analytical process. In addition to the guidance and exploration of ideas provided by my supervisors, from time to time, I would ask a fellow (Norwegian) PhD in my workspace to read anonymised segments of my data to ensure that I had understood and translated or interpreted them accurately.

One of the most difficult aspects of research with empirical data is making choices regarding themes to focus on and this process was not altogether straightforward. Braun and Clarke (2019) argue that the researcher is at the heart of the research, and the increasing awareness that there is no ‘correct’ way to interpret the data was initially a source of discomfort. In Harper’s (2003) chapter on ‘Developing a critically reflexive position using discourse analysis’, he reflects on his own uneasiness with the data analysis process: “Would a decision to focus on one aspect rather than another be simply arbitrary?” (2003, p. 80) he recalls asking himself. Eventually, he concluded, “*I had to make a choice*” (2003, p. 80), and such was the case in this dissertation as well. The initial set of interviews (S1) highlighted this fact, as just two group discussions had yielded rich qualitative data and I felt I would need five or six articles to adequately explore the findings. In some respects, the additional interviews helped to streamline my focus and guide my choices as themes which had arisen in the first set of group interviews

surfaced in group interviews at the other schools. Additionally, some choices were made in order to keep the dissertation in line with the overarching theme of citizenship. For example, one identified theme was ‘feeling safe’, however in order not to side-track the dissertation from the main topic of citizenship, human rights—with rights as a dimension of citizenship—was selected instead. (The ‘feeling safe’ theme will be explored in future research.)

Also, my interview guide included questions on social media (and its role as an information source for youth on citizenship debates and global happenings), as I had initially planned to include it as a theme in my dissertation. However, while the group interview discussions yielded fascinating insight into youth’s various uses of social media, after exploring various approaches, I came to realise that I would be better able to explore themes related to inclusive citizenship if I did not overreach by trying to cover the connection with social media as well. (This data will also be explored in future research.)

In their chapter on reflexivity in research, McKay, Ryan, and Sumsion (2003) highlight dimensions of time, showing the development of ideas which results from revisiting assumptions and conceptualisations. This has also proven true in this dissertation, where both new insights as well as complementary theoretical frameworks have been added as the thesis developed. For example, the fourth article had not been part of my initial dissertation plan. But as I re-visited the data in working on the third article, my attention was drawn to the way that understanding of difference was connected to positionality and this led to the development of the fourth article. As I now reflect on the dissertation as a whole, I feel it would be incomplete without this final fourth article which highlights both the impact of positionality in interview dynamics as well as the important role of positionality and proximity to difference in understandings of legal citizenship and co-citizenship. However, without the benefit of the passage of time, re-reflecting on, and re-visiting the data, this paper would never have been developed.

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The contribution of the journal review process is another important factor to highlight in conjunction with dimensions of time and reflexivity. Through the critical feedback of reviewers, I was challenged to re-visit my assertions, and at times even return to my data. In particular, my understanding of where and how my findings contribute to the field were clarified through this process of scholarly feedback—and I would like to extend my appreciation to all those who contribute to their field as journal reviewers.

Table 3 PhD progression

Time	Work outline
Spring 2019	Writing the project proposal / reading
Summer 2019	Conference (in person) Reading into the field Exploring my stance Developing interview guide Applying for NSD (ethics) permission
Fall 2019	Reading into the field Pilot interviews (school one / pilot) Courses Reading / transcribing / analysing data
Spring 2020	Reading into the field Courses (one abroad) Interviews (schools two and three) Reading / transcribing / analysing data
Summer 2020	Reading / transcribing / analysing data Writing articles one and two Conference (online)
Fall 2020	Courses Article two revisions Conference (online) Preparation for midway seminar
Spring 2021	Preparation for midway seminar Midway seminar Re-visiting the data More article two revisions

Methodology

	Article one revisions
Summer 2021	Article two accepted Visit to Aarhus University, Denmark Re-visiting the data Writing / revising articles three and four Conference (online)
Fall 2021	Article two published More article one revisions Further work on article four Work on extended abstract / capstone Courses Conferences (one online, one in person)
Spring 2022	Work on extended abstract / capstone Article one accepted Article three revisions Conference (in person)

5 Article overview

This chapter will offer an overview of the articles: a synopsis along with a table which provides an overview of the article logic. In the following chapter, there will be a reflection on the contribution of the dissertation to citizenship education (CE).

5.1 Overview

5.1.1 *Article one: Material Interpolations—Youth engagement with inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses*

The first article used a discursive-material (Carpentier, 2017) analytical framework to examine how students used material or sensory tokens—specifically audible language, clothing, and physical appearance—to either express or challenge inclusive citizenship. Minorities were described as either belonging (included), with justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity extended to them, or as Other by recourse to material elements. Prior research shows teachers’ need for a language or vocabulary to discuss racism (Lindquist & Osler, 2016), and this article confirms these findings, arguing that teachers hosting citizenship discussions in school must dare to address and allow students to openly discuss potentially embarrassing material elements of citizenship—including material elements of racial and religious prejudice in order to effectively deconstruct prejudicial discourses.

[Note: This article has been published in the Journal of Social Science Education (Dansholm, 2022a).]

5.1.2 Article two: Majority Rights, Minority Responsibilities—Young People’s Negotiations with Human Rights

The second article is a case study of one of the schools (S3) where a recurring theme in group discussions was the negotiation of rights and responsibilities. Using the UN Declaration of Human Rights (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948) as a thematic lens, this article shows that while frequent reference was made to many of the thirty Human Rights, there were no direct references to the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and some rights were framed as Norwegian rights. Additionally, at times, the rights of the Other were framed as a threat to majority rights, with some rights expressed as both a right and responsibility. These results point to a need for citizenship education to allow for more in-depth discussion of the universality of rights, as well as both access and barriers to rights. Addressing these issues from the standpoint of the Other within their own communities may help to highlight relational dimensions and challenge the idea that human rights infractions are a distant phenomenon.

[Note: This article has been published at HRER (Dansholm, 2021).]

5.1.3 Article three: Students' understanding of legal citizenship and co-citizenship concepts: Subject positions and capabilities

The third article analyses student perspectives on both legal citizenship (statsborgerskap) and co-citizenship (medborgerskap) through the lens of subject positions and capabilities. In this article, I disaggregate the term citizen into legal citizen and co-citizen, while I also explore the varying storylines which shape understandings of capabilities. Through this analysis, I show that citizen capability storylines often overlap and are conflated by students, specifically legal (rights), societal (public opinion), and ideal (democratic) capabilities. Furthermore, depending on the storylines drawn on to describe citizenship, both legal citizenship and co-citizenship can be framed as either inclusive or exclusive.

[Note: This article has been published at the Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education, included in their special issue on democracy and citizenship education (Dansholm, 2022b).]

5.1.4 Article four: Visible and invisible difference: Negotiating citizenship, affect, and resistance

The fourth article focuses on the interplay between the positionality of the students, myself, and my co-interviewers (fellow researchers Dickstein and Stokmo) and understandings of citizenship. As researcher citizens with (in)visible difference, we found that student positionality and discussion of difference had an affective dimension which impacted on our desire to engage and react to parts of the discussions. We also found that our (in)visible differences becoming apparent served a different purpose in each of the schools. In the school with most diversity (S1), including both visible and invisible, our differences appeared to contribute to a safe space for difference. At the second school (S2), with mostly invisible difference, it allowed for highlighting and more explicitly reflecting on difference. At the third school (S3), I had to actively (re)highlight my (in)visible difference in order to epistemically challenge an exclusionary understanding of citizenship in which visible difference is othered. Our exploration of positionality and (in)visible difference leads us to reflect on Arendt's [1958] (1998) discussion of the unique contribution of each individual versus the Nordic Jante's Law (Avant & Knutsen, 1993) which demands sameness. The possible implication is that a freer admittance of our own uniqueness and differences—whether visible or invisible—may contribute towards destigmatising difference, and rather than approaching it as a threat, recognise it as a resource.

[Note: This article is under journal review.]

5.1.5 Article table

Following is a table which provides an overview of the knowledge gaps, research questions, main claims, and methods employed in each article.

Table 4 Article table

Article	1) Material interpolations	2) Rights & responsibilities	3) Subject positions & capabilities	4) (In)visible difference
Knowledge gap / framing	Youth (majority & minority) understanding of citizenship belonging	Youth discussion of the rights & responsibilities of citizenship	Youth understanding of legal citizenship & co-citizenship	Centrality of positionality & (in)visible difference in citizenship
Research question	How do youth understand citizenship belonging in a 'multicultural' society?	How do youth understand the rights and responsibilities connected to citizenship?	How do youth understand citizenship subject positions & capabilities?	What role does (in)visible difference play in citizenship understandings, affect, & resistance?
Claims	Youth use sensory tokens (physical appearance, clothing, audible language) to justify or challenge citizenship belonging; these must be explicitly deconstructed	Human rights & access-as-belonging are useful frameworks for investigating citizenship to engender majority understandings of minorities' barriers to rights	Disaggregating the citizenship concept allows for a clearer exploration of subject positions and their correspondent legal, societal, and ideal capabilities	Positionality & experience with or proximity to (in)visible difference have the potential to act as a resource in relating to marginalisation
Methods	Group interviews; discursive-material analysis	Group interviews; thematic analysis: human rights / citizenship / access-as-belonging frameworks	Group interviews; thematic analysis (legal citizen / co-citizen); subject positions; capabilities	Group interviews; discourse analysis; positionality / (in)visible difference, affect & resistance



6 Discussion

In this chapter, I will reflect on this dissertation's contributions—empirical, theoretical, and methodological—through the lens of the overarching research question. I will also reflect on the strengths and limitations of the study and offer some reflections on potential insights for educators and citizenship education (CE) in particular.

6.1 Empirical contributions

The main research question driving this dissertation was how youth understand citizenship discourses, with a focus on the Norwegian vocabulary which differentiates between legal citizenship (*statsborgerskap*) and co-citizenship (*medborgerskap*)—or as some argue, status and role (Korsgaard, 2004). The background for the study is the purportedly inclusive discourse of citizenship education in school (Fylkesnes, 2019) contrasted with exclusionary public sphere discourse (Fangen & Vaage, 2018) – such as is visible in the NRK television clip (Al-Hussaini, 2017).

While youth in this study did not necessarily fully understand the terms legal citizenship and co-citizenship, the empirical results support the underlying assumption: that youth are very aware of and influenced in their understanding of citizenship by both exclusionary public sphere discourse and idealised democratic CE discourse. This is demonstrated by the fact that while the television clip used as part of the research methodology highlighted (or introduced) exclusionary public sphere rhetoric into the discussion, youth utilised both inclusive and exclusionary discourses prior to the showing of the NRK television clip. Thus, discussion of citizenship dimensions, as well as understandings of both co-citizenship and legal citizenship, was largely framed by tensions between inclusive and exclusionary discourses.

6.1.1 Co-citizenship (*medborgerskap*)

Focusing on co-citizenship (*medborgerskap*), the findings in the first article echo research on youth discussion of Norwegian belonging (Erdal, 2019; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018, 2021; Eriksen, 2020), showing alternate terminology being utilised in order to avoid politically incorrect discussion of ‘race’. Recurring themes in both prior research and this dissertation are the importance of physical appearance or ancestry and speaking Norwegian for identifying belonging. Additionally, I highlight discussion of (symbolically imbued) clothing and thus identify material or visible markers in youth justification or challenging of belonging. In other words, youth use discourse on visible markers—such as clothing, physical appearance, and audible language—to argue their position on the issue. Likewise, the third article highlights storylines about Norwegians as white which deny racialised minorities the subject position of Norwegian citizen, while storylines which depict the Muslim with hijab as the Other again cast Muslims as not ‘really’ Norwegian. Therefore, in line with other Norwegian research (Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Røthing, 2015; Svendsen, 2014), I argue for the need to explicitly discuss racialised issues, such as material or sensory tokens – physical appearance, clothing, and audible language. Specifically, what are the arguments for associating physical appearance, clothing, and audible language with legal citizenship or even co-citizenship, and are these valid? If they are not valid, why not?

Storylines and discourses of othering in relation to participation are also highlighted in the articles. In particular, the second article includes dialogue segments which juxtapose ‘us’ and ‘them’. Narratives which frame ‘their’ behaviour as strange, dictate what ‘they’ should do, how ‘they’ should participate, or that ‘their’ rights should not infringe upon ‘ours’ implicitly call into question ‘their’ belonging. This type of narrative is precisely what Mbembe (2015) is referring to when he argues for the need for access-as-belonging. And yet, societal participation was often framed within the parameters of ‘good citizenship’ as prescribed

by integration policy (Jdid, 2021). For example, students spoke of getting a job as part of one's obligation as a good citizen, community participation, neighbourhood clean-ups (dugnad), and parent associations at schools. Other discussion centred on taking part in community activities, such as sports and youth clubs. Such suggestions of activities which minorities could join demonstrated a duality of meaning: one meaning was that such activities, or community participation, could offer a greater sense of belonging to minorities; another meaning implied an imperative: as in, to become part of the community and belong, one must participate in such activities. The prescription of community participation stood out when a comparison was made between the difference in the way that some minorities and majorities discussed participation and co-citizenship. Majority students tended to discuss participation in terms of institutionalised avenues, such as sports clubs and youth clubs. On the other hand, one discussion among minority students focused on spontaneous neighbourliness, such as friendly greetings and generosity or babysitting your neighbour's children on short notice.

This ties in with the repeated theme of good co-citizenship as following the local norms and rules. While some students acknowledged societal pressure to conform to local norms and the challenges which could be associated with being different, other students framed the need for minorities and immigrants to follow the rules as a safety requirement, as well as the normally expected behaviour of anyone in a foreign country.

Many recurring themes follow the expected discourse of democratic citizenship and participation; however, it is also important to note the undertone of assimilation discourse. In their report on civic and citizenship education in Europe, Mouritsen and Jaeger (2018) highlight the prevalence of framing CE targeted at refugees and immigrants as an imperative to assimilate. Thus, it seems pertinent for educators to note that this rhetoric is being internalised by at least a percentage of youth.

It would therefore behove educators to explicitly take up such themes as the difference between norms and rules, exploring different ideas of community, and whether or not cultural assimilation is in fact necessary for an inclusive community and functioning democracy. As Jdid (2021) demonstrates in her exploration of ‘good citizenship’ in Norway and Denmark, those who might be considered on the margins of society argue for the right to participate in society ‘the way I am’. – Again, echoing Mbembe’s (2015) stance against preconditions of assimilation.

6.1.2 Legal citizenship (statsborgerskap)

Secondly, focusing on legal citizenship (statsborgerskap) and corresponding rights, my findings echo Brantefors’ (2019) and Vesterdal’s (2016) findings regarding human rights being framed as democratic values. Multiple mentions were made by my respondents of rights which are included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948), while the understanding that these are non-negotiable national and international laws seemed absent. Many of the students referred to them as if they were particular to Norway, as Norwegian rights, while the discussions regarding the potential threat which minority rights pose to majority rights indicates a need for more clarified teaching on the subject. Ruck and Tenenbaum’s (2014) analysis of young people’s reasoning regarding rights for asylum seekers is worth reflecting on in this regard, as they found more inclusivity stemmed from moral reasoning than social conventions reasoning. And yet it would seem a step further is needed: moral reasoning is a positive first step, but it is vital to acknowledge that rights are not negotiable. They are inscribed in law and therefore should not be understood as granted due to an individual or nation state’s ‘goodness’—whether due to democratic morals or social conventions reasoning.

Furthermore, the discussion framing the following of Norwegian norms and rules as the responsibility of minorities demonstrates another dimension of the need for delineation of the difference between norms and rules or laws. If minorities must follow all national norms (not just laws), how does this impact on their rights—particularly the right to self-determination—and if they choose not to adhere to all national norms, how does this impact on their ability to participate in society? How does this impact on access? Certainly, everyone is required to follow national laws. However, cultural and societal norms are not stipulated by law.

Reflecting again on citizenship education's adjacent field, Human Rights education (HRE), I therefore argue that a degree of legal literacy is an important aspect of CE (Lundy & Martínez Sainz, 2018). While extensive juridical understanding of the intricacies of national and international law are not essential, there are basic legal premises which should be part of the social sciences—particularly where discussions of inclusive citizenship are at play. The Norwegian language provides a helpful clarification with the word legal citizen (*statsborger*). While the 2020 LK20 Core Curriculum focuses on co-citizenship (*medborgerskap*) (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017), it could be argued that a logical starting point for discussing equality and democratic values is beginning with the legal mechanisms which have been put in place in order to protect minority rights. Thus, educators could highlight the fact that legal citizenship status grants the same rights to racialised minorities as to white 'ethnic' Norwegians, and anyone who acquires legal citizenship has, per definition, fulfilled the state determined prerequisite for becoming a legal citizen. Likewise, equality and non-discrimination are rights, not just democratic ideals—in the same way that freedom of religion is a right.

Additionally, foreign citizens or non-national co-citizens are for the most part legally resident in Norway and thus have access to rights through international and regional legal agreements, such as human rights law (rights are, of course, also available to asylum seekers and undocumented

migrants, although mechanisms may be different or more difficult to access). Therefore, as most foreign national residents are law-abiding co-citizens having entered the country under provision of international legally agreed upon institutions, there is every reason to treat them with equal respect and recognise that they have access to the same rights. Additionally, as Norway has now ratified the right to dual citizenship, Norwegian legal citizens (statsborgere) with an additional citizenship have the same rights as any other legal citizen—whether white or racialised minority.

6.1.3 Overlaps and citizenship dimensions

Membership and identity is the citizenship dimension where legal citizenship and co-citizenship overlap, as while one indicates legal membership, the other denotes societal membership. This blurring of the lines between the two is particularly visible when informants lapsed into discussion of who is Norwegian, against the backdrop of a multicultural Norway. On the more inclusive end of the continuum of discussions, informants who drew on democratically ideal storylines rejected exclusionary narratives. Many students drew on storylines regarding audible language and regional dialects as being markers of belonging. Thus, a Norwegian language speaker, particularly one with a fluent regional dialect, was granted access to the subject position of Norwegian citizen. Additionally, more universalistic storylines on democratic ideals of equality opened up the membership subject position to anyone with a feeling of being Norwegian or any type of connection to Norway. In some respects, this echoes Andresen's (2020) research where teachers were willing to expand the boundaries of Norwegian culture due to the prevalence of equality-based ideals. This also echoes Vesterdal (2019) and Lile's (2019) discussion of Norwegian values and self-image as democratic, implying that by extension inclusivity and human rights are societal norms.

Reflecting on democratic and political participation more generally, an important repeated theme in the student discussions, as highlighted in article two, was voting—both as a right and as a responsibility. In the Norwegian context, voting at the municipality level is open to resident foreign nationals (co-citizens), while legal citizenship is required for voting at the national level. Some students expressed a strong belief in the correlation between voting and making societal change. Other students discussed the right of citizens to be heard by those in power, and others gave examples of participating in local protests. Such responses demonstrate that students have an understanding of both the possibilities and expectations of political participation, which to a degree echoes Mathé’s (2019) research on youth understandings of politics and democratic engagement. Whether this translates to participation, socially or politically, is another matter entirely (and outside the scope of this dissertation).

Identity as a parallel dimension of citizenship membership was not a central focus of this dissertation, and thus this dissertation does not explore life histories or go in depth into the personal experiences of the informants. However, as mentioned in article four, one minority student shared her own experience of being frequently subjected to the intrusively curious question, “Where are you really from?”, which caused her to question her own identity. Additionally, our life experiences (researcher and co-interviewers), which are also explored in article four, have helped to inform our understanding of the impact of (in)visible difference on identity and feelings of belonging. Our exploration indicates that personal (in)visible differences have the potential to broaden ones’ understanding of identity and membership as they pertain to citizenship, while challenging the cultural norm of valuing sameness connected to Jante’s Law (Ekelund, 2021). While research on educators’ efforts (as shown in the literature mapping) demonstrates that this can be challenging for both white and racialised minority educators in majority white societies (Arneback et al., 2021;

Arneback & Jämte, 2021; Burner & Osler, 2021; Kim, 2021; Vickery, 2015, 2017), we would argue that true inclusivity requires us to take the risk (Biesta, 2013).

6.2 Theoretical contributions

In this dissertation, diverse theoretical frameworks have been used and adapted in order to allow for a clearer analysis of divergent dimensions of citizenship.

6.2.1 Discursive-material knot framework

Firstly, I adapted Carpentier's (2017) discursive-material knot framework through including audible language under the umbrella of the material. Carpentier (2017) stresses the interplay of the material with the discursive through his description of the framework as a 'knot', highlighting the interconnections between the material and discourse and the ways in which they impact upon each other. Erdal and Strømsø (2021) also highlight this interplay in empirical research through their discussion of visible difference and first impressions, showing that the stereotypes regarding Norwegian-ness as whiteness are particularly strong in initial contact. However, their findings show that the boundaries of belonging can be re-negotiated based on relational dialogue.

Theorising in terms of the discursive-material knot framework requires a degree of pragmatism. As I have argued, rather than defining or categorising the material, I view the material simply as that 'something' which is encountered (or is absent) and requires discursive categories to interpret. For most people, physical appearance is encountered first and invokes discursive categories for relating to an individual—both for an acquaintance and for a stranger. On the other hand, for a visually

impaired person, audible language is encountered first. In the dark, we also encounter material objects which we must interpret. The discourses connected to the encountered material(s) follow—even if only a split second later. Some researchers have theorised *absence* as material (Giovannoni & Quattrone, 2018). While their research focuses on absence of physical structures and its connection to organising, individuals' absence from certain spaces can also be understood as material. Absent fathers, brothers, and sons (and in increasing numbers their female counterparts) due to military casualties of war are one example of absence. Absence from certain activities or spaces could likewise be theorised materially. How does it impact on society when minorities are materially absent from certain spaces?

Moving on to difference more generally, how do we understand the material dimensions of (in)visible difference? In addition to the material dimensions of physical appearance, clothing, and audible language, cultural norms and practices have material dimensions, including rituals and food culture. Growing up in a country where one is a foreign national also equates to a material absence from one's national country, while the material rituals and food of that country are largely replaced by one's host country.

As for the interplay of the materiality of audible language and physical appearance, I would intimate that there exists a gap in the literature, as my research has not revealed what I would consider sufficient theorising on this topic within educational research. Why is it that linguistic research is often disconnected from research on racism and whiteness? Norwegian studies on diversity highlight discrimination towards linguistic minorities (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Burner & Osler, 2021), and other research highlights prejudices connected to accents and dialects for second language speakers (Cornips, 2020). One notable contribution that highlights the connection between linguistics and physical appearance is the research by Røynealand and Jensen (2020) which offers fascinating insight into the connections through their inclusion of both material

audio recordings as well as material photos of persons to be categorised. However, as audible language is a recurring theme in the Scandinavian research on racialisation and prejudice within educational settings (Vertelyté & Li, 2021), it seems it is high time to more thoroughly theorise this connection. The discursive-material knot (Carpentier, 2017), with audible language understood as materially encountered, offers one potential framework.

6.2.2 Capabilities—legal, ideal, and societal

Another theoretical contribution relates to the adaptation of Sen's (2001) concept of capabilities—or the real possibilities for action or choice. Nussbaum (2003) argues that Sen's 'development as freedom' concept is too vague and therefore proposes defining which capabilities or freedoms should be prioritised. This could be argued to be a type of Maslow's hierarchy of needs approach (Maslow, 1943). However, I have opted for conceptualising capabilities in different categories as per the empirical discussion of my respondents. Thus, in my third article I divide capabilities into three categories: legal, ideal, and societal. This lens allows for a clarified focus on real possibilities (or 'handlingsrom' in Norwegian). Legal capabilities are those which are codified by national and international juridical institutions—regardless of whether one is aware of one's right to access them. Ideal capabilities are those which moral reasoning or democratic values would argue are the right of individuals—and human rights when understood as national democratic values would fall under this category. The category of societal capabilities highlights norms and cultural institutions which can restrict either an individual's or a group's capabilities, due, for example, to gender, 'ethnicity', or class. Through dividing capabilities into these subcategories, a clearer analysis is possible of both individual and group capabilities.

6.2.3 Hybridity and (in)visible difference

Hybridity as an idea has played an important role in my understanding and definition of positionality. The term is used by Bhabha (2015) to describe the space of cultural creation in the meeting of the colonised and the coloniser. However, based on my own, my co-interviewers, and my informants' experience and discussion, I have adapted and broadened the definition. I therefore include the creativity springing up in the meeting of any number of cultural differences—even two 'coloniser' cultures. This ties in with invisible difference and acknowledges that context is central in definitions of majority / minority. Akin to the way that people of colour are generally part of the minority in European nations, an Italian in Norway would likewise be part of the minority. If the Italian were to immigrate to Norway, they would likely adapt. Children born to the Italian, whether their spouse were Norwegian or not, would experience a minimum of two cultures and therefore craft a hybrid identity. Moreover, without going in depth into Gilroy's (2004) conviviality, I would argue that these culturally creative spaces are vibrant and fluid, opening space for inclusivity.

This understanding of hybridity leads to the further theorisation of visible and invisible difference—and the understanding that discourses of difference are not confined to visible difference and racialised 'ethnicity'. In drawing on Alcoff (2006), I acknowledge the space occupied by racialisation, as well as gender in discussions of difference. However, drawing on Brighenti (2007) allows for further highlighting norms of power and the way in which majority norms essentially become invisible, or rather, unquestioned. Cultural norms, ways of life, even hobbies, can be differences which are delegitimised by unquestioned (or which 'cannot' be questioned) majority norms. Some of these differences may, for a time, fly under the radar so to speak. However, what reactions do we see when such differences become visible?

My empirical findings demonstrate that ‘different’ was often a euphemism for the Other. However, even among white or ‘ethnic’ Norwegians, (in)visible differences are likely more common among the populace than is often acknowledged in discourses of sameness (likhet). Cultural differences come in many variants, such as among white ‘ethnic’ Norwegians who have grown up abroad, hybrid families with one parent with a foreign nationality or background, or extended families with foreign national / background stepparents or siblings, foster children, or adoptees – as demonstrated by the Norwegian statistics bureau’s categories (Dzamarija, 2014). A host of other differences exist, including some prominent ones which have been outside the scope of this dissertation, such as LGBTIQ+ and persons with disabilities. While persons with visible difference bear those differences on their body without the option of hiding them, many white persons have the option to hide and thereby avoid the risk of being seen as different. As Shields (2000) points out in her article “Learning from Difference”, when educators consider difference to be rare, or the exception rather than the rule, they may not see the need to facilitate for and acknowledge diversity. However, through theorising difference in its visibility as well as its invisibility, I draw on Arendt’s [1958] (1998) discussion of individual’s uniqueness through which they have the potential to contribute in a way that no other can. Shields (2000) explores what she calls schools as communities of difference through the lenses of gender, race, and ability. However, I would argue that a step further is required to recognise the uniqueness and invisible differences inherent in humanness. Therefore, in acknowledging the ubiquity of difference, the pressing question is whether the connection between (in)visible difference and uniqueness can be theorised as a positive resource to the point where it takes hold in society at large.

6.3 Methodological contribution

This dissertation contributes methodologically through presentation and discussion of the experimentation and adaptation of the group interview method of data collection. While it could be argued that the differences between the focus groups—in terms of size, composition, and interviewers—is a limitation, it also allows for extensive reflection on the ramifications of the contextual differences. Essentially, I had little to no control over who would join the interviews. Participation was facilitated by the teachers, and while some students were physically present but hardly spoke, other students who were supposed to be present did not show up. Groups ranged in size from three to eight participants, and most groups presented as much less ‘diverse’ than I had hoped. My primary co-interviewer was not able to join for the third school, and my planned fourth school was eventually cancelled due to Covid-19. However, the students who did participate shared insightful opinions and proved the thoughtfulness of the younger generation. All my participants have since moved on from the schools where the interviews were held and will likely change some of their opinions as they gain new life experience, yet I would still like to express my gratitude for their engagement. While they may not remember me in the future, I will always remember their contributions.

Having considered challenges, I would argue that a methodological contribution is reflection on the inclusion of the NRK television clip (Al-Hussaini, 2017). As mentioned, the clip was shown to the students after an initial set of questions, rather than at the beginning. More than one journal reviewer requested more information on the clip and the rationale for use of the clip. To reiterate, the rationale was public debate, such as anti-immigrant rhetoric (Fangen & Vaage, 2018), as a background to understandings of citizenship. Additionally, the question has arisen as to whether the clip influenced the opinions of the students. Firstly, I would argue that in line with Brinkmann’s (2007) discussion of epistemic enquiry and creating a space where dialogue feels natural (Wilkinson,

2004), news reports and media are natural sources of discussion. Secondly, as highlighted in the third article, the exclusionary discourse which was present in some group interviews was visible prior to the viewing of the clip. Likewise, in groups where most of the discussion centred on inclusivity, the discourse after viewing the clip continued in a similar vein. It can therefore be argued that youth perspectives were not unduly altered by the viewing of the clip.

Building further on Brinkmann's (2007) idea of interviews as a natural conversation and Wilkinson's (2004) admonition to avoid artificiality in focus groups, I added the component of presenting our positionality as researcher and co-interviewer. In some respects, this was an affective response to the pilots where our informants shared snippets of their own experiences and relationship to legal citizenship and co-citizenship, inspiring a desire to be part of the conversation. As discussed in article four, our openness about our positionality had some influence on the discussion, and even though the methodology was not action research per se, using my own lived experience to challenge discourses of exclusion provided a reflection point. As the literature mapping highlights, both personal experience and the experience of friends and acquaintances is often central in children's and youth's knowledge as well as the negotiation and creation of knowledge (Barton, 2020; Erdal & Strømsø, 2021; Eriksen, 2020). As stories can often be as persuasive as statistical information (Baesler, 1997), for those pursuing research with a feminist agenda (Wilkinson, 2004), it could be interesting to further explore methodology which includes the researcher sharing their own experience in dialogue with their informant(s).

6.4 Possible limitations

A potential limitation of the study is the small sample size. Only 44 students participated, and two of the schools were in the same

municipality. Thus, the schools could not be defined as a representative sample (Bryman, 2004). I would, however, argue that each school provided a rather unique case: a municipality school in a suburban area, a private school in an urban area, and a municipality school in a rural area. Thus, the schools were not comparable in a conventional sense, and yet many similar themes recurred in each of these unique environments.

Another potential limitation is the contextuality of the study. Centred within Norwegian discussions on citizenship, integration (assimilation) expectations of co-citizens with migrant backgrounds, and the particular anti-immigrant rhetoric framed by Nordic exceptionalism and Norway's peace negotiator global brand (Fylkesnes, 2019; Vesterdal, 2019), can these results inform research and policy outside of Norway? While many aspects of the study are context specific, research in the broader field, such as regarding in and out groups (Oppenheimer & Barrett, 2011) and children's and youth's perceptions of asylum seekers' rights (Ruck & Tenenbaum, 2014), indicate the potential for transferability (Bryman, 2004).

It could also be argued that my speaking Norwegian as a second language, rather than as a native speaker, is a limitation of the study. However, I would argue that this could also be a strength, as it heightened my awareness of the need for sensitivity in analysis, interpretation, and translation of the data.

Another potential limitation is the challenge of exploring citizenship—both legal citizenship (*statsborgerskap*) and co-citizenship (*medborgerskap*)—as opposed to Norwegian-ness. Is being Norwegian and being a Norwegian citizen the same? While a fuller exploration of the definition of these terms might conclude that they are not the same, membership and identity are dimensions of citizenship. Therefore, I would argue that youth discussion of whether a person is Norwegian or not, rather than whether they are a Norwegian citizen (legal citizen or co-

citizen), centres the discussion on the membership dimension of citizenship.

It is also important to note that the group interviews were singular discussions with students in a group with a specific dynamic. Such a one-time discussion could be affected by students' familiarity with their classmates, whether they were in a group with close friends or simply class acquaintances, the recent discussions students may have had in class or with acquaintances and family regarding public debate issues, as well as their mood on that particular day, among other things. As Brizio et al. (2015) point out, adolescence is a tumultuous life stage and is impacted by, for example, socio-cultural factors, thus their opinions on the day of said group interview may change drastically within a week or a few years. While the findings indicate a degree of reliability and generalisability due to both students' recourse to discourses visible in public debate and CE as well as correlations with prior research, it is essentially only a snapshot of youth perspectives. In future research, it would be interesting to work with a group of young people over a longer period, one or two semesters perhaps. For example, a research collaboration could be formed with students in lower secondary school who take the elective "Democracy in Practice" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020). Closer collaboration with a student group would allow for a better understanding of students' individual situatedness or positionality. Regarding student voice and agency, this could open for: 1) students having more say within the research project, including development of the project, 2) while students could take part in analysis and by proxy moderate both how their voice is portrayed as well as reflect on if / how their understandings have changed. Furthermore, it could allow for experimenting with different methodologies or activities and give the students a broader dialogical space to explore discourses, different life experiences, as well as their own understandings of socio-relational citizenship experiences.

6.5 Insights for educators

Following are some reflections on potential implications for educators, particularly as pertains to citizenship education (CE). This is beginning from the understanding that CE is a normative endeavour, and from this dissertation's point of departure, the objective is to foster inclusivity. This is not a new objective, as shown in the discussion (see section 1.6) highlighting correlations between *bildung*, Dewey's democratic education, and inclusive citizenship ideals.

However, when we look at the inverse, namely exclusionary discourses, we understand that such viewpoints are societal problems and not visible in underage individuals merely due to children being less morally or psychologically developed or mature. As the literature mapping demonstrated, children and youth tend to follow the political leanings and / or attitudes of parents or local societal norms (cf. (Lam & Katona, 2018; Mertan, 2011; Oppenheimer, 2011; Seippel & Strandbu, 2016).

Wall's (2010) exploration of ethics demonstrates that children are capable of ethical deliberations from very young ages, and challenges the notion of morality as being the purview of adulthood even as immaturity is not visible solely in children. Furthermore, Mezirow's (1998, 2003) Transformative Theory is a theory of adult learning, drawing attention to the fact that adults often have ideas or viewpoints which must be challenged in order for the individual to think critically and re-evaluate taken for granted assumptions.

However, if we admit the idea that morality or moral development is an ongoing process with no strict boundary between childhood and adulthood, we could apply some ideas from Mezirow's forms of learning to the development of inclusive mindsets (Heldal Stray & Sætra, 2017). In focusing on inclusivity and CE, it becomes clear that communicative and emancipatory learning are central, due to their dialogical nature (Heldal Stray & Sætra, 2017; Mezirow, 2003). However, what seems to be less evident in Mezirow's discussions of critical reflection and even

dialogue is the relational aspect. Yuval-Davis (2011) highlights relationality in her book “The politics of belonging”, specifically in discussing the influence of the ethics of care in feminist thinking. Is one more morally developed when one is able to abstract an ideal than when one is able to recognise (and realise) their relational obligation to their fellow man?

Implicitly, inclusivity is about relationship, about how we treat our fellow citizens – be they legal citizens or co-citizens. What a citizen-centred democratic CE portends to offer is a relational view. By focusing on democratic values, abstracted ideals are central; while exploring the wherefores of citizenship centres the discussion on the people who live near us, in our society. Potential ‘wherefores’ thus include: Who are the citizens living with me in this society? What relationship do I have with them and / or to their community? Where do they stand within society in terms of structures? And how do they experience society in relation to how I experience society?

In repeating van der Ploeg’s understanding of Dewey, we see social life is highlighted:

Crucially for Dewey, [...] democracy is conducive to education. The more communal social life is (so, the more democratic it is), the richer and more varied the communication is, and the more experience and interests are shared, the more educative social life is. Also, the more renewing social life is and the more scope for flexibility and openness there is, the more creativity and personal initiative are stimulated and rewarded, and in turn, the more educative it is (2019, p. 4).

While democracy is considered central in this iteration, the inference is that we learn through relationship – leading to greater openness. In Mezirow’s discussion of communicative learning and emancipatory learning, he highlights the challenging of assumptions. As the prior research demonstrates, children and youth may often start out from social

conventions (Ruck & Tenenbaum, 2014) or in the Norwegian context, a stereotypical understanding of Norwegian-ness, however in dialogue with their peers, these stereotyped assumptions are challenged and they are open to adjusting their view to a more inclusive understanding of what citizenship or Norwegian-ness is (Erdal, 2019; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018, 2021; Eriksen, 2020).

Mezirow (2003, p. 61) states that “Transformative learning involves critical reflection of assumptions that may occur either in group interaction or independently”. However, I would argue that even if transformation occurs independently, it is usually triggered by assumptions having been challenged in relational dialogue. Furthermore, Mezirow (2003, p. 61) states that “insight into the source, structure, and history of a frame of reference, as well as judging its relevance, appropriateness, and consequences” is vital for metacognition. This could be understood to indicate that relational dialogue within a context where participants have enough in common to communicate, but also enough varied experience to challenge assumptions is ideal – and I would argue, is an example of citizen-centred CE. Akar’s (2018) exploration of young people’s citizenship conceptions in a non-Western context shows his respondents understood democratic citizenship engagement to require respect for diversity along with a shared language for dialogue.

But even with a shared language, relational dialogue is not necessarily straightforward. Relationship and belonging are multi-dimensional, or intersectional, in like manner as citizenship. Yuval-Davis (2011) highlights some dimensions of belonging as: social location, identifications and emotional attachments, ethical and political values, while distinguishing between belonging and the politics of belonging. In other words, there is no oversimplifying belonging, relationship, or citizenship. Thus, educators cannot await an easy formula: they must be prepared for the complexity which a citizen-centred CE offers. Relational citizenship is, per definition, messy.

6.6 Concluding remarks

The aim of this dissertation has been to highlight youth understandings of citizenship discourse. While I have focused on discourses and how youth negotiate both inclusive and exclusionary discourses, highlighting their voices has been an important objective in itself. A question I think is important to ask is: Without an understanding of youth perspectives—those who are the object of citizenship education (CE)—how can we as educators hope to improve, and address their needs?

Secondly, what does it mean when CE lacks an explicit focus on citizenship? While political participation, civic knowledge, and values are important aspects of democratic education, it could be questioned whether the idealised democratic values which dominate teachers' understanding of CE (Andresen, 2020; Brantefors, 2019; Vesterdal, 2016) facilitate the type of discussions needed to tackle the real issues which are part and parcel of youth's societal environments? I would offer the hypothesis that a citizen-centred CE places potentially conflictual relational aspects squarely in focus. This may be challenging for CE educators (Lindquist & Osler, 2016), however, as academics (Biswas, 2022; Wall, 2010) and young activists themselves show (Biswas, 2021; Biswas & Mattheis, 2022), children and youth are tackling complex ethical dilemmas in their daily lives. Thus, a significant implication of the dissertation is the vitality of citizenship as both a central and centred concept. The literature mapping has demonstrated that centring citizenship is not a very common approach in CE research. – And due to the complexity of the concept (citizenship), there is good reason for this. However, it may be time for this tendency to be brought into question.

Another advantage in centring citizenship is that in addition to offering a holistic relational perspective, it simultaneously forces researchers (and educators) to think through the various dimensions of citizenship and explore approaches to these dimensions implicitly and explicitly. This holds true for empirical dialogues with informants as well, where the

research may implicitly include awareness-raising on the multi-dimensionality and relationality of citizenship.

The finding that youth within this study were unsure what the citizenship terms mean is not surprising considering the multi-dimensionality and complexity of the terms. Osler and Starkey (2005) show, for example, that U.K. citizens had understood themselves as British subjects and therefore were not entirely sure what British citizenship meant. However, a citizen-centred approach also has the potential to bring into focus practical dimensions, in addition to the relational, which may be lost in the more idealised focus on democracy. For one, juridical dimensions and legal citizenship issues are not always prioritised in CE research; however, from the perspective of access-as-belonging (Mbembe, 2015) these aspects ought not be ignored. Awareness of legal citizenship rights has the potential to support minority's understanding of rights as belonging, or being owed, to them; and for the majority, it can serve as a reminder that minority rights are enshrined in laws which the majority are also subject to—meaning they are not granted based on the generosity of the majority.

Another pivotal recurring theme in this exploration of citizenship has been discourses on difference and the Other – or the relationship between 'us' and 'them'. The articles have addressed this theme in various ways. In the first article, difference is framed according to materially visible markers: physical appearance, clothing, and audible language. The second article explores understandings of the difference between 'their' and 'our' rights and responsibilities, where 'their' difference is at times understood as a negative. In the third article, different capabilities are explored: When the minority have different capabilities than the majority, how does this impact on their role in the citizen subject position? Finally, in the fourth article, my co-interviewers and I explicitly explore (in)visible difference and how different positionalities impact on understandings of citizenship. The implicit question is: Why must difference be problematic? The discussion of feminist

epistemology highlights the value of diverse voices and interests as contributing to more well-rounded knowledge (Crasnow, 2014; Wylie, 2014)—and, I might add, a more well-rounded society. In like manner, Arendt [1958] (1998) argues that it is the uniqueness of each individual which acts as their greatest resource in contributing to society in a way never before possible. The implication therefore seems to be that educators must acknowledge that all are unique and different—whether visibly or invisibly. The research on minority youth in Western countries and autobiographies of Norwegian ‘third culture kids’ (Naqvi, 2019) show that there is a dire need for acknowledgement and validation of difference and hybridity (Ekelund, 2021; Mainsah, 2011). Thus an important part of being an ally is being willing to risk ourselves (Biesta, 2013, 2020) through making our own differences visible thereby resisting the negative discourses of sameness—including residual cultural norms of Jante’s Law (Ekelund, 2021), which depreciate uniqueness.

Moreover, the complexity and messiness of relational citizenship requires recognition of and solidarity with difference in order to be able to *see* the Other. As Alcoff (2006) points out, listening fully and acknowledging difference is the first step towards recognising what we share in common. Such acknowledgement and appreciation of difference has the potential to contribute towards a more inclusive understanding of citizenship, marked by solidarity and recognition of the unique individual, communitarian, and societal contributions of both legal citizens and co-citizens.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Interview guide

(English version)

Introduction:

My name is Kerenina, and this is (Josh / Heidi). This project is connected to research at the University of Stavanger, as your teacher probably told you. You probably also know that your parents have signed a consent form so that you can join the group interviews. Even though your parents have signed the consent form and said its fine, it's totally okay if you want to withdraw during this hour. There are no consequences.

We are audio recording the interviews and we are going to transcribe them afterwards. One of us will also take notes during the interview. The transcribed interviews will be totally anonymised, even if you use names during the interviews.

We are interested to hear what you as young people think about some topics we are going to talk about. We hope that you will speak freely. There is no 'right' answer. Just share what you're thinking, regardless of what you think.

To introduce the topic, we want to ask you to translate a short phrase from English to Norwegian and afterwards we'll talk about it. [Note: *At SI, we gave out papers with 'multicultural Norway', 'co-citizenship', and 'national citizenship' written on them for the students to write down associated words.*]

Appendices

(Give out post-its and pens, and "democracy and citizenship" in English is written on an A3 paper in the middle of the table.) [Note: At S1, this written activity was a type of mind map, writing word associations on papers with the words national citizen, co-citizen, and multicultural Norway written in Norwegian.]

Now you have a few minutes to translate "democracy and citizenship" from English to Norwegian.

(pause)

Now you can put your post-it on this big paper, and then we can see how many different formulations you're found.

(Add a "the multicultural Norway" onto the A3.)

I've added "the multicultural Norway" in order to highlight the context.

(If no one has written co-citizenship [medborgerskap].)

The new national curriculum also uses the word co-citizenship, so I will write that down here also.

What do you think these different words mean? What do you think is the difference between these words?

In this discussion, we're going to talk mostly about co-citizenship and national citizenship. So how would you define the word national citizen? How would you define the word co-citizen?

[Note: After the first school, we realised that we need to make sure to round up this segment with some concrete understandings of the words, as without such a consensus, the following segments became confusing due to different use / understandings of the terminology.]

Appendices

(What kind of discussions have students had about the topics national citizenship and co-citizenship in school?)

Now we've agreed what these terms mean. So now I want to ask what you have discussed in school that has to do with national citizenship and co-citizenship?

Has your teacher told you about the new national curriculum and the interdisciplinary themes?

Have you discussed the new law that says one can have more than one national citizenship? What do you think about that?

Have you sometimes discussed the status of new national citizens in Norway or the status of minority citizens? What do you think about that?

Have you discussed new co-citizens in Norway or that of being a part of the Norwegian society with a different national citizenship?

Have you discussed other things about co-citizenship, maybe green citizenship? What do you think about that?

(Explain a little about the clip "Faten makes her choice"; show and discuss.) [Note: After S1, I realised it was important to contextualise this clip, rather than just showing it without explanation.]

Now we're going to see a short video clip. This clip is from an NRK-program called "Faten makes her choice" and in this program series Faten visits different political parties to learn more about their views and political standpoint connected to different topics. She did this in preparation for the national elections.

(Show the clip.)

Before we discuss further, I can tell you a little about myself, because I have a different experience with what is called citizenship in English. I have a Danish father and Norwegian mother. I grew up abroad and therefore I'm a little foreign. I am a Danish national citizen, but I don't think I can say I'm a Danish co-citizen. I'm a little more comfortable saying I'm a Norwegian co-citizen, not least of all because I am researching this subject. (My colleague has a different experience.)

(Dickstein [only at S2]: And I am almost the opposite. I feel that I am [Norwegian nickname for people from the region], that I'm Norwegian. I have national citizenship but feel that I'm also a co-citizen because I am engaged and involve myself in Norwegian traditions and Norwegian culture. Like, I am a fisherman, hunter, but also, I'm a researcher in the Norwegian society. So, I feel that I have a belonging to the culture, traditions, and country. But also, I experience that many Norwegians think, for example, that I only speak English before I've begun speaking. And they would still ask me where I really come from. And maybe that's because my parents come from South Africa and the U.S., and my father is Jewish and that's probably why I have dark curly hair. But it's interesting that the way you feel and the way that you're seen can be different. – And that there's kind of an opposite effect between us two.)

Now between Faten and I (us), we have presented different connections to co-citizenship and national citizenship. What do you think of the video clip?

(Discussion of social media.)

Now I want to ask you a little about social media. I assume that you use social media. What platforms do you use?

Appendices

How do you use these social media platforms? ... for example, for communication, to learn or explore things you're interested in or curious about, to stay updated or to relax?

Do you use social media or YouTube to explore things that maybe you wouldn't have asked an adult?

When you follow things on social media, what kind of things do you follow?

Are there topics you particularly wanted to stay up to date on? ... for example, Greta Thunberg and the climate debate, the fires in Australia, political issues locally or abroad, maybe in the U.S.?

Have you seen on social media some of the issues that Faten and Siv Jensen discussed in the video clip?

When you follow debates on social media, what do you do? Do you scroll on, read and scroll on, do you like or share? Why?

So you think that ...

(Concluding about national citizenship.)

Now we've talked about a variety of things, and therefore I want to ask if you have any new thoughts about the terms. Do you have any new thoughts or opinions on the term national citizen?

What would you describe as the criteria for being a Norwegian national citizen?

So you think that ...

(Concluding about co-citizenship.)

And now I want to ask the same about co-citizenship. Do you have any new thoughts or opinions on the term? Have you perhaps changed your mind about what you think it means?

How would you describe what it means to be a good Norwegian co-citizen?

(If needed...) In the video clip with Faten and Siv Jensen, they brought up different topics, e.g. values, language, identity, belonging, and participation. Do you think that any of these are more important when you think of co-citizenship, or national citizenship?

So you think that ...

Before we finish, do you have any other thoughts or comments?

Thank you everyone for taking the time to participate. Good luck!

Norwegian version:

- Jeg heter Kerenina, og dette er (Josh / Heidi). Dette prosjektet er knyttet til forskning ved Universitetet i Stavanger, som læren har fortalt dere. Dere har sannsynligvis fått med dere at foreldrene deres har signert et samtykkeskjema slik at dere kan bli med i dette gruppeintervjuet. Selv om foreldrene deres har signert samtykkeskjemaet og sagt at det er greit, så er det helt okei hvis dere vil trekke dere i løpet av denne timen. Det får ingen konsekvenser.

Vi tar lydopptak av intervjuet og vi kommer til å transkribere det etterpå. En av oss tar også notater under intervjuet. De transkriberte intervjuene kommer til å bli helt anonymiserte, selv om dere bruker navn under intervjuet.

Appendices

Vi er interessert i å høre hva dere som unge voksne tenker om noen temaer som vi kommer til å snakke om. Vi ønsker at dere skal snakke fritt. – Det er ingen riktige svar. Bare del det dere tenker, uansett hva dere tenker.

- For å introdusere temaet, vil vi be dere om å oversette et kort uttrykk fra engelsk til norsk, og etterpå skal vi snakke om dette.

(Del ut post-its og pinner, og skriv «democracy and citizenship» på et A3 ark midt på bordet.)

- Nå får dere et par minutter til å oversette «democracy and citizenship» fra engelsk til norsk.

(Etter pause:)

- Nå kan dere plassere deres «post-it»-lapper på det store arket, og så kan vi se hvor mange forskjellige formuleringer dere har funnet.

- Jeg har skrevet «det flerkulturelle Norge» for å fremheve konteksten/sammenhengen. *(Hvis ingen har skrevet «medborgerskap»:*) Den nye læreplanen bruker også ordet «medborger», så jeg skal skrive det ned også.

- Hva tror dere at de forskjellige ordene betyr? Hva er det som skiller ordene fra hverandre?

- I denne sammenhengen skal vi snakke mest om medborgerskap og statsborgerskap. Så hvordan vil dere forklare ordet statsborger? Hvordan vil dere forklare ordet medborger?

Appendices

(Om hva slags diskusjoner elevene har hatt på skolen om temaene statsborgerskap og medborgerskap.)

- Nå har vi blitt enige i hva disse begrepene betyr. Så nå vil jeg spørre hva dere har diskutert på skolen som handler om «medborgerskap» og «statsborgerskap».

- Har lærerne deres fortalt dere om den nye læreplanen og de tverrfaglige temaene?

- Har dere diskutert den nye loven som sier at man kan ha mer enn et statsborgerskap? Hva syns dere om dette?

- Har dere noen gang diskutert statusen til nye statsborgere i Norge eller statusen til norske minoriteter? Hva syns dere om dette?

- Har dere diskutert nye medborgere i Norge eller det å være en del av det norske samfunnet med et annet statsborgerskap?

- Er det andre ting dere har diskutert som gjelder medborgerskap, kanskje «grønt medborgerskap»? Hva syns dere om dette?

(Forklare litt om videoklippet "Faten tar valg", vise og diskutere.)

- Nå skal vi se på et kort videoklipp. Dette klippet kommer fra et NRK-program som kalles «Faten tar valg» og i denne programserien besøker Faten forskjellige politiske partier for å lære mer om deres meninger og politiske standpunkt knyttet til forskjellige temaer. Dette gjorde hun i forberedelse for et stortingsvalg.

(Vis videoklippet.)

- Før vi diskuterer videre, kan jeg si litt mer om meg selv, fordi jeg har en annen opplevelse av det som kalles citizenship på engelsk. Jeg har

dansk far og norsk mor. Jeg har vokst opp i utlandet og derfor er jeg fortsatt litt «utenlandsk». Jeg er dansk statsborger, men tror ikke at jeg kan si at jeg er dansk medborger. Jeg er kanskje litt mer komfortabel med å si at jeg er en norsk medborger, ikke minst fordi jeg forsker på dette temaet. Min kollega har en annen opplevelse: (*Kollega sier litt om sitt forhold til medborgerskap / statsborgerskap.*)

(Dickstein [ved S2]: På noen måter så er det nesten det motsatte, med at, jeg føler meg norsk og jeg er norsk, men samtidig så ser jeg ikke helt skandinavisk ut, sånn som tradisjonelt sett. Men det er interessant fordi, jeg har statsborgerskap og jeg føler at i tillegg så er jeg medborger på grunn av at jeg engasjere og involvere meg i norske tradisjoner og den norske kulturen. For eksempel jeg er laksefisker og jeger, og liker å forske i den norske samfunnet, så jeg er interessert i det. Men samtidig, så oppdager jeg at flere nordmenn for eksempel antar at jeg ikke snakker norsk, før jeg åpner munnen, så de snakker engelsk til meg før jeg kan begynne å snakke norsk. Og, jeg blir spurte ofte hvor jeg egentlig kommer fra. Så det er interessant fordi, jeg føler meg som [fra området], og jeg er norsk, men, moren min er fra Sør-Afrika og faren min er fra USA, og jøde, så det kan forklare kanskje hvorfor jeg har sånn brune krøller og ser litt forskjellig ut. Men samtidig så, bare fordi jeg kanskje ser litt utlandsk ut betyr ikke at jeg ikke føler meg norsk. Så det er ganske interessant også å se at det er det motsatte effekt mellom oss to. [*Slight difference may exist between the English and Norwegian script.*])

- Nå har Faten og vi to presentert ulike forhold vi har til begrepene medborgerskap og statsborgerskap. Hva syns dere om videoklippet?

(*Diskusjonen om sosiale medier.*)

- Nå vil jeg spørre dere litt om sosiale medier. Jeg antar at dere bruker sosiale medier. Hvilke plattformer bruker dere?

Appendices

- Hvordan bruker dere disse sosiale mediene? ... for eksempel til kommunikasjon, for å lære eller for å utforske ting som du er interessert i eller nysgjerrig på, for å holde deg oppdatert eller for å slappe av? ...
- Bruker dere sosiale medier eller YouTube for å utforske ting som dere kanskje ikke vil spørre voksne om?
- Når dere følger ting på sosiale medier, hva følger dere?
- Er det noen temaer som dere holder dere spesielt oppdatert på? ... for eksempel, Greta Thunberg og klimadebatter, brannene i Australia, noe politisk lokalt eller i utlandet, kanskje USA?
- Har dere sett på sosiale medier noe om det som Faten og Siv Jensen snakket om i dette videoklippet?
- Når dere følger med debatter på sosiale medier, hva gjør dere? Scroller dere videre, leser dere og scroller videre, liker dere eller deler dere videre? Hvorfor?
- Så dere mener at ...

(Oppsummering om statsborgerskap.)

- Nå har vi snakket om litt forskjellige ting, og derfor vil jeg spørre om dere har nå noen nye tanker om begrepet? Har dere eventuelt endret mening om begrepet statsborgerskap?
- Hvordan vil du ha beskrevet kriterier for å bli norsk statsborger?
- Så dere mener at ...

(Oppsummering om medborgerskap.)

- Og nå spør jeg det samme om medborgerskap. Har dere nå noen nye tanker om begrepet? Har dere eventuelt endret mening om begrepet medborgerskap?

- Hvordan ville dere ha beskrevet en god norsk medborger?

(*Ved behov:*) - I videoklippet med Faten og Siv Jensen nevnte de forskjellige temaer: verdier, språk, identitet, tilhørighet og deltakelse. Mener dere at noen av disse verdiene er mer viktige enn andre med tanke på medborgerskap, eller statsborgerskap?

- Så dere mener at ...

- Før vi avslutter samtalen, er det noen som vil legge til noe?

Tusen takk alle sammen for at dere tok dere tid til å delta. Lykke til videre!

Appendix 2 – Faten makes her choice (NRK television clip)

English translation (own translation):

Al-Hussaini (introductory comments): It has been so fun and exciting and maybe provocative. FrP is one of the few parties that you know exactly where you have them. Because they say things straight out, whether its mean or nice or whatever.

...

Appendices

Jensen: Are we going here? To some tree stumps? So cosy!

Al-Hussaini: It's the Norwegian values (laughing).

(sitting down)

Al-Hussaini: What do you think about that the action plan against social control came from the right side and FrP?

Jensen: I'm very proud of it.

Al-Hussaini: It was a good action plan, that we do have to say. But do you agree that social control can go both ways?

Jensen: Uhhh, maybe, if I get some examples of that.

Al-Hussaini: If I say that I experience social control when I'm told that I won't be Norwegian enough until I take off the hijab, what do you think of that?

Jensen: I think it's good that you say it, because then we can discuss it open and properly.

Al-Hussaini: But am I Norwegian? With hijab?

Jensen: Yeah, it's your national citizenship which determines that, is my opinion.

Al-Hussaini: Not my values?

Jensen: Yes, combined with your values.

Al-Hussaini: Do you see me as Norwegian?

Jensen: I can *hear* that you're Norwegian.

Al-Hussaini: (laughing) You *hear* that I'm Norwegian?

Jensen: Yeah, no, but like, it's not that that you have the hijab on your head that decides whether you are Norwegian or not.

Al-Hussaini: No, it's not that which decides, but can I be Norwegian with my hijab?

Jensen: Yeah, but, yeah, the definition of who is Norwegian lies in belonging to the Norwegian society, national citizenship, and that type of thing. And then we can discuss if one wants to be a part of the Norwegian society. One can have Norwegian national citizenship and keep totally to the side-lines of society. I think that's a very bad idea. It's not so much about whether one is Norwegian or not Norwegian. It's about if one wants to be a part of this society or isolate oneself in a minority environment.

(Commentary following the interview)

Al-Hussaini: She's definitely a fun lady and had a lot of humour and was very easy to talk with. But she's very good at changing the question and turning it into something totally different. But I don't give up. I want an answer to the question I asked.

To call me Norwegian—that was difficult!

Norwegian version:

Al-Hussaini (introductory comments): Det her blir så gøy, morsomt, og kanskje provoserende. FrP er det eneste partiet du vet hvor du har dem. Fordi de sier ting rett ut, selv om det er slemt eller snilt eller hva det måtte være.

...

Jensen: Skal vi opp her? Til noen trestubber? Så koselig!

Al-Hussaini: Det her er norske verdier.

(Laughing)

Al-Hussaini: Hva synes du om at handlingsplanen mot sosial kontroll kommer fra høyresiden og FrP?

Jensen: Det er jeg veldig stolt av.

Al-Hussaini: Det var en bra handlingsplan, det skal man si. Men er du enig i at sosial kontroll kan gå begge veier?

Jensen: Tjaaa, kanskje, hvis jeg får noen eksempler på det.

Al-Hussaini: Hvis jeg sier at jeg opplever sosial kontroll når jeg blir fortalt at jeg ikke er norsk nok før jeg tar av meg hijaben, hva mener du om det?

Jensen: Da synes jeg det er bra du sier det, fordi da kan man diskutere det åpent og ordentlig.

Al-Hussaini: Men er jeg norsk? Med hijab?

Jensen: Ja, det er jo statsborgerskapet som avgjør det, mener jeg.

Al-Hussaini: Ikke verdiene mine?

Jensen: Jo, kombinert med verdiene dine.

Al-Hussaini: Ser du på meg som norsk?

Jensen: Jeg *hører* jo på deg at du er norsk.

Al-Hussaini: (laughing) *Hører* du på meg at jeg er norsk?

Jensen: Jo, nei, men altså, det er jo ikke det at du har hijab på hodet som avgjør om du er norsk eller ikke.

Al-Hussaini: Nei, det er ikke det som avgjør, men kan jeg være norsk med hijaben min?

Jensen: Jo, men, jo, definisjonen av hvem som er norsk ligger i tilhørighet til det norske samfunn, statsborgerskap og den type ting. Også kan vi diskutere om man ønsker å være en del av det norske samfunnet. Man kan ha norsk statsborgerskap og sette seg helt på siden av samfunnet. Jeg synes det er en veldig dårlig ide. Det handler ikke så mye om man er norsk eller ikke norsk. Det handler om man vil være en del av dette samfunnet eller isolere seg i et minoritetsmiljø.

Commentary following the interview:

Al-Hussaini: Hun er jo en artig dame og hadde masse humor og var veldig enkel å snakke med. Men hun er veldig flink til å bytte spørsmål og gjøre det til noe helt annet. Men jeg gir meg jo ikke, jeg vil ha svar på det jeg spør om.

Å kalle meg norsk, det var vanskelig.

Appendix 3 – Consent Form

English translation (own translation):

Title: Do you consent to your child participating in a PhD research project about youth understandings of co-citizenship in the multicultural Norway?

Objective

Appendices

The objective of the project is to understand youth perspectives on being a co-citizen in multicultural Norway today. The project is led by a PhD candidate in educational sciences. The resultant articles will be written in English.

Who has responsibility for the project?

The University of Stavanger, with Kerenina K. Dansholm as implementor, is responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

Because your child is under 18 years old, I require the consent of both the parent and the child in order to conduct the study. The student will receive information from their teacher.

What does it mean to participate?

You child will participate in group interviews together with their classmates. The interview will be conducted during school hours, facilitated by the teacher, and will take approximately one hour. I will (audio) record the interview. The interview should not be traceable to individual students. If names are mentioned during the interview discussion, they will be deleted. The interview(s) will be stored in an encrypted format in keeping with (NSD) ethical research guidelines. If you would like to see the interview guide prior to giving consent for your child taking part in the interview, please send me an email.

It is voluntary to participate

It is voluntary to participate in the project. If you decide that your child can participate, you can still withdraw consent at any time without reason. All information regarding your child will be anonymised. There will not be any negative consequences if you do not want your child to participate or if you later withdraw consent. It will have no impact on your child's relationship with the school or teacher.

Your child's privacy – how we store and use the information

We will only use the information from your child for the purpose related in this consent form. We handle the information confidentially and in keeping with privacy and ethical guidelines.

Only I (as project responsible), a research assistant, and my supervisors who will have access to the information. After all the information is anonymised, the information will be used in teaching and research projects.

The audio recordings will be recorded on an offline recording device and will be stored encrypted until the data is transcribed and fully anonymised. In my own notes, I will only use codes, not names.

In publication of research results, all the participants' information will be totally anonymised.

What will happen with the information after the research project is finished?

The plan is for the project to be finished by 31.03.2022. The audio recordings will be transcribed and totally anonymised, and afterwards they will be deleted. My own anonymised notes will not be used by others.

Your rights

So long as your child can be identified in the data material, you have the right to:

- knowledge about what personal information is registered about your child

- you are allowed to correct any personal information about your child

- can delete any personal information about your child

- receive a copy of any personal information about your child

- can send a complaint to the privacy ombudsman at the university or Norway's Data Control organisation regarding the handling of personal information about your child.

What gives us the right to handle personal information about your child

We handle this personal information about your child based on your consent.

On behalf of the University of Stavanger, Norwegian Center for Research Data AS (NSD) has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with privacy regulations.

Where can I find out more?

Appendices

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

- University of Stavanger, Kerenina K. Dansholm, kerenina.k.dansholm@uis.no.
- Our privacy representative: Kjetil Dalseth, privacyrepresentative@uis.no at UiS
- Norwegian Center for Research Data AS (NSD), by email (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or telephone: 55 58 21 17.

With best regards

Kerenina K. Dansholm

Project manager (Researcher)

Declaration of consent

I have received and understood information about the project 'Young people's understanding of citizenship in multicultural Norway: context school and social media / public debate', and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I agree:

- that my child participates in group interviews
- that anonymised information about my child is stored after the end of the project for teaching and further research projects.

Appendices

I agree that my child(ren)'s information is processed until the project is completed, approx. 31.03.2022

(Signed by parents, date)

Norwegian version:

Aksepterer du at ditt barn deltar i et doktorgradsprosjekt om ungdommers forståelse av medborgerskap i det flerkulturelle Norge?

Formål

Formålet med prosjektet er å forstå ungdommer sine meninger om å være medborger i det flerkulturelle Norge i dag. Prosjektet skal lede ut i en doktorgradsoppgave i utdanningsvitenskap. Artikkene skal skrives på engelsk.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Universitetet i Stavanger ved Kerenina K. Dansholm er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Siden ditt barn er under 18 år må jeg ha både foresattes aksept og ungdommenes aksept for å utføre denne studien. Elevene får informasjon om prosjektet fra sin lærer.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Ditt barn vil delta i et gruppeintervju sammen med medelever. Intervjuet gjennomføres i skoletiden i samarbeid med lærer og vil ta ca. 1 time. Jeg tar lydopptak av intervjuene. Intervjuene skal ikke kunne spores til enkeltelever. Dersom det fremkommer personnavn i intervjuene/samtalene vil dette bli slettet. Intervjuene oppbevares kryptert i henhold til krav fra Norsk senter for forskningsdata (NSD). Dersom du ønsker å se spørreskjema/intervjuguide før du evt. godtar at ditt barn deltar i undersøkelsen kan du få dette; ta kontakt med meg på e-post.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger at ditt barn kan delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om ditt barn vil bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil at ditt barn deltar eller senere velger å trekke barnet. Det vil ikke påvirke ditt barn sitt forhold til skolen/lærer.

Ditt / barnets personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om ditt barn til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrevet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

- Det er bare meg som prosjektansvarlig, en forskningsassistent og veilederne mine som har tilgang til opplysninger ved behandlingsansvarlig institusjon. Etter at alle opplysninger er fullt

anonymisert vil opplysningene bli brukt i undervisning og forskningsprosjekter.

- Lydopptak blir tatt på en offline opptaker og blir innelåst/kryptert inntil vi får transkriber og fullt anonymisert datamaterialet (fordi ungdommer kan kanskje bruke navn i gruppe intervju). I mine egne notater bruker jeg ikke navn, bare koder.

I publiseringen av forskningsresultater blir alle deltakere sine opplysninger helt anonymisert.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 31.03.2022. Lydopptak blir transkribert og helt anonymisert, og etterpå blir de slettet. Min egne anonymiserte notater blir ikke brukt av andre.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge ditt barn kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om ditt barn,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om ditt barn,
- få slettet personopplysninger om ditt barn,
- få utlevert en kopi av personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Universitetet i Stavanger har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- Universitetet i Stavanger ved Kerenina K. Dansholm, kerenina.k.dansholm@uis.no.
- Vårt personvernombud: Kjetil Dalseth, personvernombud@uis.no hos UiS
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Kerenina K. Dansholm

Prosjektansvarlig (Forsker)

Samtykkeerklæring

Appendices

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet Ungdommer sin forståelse av medborgerskap i det flerkulturelle Norge: kontekst skole og sosiale medier / offentlig debatt, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- at mitt barn deltar i gruppe intervju
- at anonymisert opplysninger om barnet mitt lagres etter prosjektslutt, for undervisning og videre forskningsprosjekter.

Jeg samtykker til at barnets opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. 31.03.2022

(Signert av foresatte, dato)

Part II – Articles

First article



JSSE

Journal of
Social
Science
Education

2022, Vol. 21(1) 77-98

Edited by:
Reinhold Hedtke

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Article

Material interpolations: Youth engagement with inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses

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Keywords: citizenship education, youth, inclusive citizenship, racialised discourse, discursive-material knots

- Citizenship education, in its varying forms, seeks to address challenges of diversity and promote inclusion, while a discourse of othering within public debate implies exclusion for racialised minority citizens and residents.
- Youth must navigate these dichotomous citizenship discourses in order to craft their own meaning of the concept of citizenship.
- This research shows that youth draw on material and sensory tokens, such as skin colour, clothing, and audible language, to justify or challenge citizenship belonging.
- The implication is that it is vital for citizenship education researchers to address the material and sensory tokens implicit in racialised discourses which Other minority citizens.

Purpose: The aim of this research is to investigate youth understandings of citizenship against the dual backgrounds of inclusive citizenship education and exclusionary discourse in the public sphere.

Design / methodology / approach: The topic was explored through group interviews with 10th grade students, while the emergent theme of material or sensory tokens as indicators of belonging was analysed through an adapted discursive-material knot framework.

Findings: The analysis shows that exclusionary citizenship discourses visible in public debate impact youth's understanding of citizenship, and that youth use material or sensory tokens, such as skin colour, clothing, and audible language to justify or challenge citizenship belonging.

Research limitations / implications: The research demonstrates youth engagement with citizenship discourse within the public sphere and their sense-making of citizen stereotypes and prejudices. However, more research is needed in order to further explore the issue within different contexts.

Practical implications: As previous research has indicated, a clear vocabulary is needed in order to effectively address racialised prejudice in citizenship education. These findings indicate that addressing the material or sensory tokens inherent in such exclusionary discourse may be a useful starting point.

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Suggested citation:

Dansholm, K. D. (2022). Material interpolations: Youth engagement with inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses. *Journal of Social Science Education* 21 (1). <https://doi.org/10.11576/jsse-3514>

Declaration of conflicts of interests: No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

1 INTRODUCTION

Citizenship has various dimensions, such as legal status, participation, and membership (K. Stokke, 2017). But there are numerous inherent issues that must be addressed when discussing how citizenship is experienced. For example, does acquiring legal membership or citizenship status facilitate participation and equate to social membership? How do non-white and other minority citizens in European countries experience membership? What markers of belonging are important for membership and social inclusion? While groups of youth in public spaces appear to communicate comfortably in local dialects, seemingly oblivious to racialised markers of difference, this article will show that in citizenship discussions with youth, material and sensory tokens of belonging were given greater focus in denoting membership than legal status. There were also divergent opinions on the role of physical appearance, clothing, and audible language in signifying citizenship and belonging.

Two avenues of potential influence in the lives of youth are school and the public arena. An important feature in schools, specifically in social science but integrated in all subjects in many countries (Schulz et al., 2016), is citizenship education, which focuses on providing students with the values, virtues, identity, and civic knowledge needed to be productive members of their respective societies (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018). Due to ongoing migration and globalisation, an increasing emphasis in citizenship education is inclusion, appreciation of diversity, and dialogue (Osler & Starkey, 2018). However, as Lister points out, there is a gaping disparity between inclusive citizenship discourses and the ‘increasingly exclusionary stance adopted by many nation-states towards “outsiders”’ (Lister, 2007, p. 55). This ‘outsider’ rhetoric in the public sphere focuses on immigrants and minority citizens and is often steeped in racialised and religious prejudice (Hervik, 2019b). Therefore, it is vital for citizenship education researchers and practitioners to gain insight into how these influences are shaping youth perspectives on citizenship.

These dual sources of influence—inclusive ideologies within citizenship education and exclusionary narratives within the public sphere that delegitimise minority citizens and resident foreign nationals—serve as background for the main research question regarding students’ understanding of citizenship in multicultural societies. In order to capture these dimensions, youth opinions were collected through focus group interviews with 10th graders in three lower secondary schools in Norway. This article begins with a discussion of relevant literature and the local context, followed by a presentation of the discursive frameworks employed. Inclusive citizenship, defined as “what inclusive citizenship might mean when it is viewed from the standpoint of the excluded” (Kabeer, 2005b, p. 1), emphasises justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity. These four themes act as sensitising concepts, guiding understanding of inclusion, while discourses of exclusion range from ‘everyday racism’ (Essed, 2008) to the racialisation visible in, for example, anti-immigrant rhetoric in public debate (Hervik, 2019b). An analytical framework is derived from Carpentier’s (2017) discursive-material knot, and while the material is understood as that which cannot in itself be altered by discourse, the inextricability of discourse and the

material is integral to the analysis. As will be shown, students frequently substitute citizenship with Norwegian-ness and belonging, and use the material or sensory tokens, specifically physical appearance, clothing, and audible language, to either justify or challenge discourses of inclusion and exclusion. Those who reject physical appearance and clothing as legitimate markers of belonging tend to use audible language in their place. Thus, this article offers a two-fold contribution. Firstly, it implicitly demonstrates to educators the rhetoric of white ethno-nationalism which many—including youth—in Europe connect with the idea of citizenship. Secondly, it highlights a need for citizenship education to engage more explicitly with potentially uncomfortable material aspects of citizenship in order to help youth effectively deconstruct racialised and exclusionary discourses.

2 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The field of citizenship education has a strong focus on addressing challenges connected to globalisation and migration. For example, the anthology *Citizenship Education and Global Migration* (Banks, 2017) includes case studies from 18 different countries addressing local challenges related to recognition of diversity and overcoming legacies of institutionalised racism within citizenship education curricula. Various conceptualisations of citizenship education have been proposed as frameworks for addressing these challenges, such as cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2018), global citizenship (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Oxley & Morris, 2013), intercultural citizenship (Alred et al., 2006), and multicultural [citizenship] education (Banks, 2013b). However, citizenship education has historically been framed within nationalistic ideologies (Banks, 2004), and thus a concerted effort to expunge race from European citizenship discourses has replaced race with narratives on cultural diversity (Lentin, 2008). Therefore, equality and inclusion are important overarching themes in school curricula (Andresen, 2020), and ‘cultural diversity’ is purportedly being embraced (Fylkesnes, 2019). Nevertheless, Fylkesnes (2018) shows in her review of teacher education research that the term remains largely undefined, with ‘cultural diversity’ often used as a euphemism for a racialised Other, thus, in essence, reproducing European nationalistic notions of white versus non-white race (Svendsen, 2014). Citizenship education researchers have therefore called for a more explicit vocabulary for addressing White superiority narratives which are hidden by omission and the relegating of racism to the past (Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Svendsen, 2014).

Within the field of citizenship education, extensive research has focused on conceptual and theoretical discussion of issues related to globalisation and diversity (cf. Banks, 2008; Banks et al., 2005; Kymlicka, 2003; Ljunggren, 2014; Osler & Starkey, 2018); analysis of inclusivity discourses in textbooks, policy, and policy documents (cf. Fylkesnes, 2019; Normand, 2020; Osler & Starkey, 2001, 2006; Stray, 2010); as well as case studies on teaching for diversity (cf. Burner & Osler, 2021a; Howard et al., 2018; Kim, 2021; Rodriguez, 2018; Vickery, 2017). However, less research in the field focuses on youth or student understandings of citizenship. Studies which do include student perspectives are Osler

and Starkey's (2003) research on British young people's self-definitions of their identities and community; Solano-Campos' (2015) research on children's conceptualisations of national identity in Costa Rica and the U.S.; Solhaug and Osler's (2018) research on Norwegian students' intercultural empathy using an inclusive citizenship framework; and Howard, Dickert, Owusu, and Riley's (2018) research in a Ghanaian private school on how students from different socio-economic backgrounds understand global citizenship. Outside the field of citizenship education, there is also a body of literature on students' attitudes to in-groups and out-groups (cf. Christou & Spyrou, 2017; Lam & Katona, 2018; Oppenheimer & Barrett, 2011). Both the research within and outside the field thus indicates that children and youth are influenced by societal and public sphere discourses. Therefore, for the field to effectively address such rhetoric, it is vital to understand how the target of citizenship education—children and youth—navigate the discourse. Specifically, more research is needed that explores students' understandings of the interplay between citizenship and racialised citizen stereotypes. This article contributes towards this understanding by analysing the emergent theme of discursive-material nuances and paradoxes in youth's citizenship discussions.

Norway provides a prime context in which to investigate citizenship narratives of inclusion and exclusion, particularly since Nordic exceptionalism posits that Scandinavian countries were not complicit in colonialism and slavery (Fylkesnes, 2019). Educational research indicates there is a 'colour-blind' belief denying the existence of inequality and prejudices based on race or religion (Burner & Biseth, 2016; C. Stokke, 2019), as well as a prevailing self-perception of Norway as a champion of human rights (Svendsen, 2014; Vesterdal, 2019). There has also been a tendency to downplay the historic oppression of Norway's minorities, such as the Sami (Eriksen, 2018; Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020), and the research shows human rights abuses are often framed as something which happens far away (Osler & Solhaug, 2018; Vesterdal, 2016). Researchers agree that racial discrimination in Scandinavia has been expressed in subtler ways in the last couple decades (Hervik, 2019a), and Norwegian education policy has an explicit emphasis on diversity, inclusion, and equality (Andresen, 2020). Nevertheless, this does not guarantee teachers' understanding or skill in handling diversity in the student population (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Osler & Lybaek, 2014), and some educators ignore instances of racism due to feeling wholly unprepared for addressing such incidents (Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Svendsen, 2014). Additionally, the assimilationist imperative which is prevalent in many nations (Banks, 2013a; Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018) is visible in the notion within schools that becoming proficient in the Norwegian language will automatically result in integration and belonging (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018; C. Stokke, 2019). I now turn to discussion of the concepts used and the theoretical framework for analysis.

3 DISCURSIVE FRAMEWORKS

This paper relies on Kabeer and Lister's (2005a; 2007) concept 'inclusive citizenship' to discuss inclusivity. Kabeer's (2005a) book on the topic brings together viewpoints from marginalised people from both the global south and global north and highlights four themes as vital elements for inclusive citizenship: justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity. These will be used as sensitising concepts in the analysis of students' comments (Carpentier, 2017). The concepts are understood as follows: Justice focuses on the understanding that people should be treated equally, but that there are also times when it is fair for people to be treated differently; Recognition focuses not only on equal worth, but also dignity and respect for differences, where the "right to have rights" is recognised (Kabeer, 2005b, p. 4); Self-determination covers the "ability to exercise some degree of control" over one's life (Kabeer, 2005b, p. 5); Solidarity covers political activism on behalf of an 'own' group or an Other, and in the case of this analysis will include camaraderie and being able to empathise with an Other.

Secondly, exclusionary narratives are conceptualised as per anti-immigrant rhetoric which portray both citizens and residents with immigrant backgrounds, especially non-white peoples and Muslims, as 'culturally incompatible' (Hervik, 2019a). This rhetoric is racialised and thus can be understood to fall under broader definitions of racism in which micro-aggressions and 'everyday racism' are part of the legacy of structural racism (Essed, 2008). However, using the term 'racism' is often taboo owing to more narrow understandings of race as a historic-biological concept (Bangstad, 2015), and Nordic exceptionalism which confines racism to the past and violent terrorist acts (Arneback & Jämte, 2021; Svendsen, 2014). Yet, Alcoff argues,

[I]n the very midst of our contemporary skepticism toward race as a natural kind stands the compelling social reality that race, or racialized identities, have as much political, sociological, and economic salience as they ever had (2006, p. 181).

Furthermore, she explains,

[E]mpirical evidence suggests that fear and distrust do not automatically arise from perceptual visible difference; something else must instill hostility because looks alone are not sufficient. [...] this does not mitigate against the reality of race, or suggest that racial identity is a chimera, but it is to say that the origin of racialized differences and racial categories is less a metaphysical than a political story (Alcoff, 2006, p. 165).

This 'political story' draws on ethno-nationalist discourse, and in the Norwegian context, racialisation can be detected in such expressions as 'ethnic Norwegian' (etnisk norsk) to signify white Norwegians (Svendsen, 2014). Additionally, the 'cultural incompatibility' narrative on racialised minorities is visible in public debate on the hijab as a religiously symbolic type of clothing, with the rhetoric often leaning toward

Islamophobia (C. Stokke, 2019). Conversely, clothing which has an explicit nationalistic symbolism includes national dress (bunad).

The role of audible language in narratives of othering (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018; Starkey, 2007) is visible in Norwegian policy documents which have framed minority language speakers in school as deficient and in need of special help, in contrast with native Norwegian speakers (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Fylkesnes, 2019). Furthermore, Røyneland and Jensen's (2020) research on language and belonging found that while Norwegian language proficiency did not guarantee non-white citizens would be seen as local, a higher percentage of youth categorised non-white persons as Norwegian if they used a regional dialect. Thus, discourses of othering are not confined to racialised categories of white versus non-white but can also be extended to linguistic minorities. However, for the most part, the terms white and non-white are used in the analysis, while hybridity is also acknowledged.

Defining exclusionary narratives in terms of racialisation and racism could be seen as unduly normative or even harsh. However, Svendsen's (2014) analysis of school discussions demonstrates that youth are quick to identify discriminatory narratives and stereotypes as racist, and the discussion below confirms this finding, indicating that youth have an intuitive understanding of 'everyday racism' (Essed, 2008; Hällgren, 2005) as well as racialised narratives in public debate.

While the main topic of the interview guide was citizenship, a recurrent theme in student discussions was a recourse to the material or sensory tokens to justify or challenge belonging. Therefore, analysis of the material elements is facilitated by borrowing ideas from Carpentier's (2017) discursive-material knot. On the one hand, discourse can be defined as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that is produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer, 1997, p. 60). On the other hand, new materialism "gives special attention to matter" (Dolphijn & Tuin, 2012, p. 93) in order to acknowledge the role of that "thingly" stuff (Ingold, 2007, p. 9) within our world. The markers of belonging which I have categorised as material or sensory tokens are (symbolically imbued) clothing, physical appearance, and audible language. Audible language is included in this category as without a discursive understanding of language sounds to make them intelligible as communication, they remain simply sound waves or noise. Thus, the analytical understanding within this paper is that while the material cannot be altered by discourse, the attributed meaning can change. For example, a recording of audible language can be analysed according to different sociolinguistic frameworks for dialectic variations (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015) and casual listeners may or may not agree on a regional categorisation, but this does not alter the recorded audible language in and of itself. Similarly, skin colour remains the same regardless of changes in discourses of colourism (Phoenix, 2014). Sometimes, however, the interpolation and interplay of material elements calls for a reconfiguration of the discourse. As the television clip described below demonstrates, discourses may conflict, for example, physical

appearance evoking one type of discourse (e.g. inclusion) while audible language evokes another (e.g. exclusion). The interpolation of a conflicting discourse introduced by another material element therefore necessitates an adjustment or negotiation over which discourse (inclusion or exclusion) will be given precedence.

4 DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

The data collection consisted of semi-structured focus group interviews with 10th grade students in three schools in Norway. Eight focus group discussions were conducted with 44 students in total. The groups ranged in size from three to eight students, as some students who had agreed to join dropped out on the day of the interview. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes to one hour, with a television clip being shown to students after a preliminary set of questions. The first school was initially intended as a pilot, however as the segment of the interview guide pertaining to this paper was only slightly altered and the student responses were comparable, this school was included in the analysis. All interviews were conducted in Norwegian.

Student discussions were facilitated by the viewing of a 2:05 minute interview clip from national television. The television clip consists of a conversation between a right-leaning Norwegian politician, Siv Jensen, and a Norwegian television host, Faten Al-Hussaini. The clip is part of a series presented by host Al-Hussaini, who, as a citizen voting in the national elections, visited and interviewed politicians in different political parties in order to be better informed (Al-Hussaini, 2017). Some points to note in light of the discussion: Al-Hussaini is non-white and wears a dark coloured hijab, a white-blue pinstriped blouse, and dark trousers. She speaks Norwegian as a native speaker with an Oslo dialect. Jensen also speaks Oslo dialect, is white, and wears a knee-length orange print dress.

The television clips begins with Al-Hussaini commenting on the government action plan against social control, where she points out that while it is a good action plan, the rhetoric against social control can be experienced negatively by those it is meant to help, citing her experience of being told she is not Norwegian enough due to wearing the hijab (NRK P3, 2017). Al-Hussaini repeatedly asks Jensen whether she considers her Norwegian, despite wearing the hijab. Jensen repeatedly avoids answering directly, discussing various aspects of citizenship, such as legal status, audible language, values, belonging, and participation. For example, Al-Hussaini asks Jensen whether she *sees* her as Norwegian, to which Jensen replies that she can *hear* that she is Norwegian, thus demonstrating the conflict between discourses of othering based on physical appearance and clothing as opposed to the discourse of belonging based on audible language. When Al-Hussaini presses the question, Jensen states that the real question is whether one wants to be a part of Norwegian society or isolate oneself in a minority community. This reply can be understood as an insinuation that Al-Hussaini is part of a disinterested isolated minority community who do not participate as citizens in Norwegian public life, belying the fact that Al-Hussaini is hosting the series in preparation for participating in elections. After the interview section, Al-Hussaini expresses her frustration with Jensen's unwillingness to straightforwardly

acknowledge her as Norwegian. While an extensive discourse analysis could be done solely of the television interview itself (Burner & Osler, 2021b), this paper focuses on students' reaction to and discussion of the television clip.

Student positionalities, which are acknowledged as highly subjective as well as potentially fluid, were gathered from teachers, with some alterations made due to student self-positioning in the interviews. While positionality, including gender, is not the focus of this analysis, the inclusion of these details is an acknowledgement of their potential role in youth perspectives. My own positionality was also referenced in some of the discussions, as I inhabit a hybrid identity as a white Scandinavian woman, whose audible language and norms are strongly marked by having grown up and spent most my life abroad.

The coding includes hybrid positionalities: for example, non-white and white students with one Norwegian parent. I use the term minority more generally to cover non-white, hybrid, and linguistic minorities. The codes comprise school, group, gender, and positionality. For example, S1G1Fnw would stand for school one (S1), group one (G1), female (F), non-white (nw), while S3G2Mhw indicates school three (S3), group two (G2), male (M), hybrid (h), white (w). Students with similar codes are distinguished by Roman numerals.

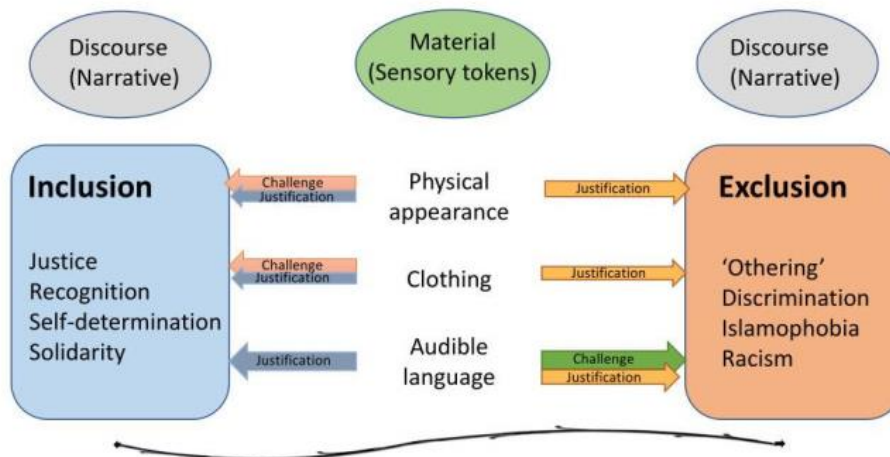
School one (S1) was a private Norwegian-language school in southern Norway where over one-third of the class were minority students: non-white and white students with hybrid positionalities. Minority students at S1 were very active in the discussions. School two (S2) was a public school in southern Norway, with no non-white students in the interviews, and less than twenty percent from hybrid families. These students were also active in the discussion. The third school (S3) was in a smaller town in northern Norway and only one non-white student from a hybrid family was present in the interviews. He did not participate in the discussion. Two co-interviewers were recruited to participate in the focus group interviews as well as to take notes. They were recruited due to their proficiency in the local Norwegian dialect and availability.

The interviews were transcribed in full, read carefully, and coded, with a focus on the interview segments following the television clip. Special attention was paid to the sensitizing concepts justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity (Kabeer, 2005b), as well as racialised narratives of othering (Hervik, 2019b). The discursive-material knot (Carpentier, 2017) provided ideas for the analytical framework, but these were developed for application to this research data through coding recurring themes and comparing different groups' reactions to the television clip (Gibbs, 2018). Hence, the diagram (figure 1) helps to capture the data's interplay of recurring sensory tokens and narratives along with the sensitising concepts. I now turn to discussion and analysis of the data.

5 FINDINGS AND ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION

The connection between discourse, or what at the micro level of analysis will be termed the narrative, and the material or sensory tokens can be seen in the following diagram. This diagram highlights how sensory tokens interact with narratives of inclusive and exclusionary citizenship. Please note that is an analytical model, and the arrows in the diagram labelled ‘justification’ and ‘challenge’ are based on this specific dataset. The wavy line beneath denotes a continuum.

Figure 1: Material elements used to justify or challenge inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses



As shown, sensory tokens were utilised in different ways to either justify or challenge belonging, and there was continual negotiation and interplay between elements depending on whether student discussion segments tended towards inclusion or exclusion. For example, students who favoured inclusion tended to rely on audible language to justify belonging, stating that physical appearance and clothing were irrelevant. However, those who tended towards exclusion predominantly focused on physical appearance and clothing in their argument that someone was not fully Norwegian, with audible language acting as a challenge to the narrative of exclusion.

The students in this dataset reacted to the television clip with varying opinions along a continuum. It could be argued that school one (S1), with a higher percentage of minority students, tended most fully towards inclusivity while school three (S3) tended more strongly towards exclusion. However, any such claims are tempered by the limited sample size as well as the last group from S3, where a high degree of reflectivity and inclusivity were demonstrated. The schools are therefore presented in interview order as the focus is not on categorisation of schools or discourses, but rather the negotiations visible in the

students' deliberations regarding citizenship narratives of inclusion and exclusion—and justifications for which narratives takes precedence.

The students at S1 explicitly demonstrated narratives of inclusion, adamant that belonging was not dependent on physical appearance or clothing. This can be seen in the following student's reaction to the clip:

No, like, that you can't be Norwegian with a hijab, that's actually very racist. That she [Jensen] didn't say that she's [Al-Hussaini] Norwegian just like... If you live in Norway and want to be Norwegian, then of course you're allowed to be Norwegian. (S1G1Mhw)

This comment expresses a normative position, where narratives of exclusion are labelled racist. The comment also demonstrates justice in that one is considered equal regardless of difference, and self-determination in positioning Norwegian-ness as a personal choice (Kabeer, 2005b; Lister, 2007). These ideas were echoed in the second group at S1, where one of the students asked if the television clip they were about to watch was sad. After watching the clip, I asked whether he thought it was sad. His response was:

No, it wasn't sad, but it was strange, because she [Jensen] didn't want to say yes to something that can... that is totally obvious, that one can be Norwegian with hijab. (S1G2Mhw)

This comment also demonstrates a milder form of resistance to the narrative of exclusion, as it positions inclusion—framed in recognition and solidarity—as the default. These are just two comments from S1 which demonstrate sentiments clearly rejecting clothing—the hijab—as a demarcator in narratives of Norwegian belonging or exclusion.

A similarly inclusive theme which was frequently repeated at both S1 and S2 was that if you feel Norwegian, then you are Norwegian. One student (S2G1MnI) specifically said that no one knows better than the individual themselves whether they are Norwegian or not. While this narrative does not explicitly intersect with the material or sensory tokens, it is clearly an expression of inclusion, with a special emphasis on recognition and self-determination, where an individual has the right to decide whether they consider themselves Norwegian.

A slight shift is observed in the comment from a student at S2. He highlighted the role of clothing—hijab—in narratives of exclusion while acknowledging the role of audible language in narratives of inclusion:

Hmm, like, I would have said, like, she [Al-Hussaini] is a Norwegian citizen but I wouldn't have got... thought you were Norwegian if you had... if you had and have Norwegian culture in a way, like, and went... it's not exactly Norwegian culture to wear hijab. But if you had like, yeah. So, I think she can definitely be Norwegian but, she, like, then you can't if you go with, of course, not like you get. Expect... if you wear hijab which is not Norwegian culture then I feel she can't exactly expect that people would believe she is Norwegian. But people can... it's like, I could think

she speaks Norwegian and I would have spoken Norwegian to her, and such, yes, if I had met her. (S2G3MwIV)

In this excerpt, there are numerous vocal fillers which indicates that the student is hesitant to express an exclusionary narrative. However, he still makes it clear that Al-Hussaini's clothing, or hijab, indicates that she is the Other. Thus, clothing was highlighted in two ways at S1 and S2—as something which should not, but which can in practice, indicate otherness. When this S2 group was asked if a non-white person without hijab could be Norwegian, a different student (S2G3MwVI) replied that he may not initially think that they were Norwegian, but through talking with them and looking at their behaviour, he would be able to tell if they were Norwegian or not. Thus, S2 students explicitly highlighted the role of audible language in signalling belonging. Although not as unequivocally as S1 students, they also echo themes of recognition, in that they recognise that difference is acceptable and does not negate belonging. The student who commented on expectations (S2G3MwIV) also makes explicit the inextricable knot between discourse and the material (Carpentier, 2017)—in that narratives of Norwegian belonging are tightly knit to whiteness and secularism, understood as not wearing hijab. While these students from S2 explicitly commented on the role of audible language in determining belonging, language was also an implicit part of S1 students' processes of determining belonging. In discussing the television clip more in depth, particularly Jensen's comment, "I can hear you are Norwegian", S1 students affirmed that people are very much judged by their audible language, specifically Norwegian proficiency and dialect, even subconsciously. Thus, while S1 students explicitly rejected clothing—and physical appearance—as markers of belonging, the earlier quotes indicate that the students had subconsciously used audible language as a substitute marker of belonging and as justification for recognition.

The role of audible language, understood in this instance as Norwegian dialect and accent, is particularly interesting since Jensen's comment that she can *hear* Al-Hussaini is Norwegian specifically references her dialectic proficiency. This aspect was highlighted a number of times by students. One student (S2G2MwIV) at S2 spoke of two friends of his: one a refugee, the other from Southeast Asia. He said he considers them both Norwegian and used audible language as his justification. However, he emphasised that the boy from Southeast Asia speaks with a local dialect and therefore he is totally Norwegian (nordmann). This references ideas of recognition and justice, where it is just to consider them both Norwegian while there is a recognition that there are differences between them—in this case, between their proficiency in the local dialect. Another student (S2G1Fw) reinforced the importance of accent in a different manner, discussing ways of speaking English. This comment is likely a reference to my having used one or two English phrases in the discussion, where my audible language betrayed my hybridity—both due to my lack of local dialect as well as my English proficiency:

Um, like that, for example you, it's like, they are not used to someone speaking such good English. That it is, because usually Norwegians are, you notice that they are Norwegian by the way they speak English. They have, like, a certain way. Uhm, and then they think it's quite strange that you as Norwegian... but also speak English really well. It's a bit like, in a way, a little scary. And then they can easily judge, and such. Yes. (S2G1FwIII)

This shows a different dimension of how audible language can signal belonging or otherness. It could be argued that recognition of difference was still demonstrated by this student since she framed people with 'scary' English proficiency as Norwegian. Alternatively, it could be that someone who is white is more easily included, regardless of their having a different accent, and thus whiteness was implicitly used as a justification for belonging.

As another aspect of audible language, a student (S3G1Fw) from S3 highlighted multilingualism as opposed to accent and dialect. She described her experience of visiting the home of a minority friend. She had always thought of this friend as completely Norwegian, and they had always spoken Norwegian together. However, when she visited her at home, she was shocked to realise that her friend spoke another language with her family, a language which she (S3G1Fw) could not understand. This reaffirms that while audible language can be used as a marker of belonging, exclusionary narratives can also be justified by recourse to language. Thus, while her friend was given recognition due her Norwegian linguistic proficiency, difference was also highlighted due to her Other language skills.

At S3, there were strong opinions regarding the importance of physical appearance (with hijab inferred) as an implicit indicator of parentage and belonging. Thus, certain parts of the discussion were dominated by exclusionary narratives. However, here again language and dialect were used to identify Al-Hussaini's upbringing as Norwegian, which means that exclusionary narratives could be challenged by audible language. One student said:

Hmmm, I know this is difficult to explain, because you haven't thought of her... like, she is Norwegian because she speaks Norwegian, but she looks... like, she doesn't look totally Norwegian. And we see that she has foreign features, and... but it's correct to say in a way that she is Norwegian, or she's actually not totally Norwegian, but she has Norwegian citizenship. So, it's actually difficult to say if she is... yes, I don't know. (S3G2FwII)

Here we see an unwillingness to describe Al-Hussaini as belonging, with physical appearance used to legitimate her otherness. After this excerpt, there was some intervening discussion about her parentage, where it was assumed due to her physical appearance that both her parents were immigrants. We also discussed her fluency in Norwegian language and norms, which I explicitly contrasted with my own lack of fluency. The student replied:

Yes. It is... and she has more, in a way, experience from Norway than what you have since she's lived here her whole life. But you are more Norwegian than her because you have... you are actually half Norwegian. And you have Danish citizenship or a Danish passport, so you are... aren't you a Danish citizen? (S3G2FwII)

This comment shows a conflation of citizenship with parentage identified through physical appearance, where there is a construction of differing levels of Norwegian-ness, with Al-Hussaini deemed less Norwegian. We then discussed whether Al-Hussaini had Norwegian citizenship and agreed that she did. From a legal perspective, citizenship is all that is needed to justify Al-Hussaini's belonging, regardless of sensory tokens of otherness. However, as the comments show, while my Danish passport, as a material document, was used in justifying my belonging, this did not seem to be the deciding factor for this student's appraisal of Al-Hussaini. She further commented:

And she has more experience, because she has lived in the country and she has grown up and... yes, her whole life has been Norwegian, in a way. So uh, yes. (S3G2FwII)

Thus, the exclusionary narrative on physical appearance as an indicator of parentage which was used to deny Al-Hussaini's full Norwegian-ness was challenged by her citizenship and life experience. However, while Al-Hussaini's passport is equal as a material document of belonging, the student rather identified Al-Hussaini's "whole life" as Norwegian through her audible language, specifically her dialect. Thus, language played the central role in justifying Al-Hussaini's belonging. Nevertheless, this student's acknowledgement of Al-Hussaini's belonging seemed reluctant, indicating a low degree of solidarity and recognition. This demonstrates that while sensory tokens can play an important role in challenging narratives, changing someone's narrative position is not necessarily as straightforward as showing legal citizenship.

Clothing, predominantly the hijab, has already been mentioned, but in the following discussions, it was contrasted with traditional dress (bunad). Some students at S3 identified hijab as a clothing marker of religious identity which they considered incompatible with Norwegian traditional dress as a clothing marker of belonging. The following dialogue came prior to viewing the television clip, and thus it was only after the clip that this student (S3G1FwIV) clarified that when she had said 'Muslim', she was specifically referring to hijab. After the clip, she stated that it was Al-Hussaini she had seen pictured with traditional dress (Aalborg & Bjørdal, 2017). This discussion is centred on Norwegian national day (May 17th) when all school children participate in parades. Norwegian national day parades generally include everyone, and national day municipality programs frequently feature non-white Norwegians, both with and without traditional dress (Høie, 2019; Linstad, 2019; Stavanger Kommune, 2018, 2019). Therefore, it seems that the prime point of contention was the hijab combined with traditional dress. The student said:

I saw a picture of a Muslim with traditional dress and got a bit like, is that really right? When she is a Muslim, but at the same time 17th of May isn't a Christian day, it's just Norway's national day. So, I feel like, I thought it was like, a Christian day, but that was because, I don't know, it was just like, I felt it was a little like... (S3G1FwIV)

This comment demonstrates the disruption of narrative which sensory tokens can offer. While the narrative norm of national day is inclusive, the interpolation of the hijab with traditional dress called for a reassessment. This segment echoes Islamophobic narratives of othering as seen in public debate (C. Stokke, 2019), and thus runs contrary to earlier mentioned ideas of justice where difference is recognised and given equal access. Following this comment, we discussed whether the sole concern was national day and asked if Muslims can wear traditional dress on other days. She replied:

Yes. Like, when I saw that picture I thought, in a way, it was like... I haven't seen that before, so it came, like, a shock, but then I had to remember that the national day isn't a Christian day. So, it's actually totally okay for her to use a traditional dress. It was a bit, like, strange to see a Muslim in traditional dress, like in general, since she isn't like... yeah. (S3G1FwIV)

Here we see an expression of insecurity with an exclusionary narrative. This could be due to the Norwegian norm of everyone being encouraged to participate on national day, thus leaving room for an interpretation of the sensory token of belonging, traditional dress, as being open to all. However, another student reaffirmed the us versus them narrative, saying:

Yes. I think it's strange regardless because it's Norway's traditional dress. Yes. (S3G1FwIII)

This discussion highlights clothing as a sensory token which can be used either in narratives of inclusion, exclusion, or both, as in the case above. While the dominant narrative practice may be that everyone may participate in national day parades, for these students, the Norwegian traditional dress is understood as a sensory token of belonging while the hijab is understood as a sensory token of otherness—and thus they cannot be combined. The last student's comment (S3G1FwIII) limits inclusion, reinforcing the idea that Others are not allowed to use 'our' dress, and thereby appropriates sensory tokens as important signifiers in narratives of inclusion or exclusion. Hence, this segment was lacking in signs of recognition and solidarity.

After groups one and two of S3 which lent towards exclusion, it was interesting to see a shift in group three at S3, which tended towards inclusion. This last group at S3 particularly prevents making strict inferences regarding where schools stand on the inclusion-exclusion continuum (figure 1). Group three at S3 demonstrated a high degree of reflectivity over challenges faced by new citizens and minorities, as well as prejudices

they may experience based on physical appearance, religion, and ‘cultural’ differences. For example, one student said:

I feel also that there is a big difference between... say that you, that there was a war in... say there was a war in Germany, and they fled here, just like a person who fled from Africa, who has dark skin. Then I feel that even though they are both refugees, the person from Africa would still be looked down on more than the one who came from Germany, you know. Like, just because of skin colour and religion. (S3G3FwI)

The above quote reflects an understanding of underlying prejudices and exclusion and makes explicit the connection to racism and religious prejudice—even while the whiteness of Germans is assumed. In response to Jensen’s conversation with Al-Hussaini, students in the group discussed that if Al-Hussaini had looked like the students—in other words, been white and secular (without hijab)—Jensen would likely have immediately acknowledged her as one hundred percent Norwegian, thereby reaffirming physical appearance (non-white) and clothing (hijab) as racialised sensory tokens of otherness. Their reactions to the television clip bring us full circle, echoing sentiments from S1. However, these students were more explicit in highlighting the connections between exclusionary prejudice and racism, while also giving voice to the discomfort caused by the clash of inclusive narratives which are part of Norway’s normative public image and the prejudice connected to sensory tokens deemed Other. After the discussion on physical appearance, one student focussed more on the sensory token of clothing, saying:

Hmmm. Yes, I think she [Jensen] could have thought she [Al-Hussaini] was [Norwegian] if she didn’t use hijab, then I think she could have said that, ... yes, and a bit... a bit less like maybe foreign clothes, in a way. Then I think she could have said, like, ‘Yes, you are Norwegian’, without problem. But you could see that she [Jensen] didn’t want to say, ‘You’re Norwegian’, and had to ask about her values and... yes. No, it’s... I think it was embarrassing on her part, Siv Jensen’s part, that she couldn’t answer the question. I saw that she, like, changed the question and thought that... She... It was, like, uncomfortable for her to be confronted with it. (S3G3FwII)

Here the narrative of exclusion based on sensory tokens, portrayed by Jensen’s unwillingness to acknowledge Al-Hussaini as Norwegian, is explicitly described as “embarrassing”. Furthermore, this group said Jensen’s obvious religious prejudice clashed with Norway’s guaranteed freedom of religion. Thereby, these students implicitly reaffirm the importance of justice, recognition, and solidarity. Nevertheless, their earlier discussion revealed that their understanding of Al-Hussaini as Norwegian was based on her audible language. This emphasises the idea that if the sensory tokens of physical appearance and clothing are rejected as basis for belonging, some other sensory token is adopted in its place.

An overarching trend seen in this data, therefore, is that youth use sensory tokens either to support or challenge citizenship narratives, whether inclusive or exclusionary. Additionally, narratives may be disrupted by the interpolation of sensory tokens. The sensory tokens which were most pronounced in these students' comments were physical appearance, clothing, and audible language. The excerpts from students at S1 show that inclusion can be justified regardless of sensory tokens of difference—physical appearance and clothing—due to other markers of belonging—audible language. On the other hand, as seen in excerpts from S2 and S3, exclusion based on sensory tokens—physical appearance or clothing—can also be challenged by audible language as a marker of belonging. Examples from S2 and S3 show audible language being explicitly used as an indication of foreignness, while other excerpts show clothing being appropriated in narratives of exclusion and inclusion—both as the clothing which shows they do not belong (hijab) and the clothing which shows 'our' belonging (traditional dress). The last excerpt from the student at S3 reaffirms that within a setting where political correctness dictates inclusion regardless of sensory tokens of otherness in physical appearance or clothing, audible language can be used as an alternate marker of belonging. This could suggest that due to embarrassment at confronting racialised stereotypes directly, alternate markers of belonging, such as audible language, are adopted in normative narratives of belonging and inclusion. Thus, racialised and other minority citizens can be offered recognition and solidarity under the auspices being fellow Norwegian speakers.

6 CONCLUSION

Citizenship as a broader concept has been operationalised in a variety of ways (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018). One citizenship delineation highlights status, rights, and identity (Joppke, 2007) while another categorises four aspects as legal status, rights, membership, and participation (K. Stokke, 2017). While it is outside the scope of this paper to fully explore these categorisations, this discussion of inclusion and exclusion touches on citizenship aspects of identity, status, and membership—belonging, broadly speaking. Citizenship education discussion on diversity, including the varying frameworks put forth as teaching models—such as cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2018) and global citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013)—are, in essence, about inclusion and creating a space of belonging in our heterogeneous world. This research contributes toward this citizenship education objective by providing a glimpse into the discursive-material elements which students draw on in navigating narratives of inclusion and exclusion. I would argue that paying special attention to the voices of students and the narratives which become part of their understanding of citizenship and belonging is vital to our ability to address issues of exclusion and discrimination in citizenship education, and that more research which highlights students' voices is needed. This research, therefore, contributes towards addressing this gap in the literature on citizenship education.

The focus group interviews with 10th graders in the three Norwegian schools show Norwegian-ness as a concept of belonging being substituted for the concept of citizenship.

This exemplifies the interchangeability which stereotyped concepts of whiteness as belonging and citizenship have in public debate, and the impact such narratives can have on youth. As shown in the diagram (figure 1), material or sensory tokens can be employed for either inclusion or exclusion, and narratives on both sides of the spectrum were visible in students' citizenship discussions: justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity on the side of inclusivity as well as exclusionary racialised discourses of othering and religious prejudice reflected from public debate.

The discussions with students became more personal and uncomfortable than I had intended when my white hybrid positionality was offered recognition and inclusion in juxtaposition to an othered non-white Norwegian. However, despite my discomfort, it could be argued that being materially and discursively positioned within the discussion is necessary in order to have more open conversations with youth about stereotypes of citizenship. It could be that political correctness and fears of dissecting nationalistic self-perceptions of being past racism are hindering the progress of inclusive citizenship. Educational researchers argue that an explicit vocabulary is necessary for teachers to be able to address racism (Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Røthing, 2015; Svendsen, 2014). I would further argue that the material or sensory tokens of citizen stereotypes visible in public debate must be addressed in order for citizenship education to answer to the challenge of deconstructing the underlying white versus non-white narrative hidden in 'cultural diversity' discourses (Fylkesnes, 2018). Euphemisms will not serve in school discussions of problematic issues which are obscured by politically correct speech. Additionally, as this paper and previous research has shown (Svendsen, 2014), many young people themselves recognise prejudices related to racial, linguistic, and religious stereotypes in public debate as well as within their own experience and are unapologetic about naming it racism.

Thus, this article contributes through implicitly highlighting the conflation of white nationalism and citizenship within public debate that some students draw on in discussions of citizenship and which it would behoove citizenship education researchers and educators to address more explicitly. Furthermore, the analysis of students' recourse to the material or sensory tokens shows that for discourses of exclusion, such as racialised narratives of othering, to be replaced by recognition, solidarity, justice, and self-determination, not only discourses, but also the material must be addressed. In order to foster an inclusive understanding within citizenship education, we must dare to be explicit about the materiality of exclusion so that the discourse of inclusion can become our material reality.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Hande Eslen-Ziya for her help in developing the analytical ideas which served as the framework for my analysis. Special thanks to the reviewers for their comments which served to improve the article overall. I would also like to thank my co-interviewers, Josh Dickstein and Heidi D. Stokmo, for their assistance and insights.

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Articles

Second article



ISSN: 2535-5406

<http://doi.org/10.7577/hrer.3968>

Research articles

Majority rights and minority responsibilities: young people's negotiations with human rights

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Abstract

This paper is a case study of student discussions of rights and responsibilities, which contributes to filling the existing knowledge gap on the topic. Tenth grade majority students who participated in three group discussions on inclusive citizenship spoke of rights as belonging to the majority or to the minoritised Other. In line with earlier research findings, students referenced human rights as national rights or values, while making explicit connections between majority rights and minority responsibilities and implicit references to the responsibility of the majority to protect minority rights. This analysis indicates a need in human rights education (HRE) for both legal literacy and a deeper discussion of human rights. This can, for example, be achieved through a focus on the local context so that young people may better understand minority barriers to rights, as well as the role of the majority in issues of social justice.

Keywords

Human rights, responsibilities, human rights education, young people, citizenship, Norway

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Introduction

Human rights and citizenship education are important aspects of global school curricula, particularly in the social sciences (Schulz et al., 2016). However, research shows that, in school, minority students are more likely to face discrimination than other types of bullying (Durkin et al., 2012). The #BlackLivesMatter movement focuses on one important minoritised category; yet this is just one example of a minoritised Other, a group whose lived experience often contradicts democratic ideals (Banks, 2009). Local public debate shows that this also holds true in Scandinavia (Hansen, 2020; A. D. Johansen, 2020). This was demonstrated at Norwegian #BlackLivesMatter protests, where younger speakers spoke of racist incidents they had witnessed at school or their own experiences of racism. Human rights were invoked both explicitly and implicitly, and it was stressed that it is the responsibility of everyone to combat discrimination (Bjørnheim, 2020; Hansen, 2020).

While much has been written about human rights, children's rights, and children's and young people's perspectives on rights (for example, Ruck & Tenenbaum, 2014; Barton, 2020), relatively little research explores student perspectives on the relationship between human rights and responsibilities. This article therefore contributes towards filling this knowledge gap with a case study consisting of three group interviews with 10th grade students in a Norwegian school. The main aim is to explore how majority students view the minority in terms of citizenship and rights, with a focus on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR] (United Nations [UN], 1948). The paper begins with a contextualisation of the topic and the national setting. This is followed by a theoretical section on citizenship and human rights education (HRE), and then a methodology section. The paper concludes by showing that while the interview guide focuses on inclusive citizenship (Kabeer, 2005), rights and responsibilities emerge as recurring themes in student discussions. The findings highlight how students' negotiations enable them to explore the relationship between rights and responsibilities locally, as well as gain a deeper understanding of minority (in)access to rights, and majority responsibility. These negotiated discussions with young people are a form of consultative participation (Lansdown, 2009) which can contribute to HRE scholars' and educators' research and praxis.

Literature review and background

HRE provides a framework for understanding what is necessary for human dignity (Osler & Starkey, 2010) and raises awareness of universal rights (Lile, 2019; Osler & Solhaug, 2018). Additionally, extensive research has been carried out on HRE models and their implementation, as shown by for example Bajaj (2011) and Barton (2020). HRE shares some common goals with citizenship education (Osler & Starkey, 2010), and both fields seek to

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address the gap between 'democratic ideals and societal realities —and the existence of discrimination and racism' (Banks, 2009, p. 104). Two examples of this gap are the public debate on immigrants taking 'our' jobs (Bell, Heggebø, Tolgensbakk, & Seeberg, 2019; Landro, 2019) and the 'go back to where you came from' narrative that targets refugees (Internet Movie Database [IMDb] 2015; Polakow-Suransky, 2017). Such public debate narratives are symptomatic of political and policy issues, such as the framing of citizens with different skin colour as the Other, and the overlooking of barriers to rights access faced by minorities, as well as migrant populations—work migrants and refugees—who do not have national citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2010). Isin and Turner (2007) show that one of the discrepancies between citizenship and human rights is that while national citizenship has intrinsic accompanying responsibilities, such as paying taxes, human rights does not. Thus, while there are international conventions providing a basis for human rights law, responsibilities connected to human rights are ethical obligations connected to social justice.

International research into children's perspectives on rights shows that in children's analyses of who deserves rights and which rights to prioritise, there can sometimes be a conflict between reasoning based on morality and reasoning based on social conventions (Helwig, 1995; Ruck, Abramovitch, & Keating 1998; Ruck, Keating, Abramovitch & Koegl 1998; Ruck & Tenenbaum, 2014; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2012; Barton, 2020). The research shows that human rights are often understood by young people as mainly individualistic values, and they lack an understanding of human rights's juridical institutions. Furthermore, while Bjerke's research shows that for young people 'there is an interwoven relation between participation rights and responsibilities' (2011, p. 76), and there are numerous examples of research exploring children's views of citizen responsibility (Covell, Howe & McNeil, 2008; Osler, 2000; Thakaso & Preece, 2018), research on the connection between human rights and responsibility is limited. This could be partially explained by the lack of explicit mention of responsibilities in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR] (UN, 1948). Conversely, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, which also applies to children, articulates duties as well as rights (African Union, 1981), such as duties towards family and society.

Moving to the context of this case study, Norway has an immigrant population of 14.8 %, out of which 4.5 % have a refugee background (Statistics Norway, 2021a). An additional 3.6% of the total population are born in Norway to foreign-born parents (Statistics Norway, 2021b).

Norway suffered a national tragedy at Utøya in July 2011, when 77 people were murdered by a white Norwegian home-grown terrorist who supports an extremist right-wing political discourse, specifically anti-immigrant and Islamophobic ideologies (Eriksen, 2011). In the early hours after the tragedy, prior to the release of information about the perpetrator, non-white Norwegians were targeted and harassed due to assumptions that Muslim terrorists were

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responsible (Eriksen, 2011). However, the memorialisation of the Utøya terror attack has re-framed the perpetrator as a different Other (Hakvåg, 2015), thus lessening concerns regarding racism and Islamophobia within Norwegian society. Additionally, Lile (2019) shows that while HRE is enshrined in the Norwegian constitution, its articulation within national curricula is subsumed under Christian and humanistic values. This is compounded by Norway's public image as a global champion of human rights, which results in framing human rights violations as distant phenomena (Vesterdal, 2019), thus 'reproduc(e)[ing] stereotypes and moral superiority' narratives (Hahn, 2020, p. 12). HRE is therefore weak and often conflated with democratic values (Hahn, 2020; Osler & Solhaug, 2018), while an emphasis is placed on helping non-Western immigrants adopt Norwegian values (Osler & Solhaug, 2018).

The present study should also be seen in light of the Nordic ethos of egalitarian individualism (Gullestad, 2002), which was visible in informant discussions. Kjørholt defines it as follows: 'Egalitarian individualism indicates a close relation between an emphasis on the individual's right to self-realization and self-determination on the one hand, and on equality and collectiveness on the other' (2002, p. 68). Let us now consider the theoretical perspective.

Theoretical framework

The term 'minority' is defined in the light of my informants' references to 'them' or the Other, where they used the term 'immigrant' (*innvandrere*) to cover a wide range of residential and citizenship statuses: work immigrants, refugees, international students, and non-white Norwegians. As Gullestad (2002) explains, 'immigrant' in Norway has a double meaning: it is a lexical description of everyone born outside the country, and it also signals racialised minorities (Gans, 2017). I therefore use 'minority' in a broad sense to encompass both meanings of 'immigrant'. However, neither the minority or the majority are homogeneous groups, and my majority informants at times acknowledged hybridity (Bhabha, 2015). Yet, the minoritised Other—or immigrants generally—were often framed by majority interviewees as subaltern, with constrained agency (Balibar & Spivak, 2016).

This research project was focused on citizenship and thus HRE will be discussed using a citizenship framework which offers four dimensions: *legal status*, *rights*, *membership* and *participation* (Stokke, 2017). Beginning with *legal status* and *rights*, the UDHR (UN, 1948) is not legally binding in itself, although the international conventions derived from the UDHR are part of international human rights law. Norway has incorporated five of these conventions into national law (Norwegian National Human Rights Institution [NHRI], 2020), thus creating an overlap between human rights and citizen rights. In some respects this is positive, as human rights apply to both Norwegian citizens and foreigners. However, HRE research shows that young people tend to frame human rights in individualistic and moral terms, and they overlook

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juridical institutions. Thus, scholars argue that for HRE to become truly transformative, legal literacy is needed (Barton, 2020; Lundy & Martínez Sainz, 2018).

Secondly, *membership* can be framed juridically as national citizenship or as belonging, and community participation can grant access to membership. However, minority inclusion, or access, is not a given. The decolonial scholar Mbembe compellingly argues that access is 'the right to belong' (2015, p. 5). He explains that access-as-belonging is not a matter of tolerance and charity and does not require assimilation into the majority culture. Access is about not being ignored and feeling comfortable enough to figuratively take up space. Mbembe further argues that decolonial pluriversity gives room not only to ethnic and cultural diversity, but also to epistemic diversity (Mbembe, 2015). This echoes Bajaj, Canlas and Argenal's (2018) discussion of the humanising imperative of HRE and could be argued to be at the heart of the UDHR (UN, 1948) and its principles of human dignity and equality (Toivanen, 2004).

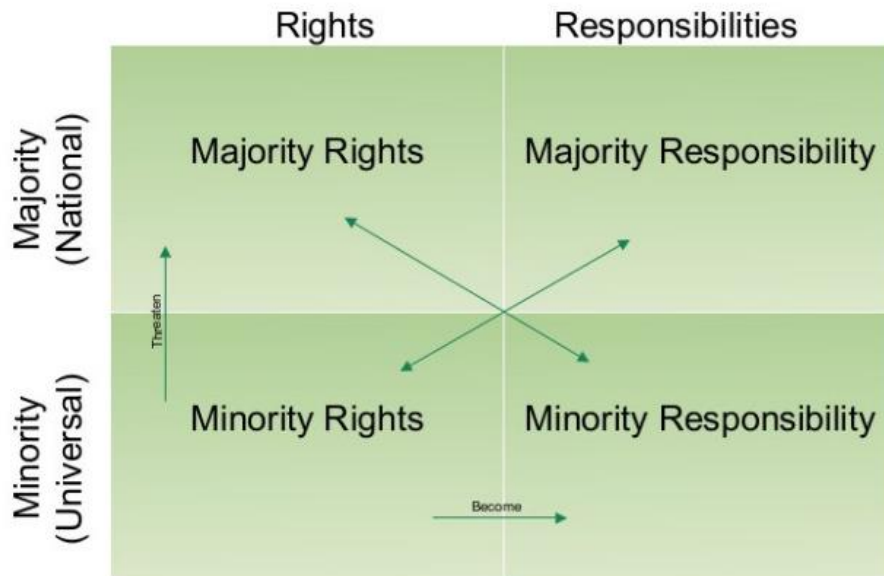
Thirdly, *participation* is connected to responsibility (Stokke, 2017) and is important in both HRE and citizenship education (Osler & Solhaug, 2018). However, a distinction should be made between participation as an imperative and as an invitation. Participation as an imperative is politically desirable, as Mouritsen and Jaeger (2018, p. 4) explain: 'Active citizenship is seen as a kind of panacea for all sorts of social and political ills, such as political apathy, strains on welfare spending, crime, and social unrest'. However, this framing can overlook both the barriers to participation faced by minorities as well as assimilationist notions, such as those highlighted by Mbembe; these issues were visible in my informants' discussion on the responsibility to participate. On the other hand, children's participation could be described as a facilitated invitation. For example, Lansdown (2009) argues that the first level of children's participation rights is consultative participation. Thus, while a longer theoretical discussion could be had on participation as an imperative versus an invitation, this article begins the conversation by providing a participatory space for young people's concerns about human rights issues.

The relationships between rights and responsibilities which emerged from the analysis of the young people's discussions can be visualised in Figure 1. Majority students used the terms 'our' and 'their' to distinguish between the majority and the minority Other. Explicit correlations were made between majority rights and minority responsibility, while implicit correlations were also acknowledged between minority rights and majority responsibility. Additional intersections visualised in Figure 1 are minority rights seen as a threat to majority rights, as well as minority rights becoming minority responsibility.

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Figure 1

Relationships and intersections between majority and minority rights and responsibilities



Methodology

This article is based on data from a larger research project where group interviews with 10th graders (aged 15) were conducted at three schools in Norway. The data subset is drawn from one school, where a total of 12 students participated. Earlier in the school year, the class had covered human rights more generally, as part of their social studies curriculum. This included the history of human rights, international organisations and NGOs working with human rights issues, and an examination of some specific articles, although without a specific focus on the Norwegian context. This school was singled out from the data because its students had described incidents involving minorities (specifically refugees) that had caused them concern and discomfort. The predominant discourse of students at other schools in the larger data set lent heavily towards inclusivity; thus, the more vociferous stance taken by some students in this case study school was striking. Additionally, the teacher had not been able to secure written parental permission for minority students to participate, due to language barriers. This meant that group participants were white majority students, predominantly female. I recruited a master's student in education that I know well to act as co-interviewer. She lives in the school's catchment area and is fluent in the local dialect (unlike myself), but had no previous connection with the school. Both of us are white women. She assisted with taking

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notes, explaining the dialect to me when needed and spontaneously asked students clarifying questions.

The interview guide for this study includes questions on the meaning of the words citizen (*statsborger*) and co-citizen (*medborger*), and on the concepts of 'minority citizens' and 'dual citizenship'. Additionally, students were asked to give their perspectives on new citizens and residents—as part of the landscape of co-citizenship. Some way into the interviews, I showed a two-minute national television clip to exemplify the public debate on issues of citizenship and diversity. In the clip, Faten Al-Hussaini, a non-white Norwegian television host with a hijab, interviews Siv Jensen, a white Norwegian politician from the populist right-wing Progress Party. The discussion centres on citizenship, belonging, and participation, with Jensen circumventing acknowledgement of Al-Hussaini as Norwegian, and insinuating minorities themselves are responsible for their marginalisation. For example, in response to Al-Hussaini's query as to whether she can be Norwegian with a hijab, Jensen says that the question is rather whether one wants to be part of Norwegian society, as one can be a Norwegian passport holder but isolate oneself in a minority environment. The clip concludes with Al-Hussaini's commentary, where she expresses frustration with the lack of recognition and being in an in-between space (Al-Hussaini, 2017; Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation [NRK] P3, 2017). This clip played a role in informing the discussion, as seen later in the analysis.

I conducted analysis on the original fully transcribed interview texts, after which I translated the relevant excerpts, which are included in this article. A native Norwegian speaker proofread the translated excerpts. I employed thematic analysis (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017), focusing specifically on the 30 articles of the UDHR (UN, 1948). Building on Banks' (2009, p. 101) argument that HRE in school should address young people's personal experiences, my analysis employs the feminist and postmodern methodology of polyphony (Liamputtong, 2007). This analytical method gives greater space to participant voices; there is less editing of dialogue segments, which allows participants' negotiated and at times conflicting voices to take centre stage. This methodology contributes to young people's engagement in consultative participation (Lansdown, 2009). It also ensures greater analytical transparency.

While the data for this case study consisted of only three group interviews of 45 minutes to one hour each, the thematic analysis yielded extensive discussion material, relevant to human rights. The next section offers an analysis of the three main groups of rights singled out in the interviews; freedom of religion and freedom of expression [articles 18 and 19]; equality and freedom from discrimination [article 2], and the right to participate in democratic processes [article 21] (UN, 1948).

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Polyphonic discussion of rights and responsibilities

The young people in these group discussions touched on diverse rights covered in the UDHR (UN, 1948). Some of these were framed as rights and others as responsibilities. Some were framed as national citizenship rights, while others were framed as universal rights—with some tension between the two, as the following section demonstrates. (Code key: Students are coded by group and gender; for example, G3MII stands for group three, male two.)

Negotiating minority rights versus majority rights

This segment makes visible negotiations between minority and majority rights, with students acknowledging the lived experience of the minoritised Other and their desire for stability and safety. However, this segment also shows that some students experience an underlying frustration, and they argue that minority rights ought not to interfere with or threaten majority stability and norms. The oscillating negotiated opinions in this segment focus on the rights of refugees and work migrants:

G1FI: No, I think it's good that they come, but like...

G1FIV: I think they must follow Norwegian rules, in a way, because they have, they follow the rules from their country. And when they come to Norway then it's that... they have difficulty, in a way, with the Norwegian rules. But they have to... they live here so they have to follow them, in a way. You are not an exception just because you come from another country, other rules, so that you can break the rules, like many do.

G1FI: And there are so many excuses given about them that they have gone through a lot and such, but it affects us that live here if, like... what has affected them maybe if they have fled from another country, and not like... that they can't manage to follow the rules here, so then it's, like, we feel unsafe and... if something happens.

G1FI: But at the same time it's good that they get to come here because it could have been us who fled from another country.

G1FIV: And Norway is a very safe and stable country to live in, and it's nice to live here. That's probably why... uh, maybe more than where they came from.

G1FI: And there is, also there are some who come for work and such. And I think that's good because... but as long as it doesn't become, like, that those in Norway don't get enough work then.

This dialogue segment touches specifically on three human rights: the right to seek asylum [article 14], the right to life, liberty and security of person [article 3], and the right to work

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[article 23] (UN, 1948). However, it demonstrates a tension between rights and responsibilities where, while the minority right to seek asylum is acknowledged, the majority right to security of person presupposes the responsibility of the minority to follow majority rules. Thus, assimilation into majority culture is understood as a precondition for access to rights, while diversity of norms is not welcomed (Mbembe, 2015).

The one student's comment about excuses made regarding what 'they' (refugees) have gone through demonstrates a frustration with refugees' hardship taking up space. This signals the students' understanding that the majority must offer tolerance and charity to refugees, rather than offering them access-as-belonging (Mbembe, 2015).

The comment that 'we' (majority) would also want to be able to seek asylum, if necessary, denotes a politically correct conscience. However, again, conditionality is visible in the reference to narratives of immigrants taking 'our' jobs (Bell et al., 2019; Landro, 2019). This frames minority rights as problematic if they appear to threaten majority rights. Interestingly, another group (G2) framed the right to work [article 23] (UN, 1948) as a responsibility, a form of societal participation. Overall, this segment shows a juxtaposition of minority rights and responsibilities against the perceived threat they can pose to majority rights, as well as the responsibility of the minority to assimilate into majority society.

Freedom of religion and freedom of expression [articles 18 and 19]

The rights to freedom of religion and freedom of expression (UN, 1948) came up in the discussion of the television clip. Students acknowledged it was probably Al-Hussaini's hijab which caused Jensen to avoid acknowledging her as fully Norwegian, and they pointed out that rights to freedom of religion and freedom of expression invalidate this type of prejudice. The following segment demonstrates the negotiation of prejudice and rights:

G3FII: Hmm. And... yes. She [Al-Hussaini] had a strong opinion that she herself felt she was Norwegian, but it was... I didn't really understand why Jensen didn't want to say... because she asked her, 'do you think I'm Norwegian even though... that, if I have a hijab?' Then she [Jensen] didn't, like, answer the question.

G3FI: It has to do with if she...

G3FII: It has to do with religion, and she can have the religion she wants, even though she lives in Norway. In Norway, people have the right to have whatever religion they want. Also, we have freedom of expression, you have the right to say exactly what you mean. But she didn't dare say... no, it's not like you have to come from Syria to use the

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hijab, and like, there are many who are 100% Norwegian who also use the hijab in Norway.

G3FI: You can, of course, convert to a different religion, even if you are Norwegian and were Christian.

G3FII: Yes, that about which religion... I could have used the hijab because I had changed religion, and still been Norwegian. Like, it has nothing... country or citizenship, citizenship, whatever [in English], has nothing to do with your religion. It only has to do with, in Norway everyone is... uh, the biggest percentage is Christian, or nothing. Uh... also there are a lot of different kinds of Christians, like Jehovahs and all that. But, it's mainly Christians that are the biggest percentage, and then you have a lot of different ones from here. But the reason I think she sees her as majority in another religion is because those with a different religion are often maybe immigrants.

G3FI: She has characteristics that show she's not 100% from Norway, and that she uses the hijab can be a reason. But like, when she has a hijab and has a little darker skin tone, then the connection is made, then you understand that, like, she doesn't have a totally Norwegian background. And I think the reason she [Jensen] had trouble saying it is because, like, people know that she's from [a certain political party] and [that party] is against, they're against taking in so many immigrants... and then when Jensen is a public figure against taking in immigrants, then you understand that... maybe it's not necessary to say, but they have a bit, like, racist ideas and look down on them.

G3FII: But I understand that maybe they are a bit sceptical about taking in [refugees] because so many incidents have happened with immigrants, in a way. Uh, but there's a kind of label, the multicultural Norway... in Norway, we're multicultural and many have different cultures also, as she probably has.

G3FI: I feel that there is, that it is a part of society in Norway also to not be totally Norwegian. That we are used to having people from other countries, because a lot of people want to move to Norway because things are so good here, and if Norway had been a country with only, like, Norwegians, it wouldn't be the same as it is now.

This dialogue demonstrates an understanding of the rights to freedom of expression and religion [articles 18 & 19] (UN, 1948), although they are framed as Norwegian rights rather than human rights. This supports research showing human rights being framed as national values rather than universal rights (Hahn, 2020). The segment also highlights normative understandings of religious prejudice and discrimination as being racist and unacceptable, again pointing to Norway's image as a human rights champion (Vesterdal, 2019). It could be argued that the extended discussion of freedom of religion and expression is an implicit understanding that the minority right to freedom of religion invokes the responsibility of the

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majority to uphold that right. On the other hand, it could also be argued that the reference to public debate on criminal incidents involving immigrants (Ø.D Johansen, 2019; Moore, 2019) made by one of the students demonstrates the ongoing negotiation of majority rights versus the responsibility of the minority to follow the rules as a precondition for being tolerated, following Mbembe (2015). The final comment that part of 'Norwegianness' is not being Norwegian indicates an appreciation for pluriversity or hybridity (Bhabha, 2015; Mbembe, 2015). Thus, this discussion signifies students' understanding of rights and access-as-belonging, where even the hijab as a religious symbol is provided legitimate space; at the same time, they are also conscious of conflicts in the public sphere.

Equality and freedom from discrimination [article 2]

Related to this discussion of freedom of religion is the right to freedom from discrimination (UN, 1948). In some dialogue segments, students demonstrated an awareness of prejudice and discrimination, while in other instances they seemed unaware of the discrepancies in their arguments. For example, in one of the interview groups, the students discussed the indigenous minority group, the Sami. Students outlined the historical oppression foisted on the Sami as well as the special rights currently in place, granted to the Sami by the Norwegian government in reparation (International Labour Organization [ILO], 1989). The students framed this differentiated treatment protecting Sami culture and language as a good thing, while one added:

G3F1: It's, like, their culture and their way of life.

This comment was made in a relaxed, laissez-faire manner and contrasts with the rather strong opinions of some students about the importance of immigrants and refugees following the rules. Regarding the Sami, it was implicitly understood that it is the majority's responsibility to protect their rights—including their cultural and linguistic rights. Thus, it could be argued that to some degree the Sami are granted access-as-belonging (Mbembe, 2015) while other minoritised groups are expected to assimilate.

Students in interview group three seemed more reflective on the challenges faced by minoritised 'immigrants', as well as minority right to equal access. However, they still implied that Norwegian norms and behaviour were the correct ones:

G3FII: Yes. So those who come from other countries should, like, have the same opportunities as us, regardless of how old they are, ... and it's a very good offer, but they can often behave a little differently, because they don't know how to act.

G3FII: They don't know the Norwegian rules.

This again implies that the relationship between the rights of minorities to equality and equal

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access [article 2] (UN, 1948) is correlated to their responsibility to learn Norwegian rules and norms—again demonstrating Mbembe's (2015) notion of assimilation as a precondition for minority access-as-belonging.

Group three also confirmed previous research showing that human rights violations, such as discrimination, are often understood as something that happens somewhere else (Osler & Solhaug, 2018; Vesterdal, 2019). For example, while some students were clearly aware of the existence of prejudice and discrimination against non-white minorities, they initially framed it as happening elsewhere:

G3FI: It depends on how far out it is, if a person came here who had two Norwegian parents, or one parent who is foreign, then I feel you'd be seen as totally normal. But when you come here... if you come from abroad and have dark parents especially, then racism can easily come into the environment. I feel that you'd be, like... I feel that in some places if you're dark then you won't be seen as Norwegian even if you have, like, lived in Norway your whole life. So especially that can be a problem at least now, there is more racism and abuse

Here there is an initial acknowledgement of hybridity (Bhabha, 2015), through the mention of those with one Norwegian parent and one 'foreign'. However, this hybridity is legitimised through parentage, and thus those with two foreign parents are more likely to face discrimination, especially if they have a darker skin. When asked about discrimination in their own school environment, the students said that they did not think it was much of a problem, and asserted that where a person is from did not matter to them, as long as they can speak Norwegian:

G3FII: Or, like, we don't care if someone has other parents, in a way and all that. We think that they... it doesn't affect us any if someone... so long as they, in a way, speak Norwegian.

This comment could be understood as a legitimisation of hybridity through language. On the other hand, one student later said:

G3FI: It's not like, that, if you come here and can speak Norwegian 100% that you won't get, like, racist comments flung at you because you have dark skin.

Additionally, one commented that prejudice is often an automatic reaction:

G3FII: It's just something one automatically thinks, even if like, one doesn't want to discriminate against anyone... yes.

These successive comments confirm a pattern of framing human rights violations as

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happening far away. However, when students discuss and explore the issue more deeply, they may develop a more nuanced understanding of the lived reality of minorities' experiences of hybridity, as well as discrimination closer to home.

The following dialogue segment demonstrates this more nuanced understanding where some students appeared to empathise more in depth with the minoritised Other, and were able to negotiate majority responsibilities in relation to the minority's right to not be discriminated against. In the following segment, participants are discussing minority students in the Norwegian language class at school—the introduction class comprised mostly of refugees—and these students' interactions with the rest of the student body:

G3FI: I think there are many that feel that, you have, like, at school those of us here, that... there are many that see the introduction class as a part that doesn't belong to the school because they're a group together... they don't, like, hang out with others at school. And they often keep to themselves even though... they don't need to.

G3FI: I think it has a bit to do with culture, like, and I think they can feel a bit like... I think they have that feeling themselves because they are... said themselves that when you come here you can probably get racist comments flung at you, and if you get comments then it goes very deep in you and you can pull away, like, and can get that feeling that you don't really belong, like the others do. And then you often pull away towards those that have a bit of the same culture, and like, have lived in the same situation.

G3FII: And like very... also feel vulnerable.

G3FI: Yes.

G3FII: Uhh, so it could be that it's a bit our fault and that maybe they have not been very good at being welcoming... we students. Maybe that's it.

G3FI: Yes, and they have, you know, none of us can feel what that person has if they came here on boats with forty people, on a little rubber boat in the Mediterranean, like. It's something that sits in their psyche, and it's like, it can affect them and how they are, how their behaviour looks. And its things that we can't imagine, and like, understand their situation. And then we can, like, think the way they are is strange.

This segment demonstrates students' reflections on the challenges faced by the Other, with implicit understanding of both the need for human rights, such as the right to seek asylum [article 14] and the right to freedom from discrimination [article 2] (UN, 1948), along with majority responsibility to not discriminate against the Other, regardless of their 'strange' behaviour. A change can thus be seen from earlier comments, where discrimination is viewed

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The importance of connecting discrimination to the local context can also be seen in the light of Norwegian research which shows a lack of discussion in schools of the July 22nd Utøya terror attack (Anker & von der Lippe, 2015; Erdal, 2018), and Hakvåg's (2015) argument regarding the discourse of July 22nd memorials that reinforce the Norwegian self-image of democratic equality and sameness. Post-Utøya public debate has moved further towards anti-immigrant and Islamophobic discourse with the establishment of a right-leaning coalition government (Fangen & Vaage, 2018), and the 2019 attack by another white Norwegian on a mosque and the murder of his non-white sister (NRK, 2019) raises further concerns. Public debate surrounding the 2019 tragedy (Stoksvik, 2020) demonstrates concern about the radicalisation of individuals who become racist terrorists, but there are also worries about family and friends who bear a responsibility to take action when such views become apparent. This demonstrates the need to help students explore issues related to discrimination and minority experiences within their local context.

The right to participate in democratic processes [article 21]

Another right frequently referred to in discussing citizenship is the right to participate in democratic processes (UN, 1948). The students at this school were especially keen to point out that voting and being part of the decision-making process was not reserved for elites:

G1FI: If we are part of the decision-making, like, all of us. It's not just the higher-ups.

G1FIV: That's it. Like, that they listen to us, you know. They should at least listen to us, if we have something to say or something we want to bring up, then they listen to us.

Voting was framed more generally as a responsibility, specifically a criterion for citizenship. As the dialogue shows, participation in elections was understood as part of one's responsibility for contributing to positive change in society:

G2FII: That you, for example, vote, because you have... if you participate in an election, for example, and that is... democracy is so that everyone can be part of the decision-making.

G2MIII: Yes, a bit, like, if you want change in your society, then you have to go and vote. If not, then there won't be change.

This comment implies that the right to vote is also a responsibility correlated to contributing to positive change in society. Thus, the right to participate in the democratic process [article 21] (UN, 1948) becomes the responsibility to participate—or more explicitly, the responsibility

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to vote. This can be seen as an internalisation of the participation narrative in the public debate (Bøe, 2019), where the onus is placed on individuals to make their voices heard and access their rights. However, the following example shows that more than voting may be necessary to effect change.

Political participation [article 21] on the part of the community was visible in the discussion of a refugee whom the community rallied around. Due to his participation in the cultural life of the community [article 27] (UN, 1948), the community protested against his imminent deportation:

G3FII: It has to do with belonging, and like that many think they [certain refugees] belong here... uhm, maybe the state thinks...

G3FI: And it has to do with participation and that they took some initiative themselves, like one of them, he was a gymnastics trainer, he worked at the school there and was often, like, with young people for free time activities. And then the parents of the children know who he is and such. So, then he was very close in the community and, when you... many young people who are into music or sports and especially such activities asked... and he had so much to do with everything, so everyone knew who he was. And then, like, a big percent of the local community supported him against the government, so they wouldn't send him away.

G3FI: It has to do with that we have a democratic country and so we have the right to participate in deciding what we think is right.

G3FI: Like, that they stand for those who were to be sent out, they were... like, they were a part of [the community]. Then, we have the right to be heard.

While some students saw minority rights as a threat to majority rights, this example shows the right to democratic participation being utilised by the majority to protect the minority's right to security of person [article 3], the right to seek asylum [article 14], and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community [article 27] (UN, 1948). However, this segment also demonstrates an assimilation narrative, where the minority right to participate in the cultural life of the community [article 27] becomes the responsibility to participate—or integrate. And yet, it was not the refugee's cultural participation that granted him access to the right to asylum; this right was secured by the majority community's political participation. Thus, the conflation of rights and responsibilities can lend itself to naïve assumptions regarding access to rights as well as limited understanding of barriers. Such examples offer opportunities to clarify conflations, affirming what Todd (2007) shows in her discussion of HRE, that it is in dialogue with the Other where justice is fully understood and co-created.

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Conclusion

This analysis contributes to research on young people and human rights by focusing on majority students' implicit and explicit understandings of the relationship between rights and responsibilities, as Figure 1 (page six) visualises. The use of polyphony and extended dialogue segments allows HRE researchers and educators to gain deeper insight into young people's negotiated and oscillating perspectives on minority citizens and their rights. As shown, young people demonstrate an awareness of both human rights ideals and public debate narratives, while they often conflate rights and responsibilities. Such misunderstandings may hinder students' comprehension of human rights in general, larger societal injustices—such as those related to #BlackLivesMatter—as well as their ability to recognise human rights violations within their own community.

HRE seen through the lens of citizenship dimensions *legal status*, *membership*, *participation*, and *rights* (Stokke, 2017) facilitates reflection on student discussions and concerns. For example, the *legal status* and *rights* dimensions highlight the importance of majority students recognising principles of equality before the law and *rights* as being universal regardless of *legal status*; this underscores HRE scholars' recommendations for the inclusion of legal literacy in transformative HRE (Barton, 2020; Lundy & Martínez Sainz, 2018). *Participation* as a right was facilitated through students' negotiated discussions, which gave voice to their concerns (Lansdown, 2009), and these concerns highlighted some problematic assumptions: namely, participation as minority responsibility to assimilate, along with a lack of comprehension of barriers to participation. Bajaj et al. (2018, p. 18) argue that 'teaching human rights begins with humanizing our students in order to build connections to human rights and to one another'. Therefore, it is vital for HRE to aid majority students in understanding that for minorities to *participate* and feel a sense of *membership*, they must first have access. Furthermore, related to the *membership* dimension, student discussions reveal a perceived dichotomy between majority and minority rights, indicating that minorities with Other or 'strange' behaviour are not viewed as full members, which highlights the importance of Mbembe's (2015) access-as-belonging and pluriversity.

In conclusion, a first step is for young people to recognise the minority's legal rights, both citizen rights and human rights. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, examining participation and membership through minorities' barriers to access in their local community may help students gain greater awareness of the rights and access which the majority take for granted, and the responsibility of the majority in helping to protect minority rights—such as freedom from discrimination [article 2] (UN, 1948). This discussion shows that exploring rights and responsibilities is important for deepening young people's understanding of the complexities and challenges of access-as-belonging, helping human rights questions evolve

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from the superficial: Do minorities have legal access to rights?, to deeper questions: Do minorities feel welcome and comfortable asserting their rights?. How do majority young people perceive minorities 'taking up space' in order to claim their rights, and how do they reflect on their own responsibilities in relation to minority rights? Asking such questions and engaging with young people's concerns therefore has the potential to aid, particularly the majority, to become stronger allies in the global fight for social justice and human rights.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to my co-interviewer, Heidi D. Stokmo, for her contribution.

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Articles

Third article



Article

Students' understanding of legal citizenship and co-citizenship concepts: Subject positions and capabilities

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Abstract

This article presents findings from a research project aimed at exploring youth understandings of two Norwegian words for citizen: *statsborger* and *medborger*, translated as legal citizen and co-citizen. The topic was explored through group interviews with 10th-grade students in three schools. The findings are analysed through the lens of subject positions and capabilities, with the results showing that students appropriate categories and storylines within public debate in order to frame different citizen subject positions as either one of 'us' or 'them'. Dichotomies and overlaps are also visible in descriptions of citizen capabilities as either legal, ideal, or societal. Legal capabilities, understood as the juridically defined rights of majority and minority legal citizens and co-citizens, are less clear to students and are at times obscured by societal capabilities, or the rhetoric within public debate which may hinder minority capabilities. Additionally, ideal capabilities, or democratic values, often stand in conflict with the rhetoric of public debate. The main implication of these research findings is that a citizenship lens allows for a nuanced exploration of citizen subject positions and attendant capabilities within a democracy, including exploration of the challenges that minority citizens may face. Being explicit about the who (subject position), what (categories), and how (storylines) of democratic



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participation will allow students a more critical understanding of citizenship than the value-centred discussions which are often a staple of citizenship education.

Keywords: legal citizenship, co-citizenship, citizenship education, capabilities, subject positions, youth

Introduction

Within society, we play different roles. Some we take on ourselves, such as the friend or the parent; others we are assigned, such as the class clown or the nerd; and some we contest, such as the culprit or the outsider. Such roles can be understood as subject positions, and these are constantly under development, with individuals (re)positioning themselves whilst negotiating the categories and storylines which have hitherto defined them (Törrönen, 2001). Within these subject positions, we also evaluate our possibilities for action, or, following Sen (2001), our capabilities.

This paper focuses on the subject position of the citizen as understood by youth, as there is considerable scholarly discussion surrounding the educating of children and youth as they transition into the citizen subject position from the child or minor subject position. In this process of education, Biesta (2020, p. 97) argues that a ‘reality check’ is needed in order for students to better understand what (in)actions are open to them, or what capabilities they have (Sen, 2001). Biesta is to a degree referencing citizen rights and responsibilities. However, citizenship has multiple conceptualisations, from Marshall’s (1950) early focus on rights to Joppke’s (2007) delineation of status, rights, and identity to citizenship education’s focus on participation (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018). Citizenship education is also important to nation building (Heater, 2004), and citizenship’s connection to nationalism—often ethno-centric—is constantly challenged by emigration and immigration. With such diversity of conceptualisation, how do students understand citizen subject positions and the attendant capabilities?

This article tackles the question by employing data from an empirical research project, focused on students’ exploration of two Norwegian words for citizen: *statsborger* and *medborger*; which can be translated respectively as legal citizen and co-citizen. The data consists of group discussions with 10th grade students in Norway, and is set against the backdrop of inclusive citizenship education discourses versus exclusionary rhetoric in the public sphere, such as anti-

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immigrant narratives (Fangen & Vaage, 2018).

Research shows that despite citizenship education's earlier iteration as a tool for nation building, globalisation and the multicultural nature of nation states has effected an increased focus on diversity within citizenship education literature (Osler, 2017). The research covers a broad spectrum, and distinctions between citizenship education and democratic education are lacking as demonstrated by the Council of Europe's Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture (RFCDC) which was created to address the lack of common aims in EU member states' citizenship education initiatives (Europarat, 2018). [Biesta (2013, 2020) uses the term democratic education.] Some examples of the research include the connections between citizenship education and national identity (Ljunggren, 2014), research on teachers' understanding of citizenship and their role as educators (Sætra & Stray, 2019), students' view of politics and democratic engagement (Mathé, 2018), and comparison between students and teachers views on citizenship education (Biseth, 2011). Research also shows that the term 'diversity' in teacher education often serves as a euphemism for the non-white Other (Fylkesnes, 2018), while students frequently connect Norwegian-ness with ancestry or whiteness (Eriksen, 2020) More generally, the 2016 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (Schulz et al., 2016), which included 24 countries, explores students' civic knowledge and political participation. The research focus is thus only implicitly on citizenship, while less common in the field is asking research participants explicitly what they understand citizenship to be. – As further demonstrated by Biseth, Seland, and Huang's (2021) review of Norwegian civic and citizenship education research. It is also worth noting a potential conflict, in that the aim is to facilitate children and youth becoming citizen subjects and taking part in democratic processes, while legally they are still minors and thus what it actually means for them to participate before reaching legal age is debateable (Lansdown, 2009). This research project centres citizenship, and the investigation into students' meaning making demonstrates the potential which a citizenship lens offers. It facilitates an explicit exploration of the who (the role), what (the category), and how (positioning within a storyline) of democracy in contrast to the RFCDC competency model which focuses on values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge of democratic culture (Europarat, 2018). This pragmatic approach is relevant for educators who aim to help students learn about their role (subject position) as well as their potential to contribute (capabilities) to society (Osler, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

Citizenship is a contested term with a variety of iterations (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018), which could be the reason that democratic knowledge and participation has been a focus in citizenship education research (Schulz et al., 2016). However, the “question that has haunted democracy from day one [is] 'Who are the people?'—or, to put it differently: 'Who are to be included in the (definition of the) demos?'” (Bingham et al., 2010, p. 74). Thus, subject position(s) are vital to explore, particularly since democracy is often understood to belong to the white European (Lentin, 2008), and Arendt cautions that democracy ought not to equate to the “tyranny of the majority” (1961, p. 181).

By looking at subject positions within democracy discourse, the citizenship amalgamation can be broken down into who, what, and how. The role of the subject position, or the who, is defined according to the what and how of the categories and storyline which have been created by society at large (Törrönen, 2001). These discourses also craft an understanding of who can inhabit certain subject positions (Hall, 1996), while these understandings can also be (re)negotiated—as shown by this decades’ black U.S. president. Categorisations which often intersect with the citizen subject position are those which frame an ‘us’ and a ‘them’, and the attendant storylines typically tend towards exclusionary discourses, such as nationalistic rhetoric based on imaginaries of sameness (Gullestad, 2006). On the inclusive side of the spectrum are storylines which draw on human rights and idealised democratic values, such as those outlined in the anthology *Inclusive Citizenship* (Kabeer, 2005). In discussion with minorities and marginalised from various parts of the world, Kabeer (2005) and her colleagues found a recurrence of the themes justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity. Within this notion of justice, there is an understanding of the times “when it is fair for people to be treated the same and when it is fair that they should be treated differently” (Kabeer, 2005, p. 3); recognition encompasses “the intrinsic worth of all human beings but also recognition and respect for their differences” as well as “the right to have rights” (2005, p. 4); self-determination is defined as “people’s ability to exercise some degree of control over their lives” (2005, p. 5); while solidarity is “the capacity to identify with others and to act in unity with them in their claims for justice and recognition” (2005, p. 7). These themes inform understanding of inclusive discourse and acted as sensitising concepts in the analysis.

Biesta argues that “our freedom is fundamentally interconnected with the freedom of

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others—contingent upon the freedom of others” (2013, p. 106). This requires awareness of inequalities within society, including differing capabilities, who is included and excluded. More specifically, Biesta states, “The encounter with responsibility is therefore the “moment” when I encounter my freedom and thus my unique existence as subject—unique in the sense that it is up to me to determine what to do, which no one can do for me’ (2020, p. 101). This can be understood as capabilities (Sen, 2001), or the freedom inherent in having choices available.

The concept of capabilities comes from Sen’s ‘development as freedom’ (Sen, 2001). Here the question moves from what rights people theoretically and juridically have to encompass nuanced and intersectional understandings of the actual possibilities for action or inaction which are open to people. —Considering, for example, their gender and social status. An underlying assumption is that equity or equal access is a social good and that factors such as gender and minority status should not be overlooked. An adaptation of this concept useful for this analysis is looking at capabilities as legal, ideal, and societal. One may have legal rights but be unaware of those rights. Alternately, an ideal may clash with a societal norm or the populist rhetoric of the day, which may hinder the realisation of that ideal. Such an understanding of capabilities is compatible with Biesta’s (2020) discussion of the importance of students’ understanding of their and their peers’ possibilities for (in)action within society. There is a body of research focusing on children’s rights and responsibilities, for example, research on students’ perceptions of their rights and responsibilities (Bjerke, 2011; Çayır & Bağlı, 2011). However, I would argue that while rights and responsibilities implicitly cover some aspects, the concept of capabilities more accurately correlates with exploration of citizen subject positions.

Three storylines characterising citizen subject positions can be understood as those pertaining to: 1) legal status and rights, 2) democratic engagement, and 3) membership and identity (Leydet, 2017). Additionally, the Norwegian vocabulary for citizenship (‘statsborgerskap’ and ‘medborgerskap’), legal citizenship and co-citizenship, highlights two categories of citizen subject position. This categorisation is subjectively my own, as the Norwegian word ‘medborger’, which I translate as co-citizen, has only recently been taken up within educational and political circles. Thus, the vernacular development of the word is yet to be seen. It is therefore not entirely surprising that respondents were unsure of the meaning of the word, and anecdotal evidence suggests that teachers are also not sure of its meaning.

The category of legal citizen is defined as all those eligible for a passport, whether living within the national border or without, and the associated rights. The category of co-citizen is defined as all residents within the borders of the country, who are thus de facto part of society—regardless of their citizenship status (see figure 1). Additionally, the category of minority in this analysis refers to those in an Other or hybrid space (Bhabha, 2015) whose belonging or citizenship status may be delegitimised, often due to ethnicity—thus essentially hampering their capabilities.

Figure 1. Categories of citizenship

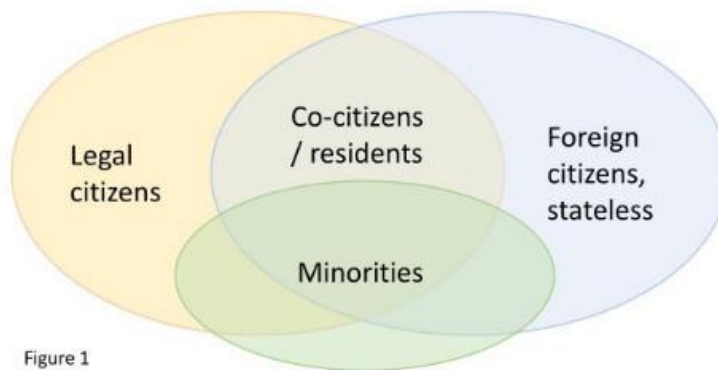


Figure 1

Citizen categories are influenced by the storylines within which individuals (re)position themselves in order to inhabit desirable subject positions. Justice, recognition, and self-determination characterise the storyline surrounding the status and rights of the legal citizen category, as rights are institutionalised for all those eligible for the national passport (Heater, 2004). This storyline correlates somewhat with legal capabilities, as citizenship rights—as well as responsibilities—are purportedly juridically divorced from populist rhetoric, such as constructions of European-ness as whiteness (Lentin, 2008). Legal capabilities are not only codified for legal citizens, but resident foreign citizens also have rights and responsibilities which are codified through regional international juridical bodies, such as the EU, or through global juridical frameworks, such as human rights legislation. Additionally, the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO, 1989) provides a legal framework for some categories of minorities. However, international rights agreements aimed at foreign citizen residents and indigenous peoples must be ratified by individual countries and can thus vary. The storyline attached to legal status and rights is thus theoretically inclusive.

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The storylines connected to democratic engagement are complex due to the overlap of legal, ideal, and societal capabilities. Participation is an important concept within this storyline, and an emphasis in modern civic education is the good citizen as the contributing useful citizen (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018). However, the concept of lived citizenship highlights the negotiation of the legal, ideal, and societal which is necessary for meaningful engagement on a day to day basis (Kallio & Mitchell, 2016). Social rhetoric impacts the capabilities of legal citizens and co-citizens alike, however, those placed in the minority citizen category experience higher demands, as anti-immigrant rhetoric demonstrates (Fangen & Vaage, 2018). Mouritsen and Jaeger (2018) show that active citizenship educational discourses are often targeted at minorities and refugees, with the understanding that an assimilated minority citizen is a good citizen.

Storylines connected to membership and identity further highlight the potential conflation of legal, ideal, and societal capabilities. As a full exploration of identity is outside the scope of this paper, the focus is on membership. Legal citizenship as a category is essentially legal membership; however, it is also an ideal category which can be recast and co-opted into the category of 'us' in contrast to 'them', and both minority legal citizens and co-citizens can be categorised as non-member Others (Fangen & Vaage, 2018). Also, rhetoric regarding participation and integration as key to membership (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018) may or may not be a societal reality in local communities. The subject position of the citizen is thus not an empty or neutral category, as it is influenced by categorisations shaped by the rhetoric and storylines of history, cultural norms, and public debate, as well as the individuals who (re)position themselves as citizen subjects. Hall (1996) argues that identities are not the same as subject positions, and while one may play the role of the 'good citizen', this may be contested when one is ascribed the subject position of the Other. Also, how one positions oneself within these storylines and categories of 'us' and 'them' dictates one's relationship to the Other, and the use of pronouns such as 'we' or 'they' can signal self-positioning within inclusive or exclusive storylines.

Returning to objectives, Biesta (2020) argues that democratic education offers an invitation to behave maturely, understanding not only that we cannot always have everything we desire, but also the responsibility we have to our compatriots. The findings provide an empirical example of exploration of citizen subject positions and how students frame 'us' and 'them'

categories as per societal storylines, while the next section explores the data collection methodology.

Methodology

The empirical data included in this article was collected through group interviews with 10th grade students in three lower secondary schools in Norway. The schools offered differing environments: a private urban school where Norwegian was the language of instruction, a public urban school, and a public rural school; and willingness or ability to participate was the main determining factor. The aim was to include one whole class from each school, however not all students had parental permission or wanted to participate. Thus, in school one (S1) the full class joined while in the other two schools, half to less than half of the class participated. The teachers provided demographic information on students: gender and minority / majority status, therefore references to students' minority or majority status are understood to be subjective while they provide a glimpse into the composition of the groups. The data set consists of eight group interviews with a total of 44 students. (Note: Students are coded by school, group, gender, status [a = majority, i = minority] with Roman numerals distinguishing students with similar codes: e.g., S3G2Mill stands for school 3, group 2, male minority II.)

The interview guide began with questions regarding the terms legal citizen (statsborger) and co-citizen (medborger). The word 'multicultural' was used as a layman's term in the interview guide to facilitate participants' understanding of the context. After the initial set of questions, a two-minute television clip was shown to the students in order to situate the discussion within the context of public debate. The clip from the national broadcasting station, NRK, is an excerpt of an interview conducted by Norwegian television host, Faten Al-Hussaini, with Siv Jensen, a leading politician from Norway's right-leaning Progress Party (FrP). Both women have been vocal and visible in public debate on the 'multicultural' Norway. The interview clip centres on citizenship, belonging, language, participation, and values, with Jensen avoiding directly acknowledging Al-Hussaini as Norwegian (NRK P3, 2017). This clip likely influenced student discussions; however, students tended to remain consistent in inclusive / exclusive discourses before and after the viewing.

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The group interviews provided rich discussion. They were recorded audibly, and transcription in full was outsourced. The analysis was conducted on the original Norwegian transcriptions using a discourse analytical lens and its understanding of dominance relations (van Dijk, 1993), which strengthened analysis of inclusive and exclusionary discourses. After the analysis, pertinent excerpts were translated into English by the author, and then proofread by a native speaker. While the schools represented different social environments, the recurrence of themes indicate validity and a potential for qualified generalisability. In the next section, the findings will be discussed, looking specifically at understandings of legal citizenship and co-citizenship as well as how minority legal citizens and co-citizens were framed.

Discussion

Nuances and conceptual overlaps

The most frequent response from students was that they did not know or were unsure of the meanings of legal citizenship and co-citizenship. This included uncertainty regarding the difference between the terms, with some students asserting that there probably was no difference—that it was just a matter of preference (S2G1FaIII).

Students also used different approaches in their attempts to tease out the meaning of the words in our discussions, with some framing legal citizenship in juxtaposition to co-citizenship. Most students understood legal citizenship to be more concrete and signify stronger ties to the nation state, and therefore some concluded that co-citizens must be everyone else who 'just lives here' (S1G1MiVI). Thus, in some instances, co-citizens were categorised as an Other, as in this comment following the viewing of the television clip:

S1G1FaVIII: I feel that maybe she... Her from FrP [Jensen] thinks, like, that you are a co-citizen if you don't have, like, legal citizenship but you live in Norway, in a way. Like, because she [Jensen] didn't want to say she [Al-Hussaini] was Norwegian since she had on a hijab, like. Or something like that, so like she... It felt like she thought of her as a co-citizen instead of a legal citizen, in a way. Like, not Norwegian, just a co-citizen. Yes.

This excerpt demonstrates an understanding of the prevalence of 'us' versus 'them' storylines as part of societal rhetoric. On the other hand, some students focused on the prefix 'co' (med) in their analysis of what co-citizenship (medborgerskap) means, with one stating that it made

her think of the word for fellow human being (*medmenneske*), while another student mentioned the word for fellow student (*medelev*):

S2G1Fall: And I don't really know what co-citizen... what the word means, but when I think about it then I think more about, like, uh, not a friend, but like, someone I'm connected to, like a fellow student or something like that. Uh, so I think more about a neighbour, in a way. That it's, like, a community [in English], in a way. But for legal citizen, then I think more about, like, someone who lives in a state and more concrete.

In this excerpt, the student draws on an inclusive storyline, eliciting ideals of recognition and solidarity, while extending the idea of community and belonging beyond the confines of close friendships and family. This in some ways reflects the Norwegian Lexicon's definition of co-citizenship as being the antonym of exclusion (Thorsen, 2018).

The contextualization in the interviews played an important role in directing the conversation. For example, in one school, the students started discussing before I mentioned the 'multicultural' Norway as the context. The following comments were made prior to this mention (as well as prior to viewing the television clip), and clearly evoke the rhetoric of participation:

S3G1FalV: About co-citizens, I think it can be, like, what we should do together in society, like. And what we, like, different... what we do actively, like, in a society, if we're joining in with different thing or we just... yes.

S3G1Fal: If we participate in deciding, like, we – everyone – it's not just the higher ups.

These comments echo storylines on the 'good' contributing citizen and the imperative to participate, while students do not necessarily show an awareness of potential barriers to participation or differing capabilities. Conversely, directly after my mentioning the 'multicultural' Norway, a student defined legal citizenship as follows, where the rhetoric of Norwegian-ness as whiteness is visible:

S3G1FalV: That it has something to do with... in a way, where your identity lies and where you come from, like. Or like, you do live in Norway but you, in a way, have maybe not totally, uh, for example, if you come from Africa, they are Norwegian but that you don't come from Norway, like, actually. But if you live here, so then you're, in a way, counted as Norwegian instead...

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This excerpt shows that the mention of multiculturalism elicits a very different storyline on citizenship, and this theme of where one is 'actually' from was often correlated to discussion of parentage, where one is born and has grown up—in essence implying that Norwegian parents are white parents, echoing earlier research (Eriksen, 2020). This overlapping of legal citizenship and belonging, or membership, with rhetoric on the white Norwegian may have been exacerbated by the NRK television clip in which Jensen demonstrated reservation regarding Al-Hussaini's belonging. However, the correlation of legal citizenship with whiteness was also expressed prior to the viewing of the clip, as is the case with the excerpt above about where one is 'actually' from.

The subject positions of the legal citizen and co-citizen were thus interpreted in different ways, and students also (re)positioned themselves depending on the type of storylines or categories they were drawing on. Some students framed themselves in a positive co-citizen subject position through, for example, talking about 'someone I'm connected to' or what 'we should do together in society'. Conversely, other students elicited rhetoric on the Other, such as by framing the co-citizen subject as 'everyone else who just lives here' or a legal citizen as someone who is simply 'counted as Norwegian'.

Legal Citizenship (Statsborgerskap)

Repeated themes in discussions on legal citizenship were its concreteness, that it has to do with being a member in the state, and one's parentage. Some students also had a partial understanding of the process of gaining legal citizenship and mentioned, for example: the application process, that not everyone who applies acquires legal citizenship, and the long-term residency requirement for gaining legal citizenship. The group discussion on dual citizenship and minority citizens helped many of the participating students to understand that legal citizenship is not dependent on having white Norwegian parents or where one has grown up, but solely on whether one has a right to the passport (e.g., S3G1FaI). However, the frequent repetition of 'being born in Norway' as a criterion (e.g., S3G1FaIV) and the theme of having Norwegian parents or family—which were implicitly understood to be white—highlights the prevalence of the societal rhetoric which conflates Norwegian-ness as whiteness with legal citizenship.

Furthermore, juridical misconceptions of legal citizenship were visible in discussions of rights:

who has rights, how they acquired these rights, and what rights they have. Rights, such as freedom of expression and freedom of religion, which are part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) and thus universal through human rights legislation, were framed by students as Norwegian rights (e.g., S3G3Fall). Additionally, the frequent reference to being born in Norway indicates an understanding of the concept of *jus soli*, which connects birthplace with legal citizenship. However, while this is the case in many countries of North and South America, most European countries—including Norway—use *jus sanguinis* as their starting point with legal citizenship following parents' nationality (Erdal & Sagmo, 2017). These findings indicate a need for legal literacy and clarifying with students, for example, that children of non-white Norwegians—born in Norway or abroad—automatically have the right to Norwegian legal citizenship. —Congruent to the fact that, legally, non-white Norwegian legal citizens have the same rights as white Norwegian legal citizens.

The storyline of legal status and rights as per the legal citizen category is thus not as justice oriented as is claimed, and 'us' and 'them' categorisations, or inclusive versus exclusionary (see figure 2, page 14), were highly visible. Where the 'us' categorisation was narrower, legal citizenship was framed in line with the rhetoric of whiteness and the ethnic Norwegian as being the 'real' Norwegian legal citizen. Where the 'us' categorisation was wider or more inclusive, legal citizenship was described by students as a juridical category which was unconnected to physical appearance, with an acknowledgement that legal citizenship does not always equate to feelings of belonging or local identification. A parallel understanding of legal citizen as an inclusive category was visible in discussion of dual citizenship, where hybridity and multiple belonging were acknowledged.

Co-citizenship (Medborgerskap)

Themes which came up repeatedly in discussion of co-citizenship align with storylines connected to democracy and participation. Democratic ideals were highly visible in students' discussions of rights, such as freedom of expression and freedom of religion; political participation, such as voting; as well as democratic values, such as tolerance and acceptance of other cultures. However, some of the discussion tended towards integrationist narratives about the importance of minorities participating in Norwegian culture, norms, and rules. Knowing and following Norwegian norms and rules was a particularly oft repeated theme,

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however there were two strains of this theme. On the one hand, some students focused on norms, arguing that participating in Norwegian culture, following Norwegian norms and not being 'too different' (e.g., S2G1FaVI & S2G1FaIII) were important for feeling a sense of belonging. On the other hand, some students focused on rules, arguing that it was a safety issue as well as the normally expected behaviour of everyone visiting foreign countries. For example, one student spoke of the importance of knowing which side of the road to drive on (S3G1FaI), while another provided examples of tourists abroad who are not exempt from local laws (S3G1FaIV). Interestingly, the students (e.g., S2G1FaVI & S2G1FaIII) who said not being too different was important for participation and belonging also demonstrated an awareness of societal pressures. Conversely, students who framed rules in terms of safety tended toward exclusivity, arguing that minorities' difference should not threaten the majority's sense of safety and stability (e.g., S3G1FaI). Interestingly, in another group discussion, students said agreeing with Norwegian values was important and that accepting all cultures is an important Norwegian value.

There was also a difference in the way that majority and minority students' described community participation and engagement. Majority students' spoke in institutional terms, such as neighbourhood cooperation (*dugnad*), sports and leisure clubs, and parent associations (e.g., S3G3FaI & S3G3FaII). In contrast, some minority students discussed participation and community in terms of generosity and hospitality—as spontaneous responses in personal interaction (e.g., S1G2MiVI & S1G2FiIII).

Figure 2 provides a condensed overview of storylines connected to inclusion versus exclusion. Inclusive storylines frame 'us' as a broader category, with legal status and rights disconnected from whiteness rhetoric. On the other hand, exclusive storylines define a narrow 'us' category, requiring greater adherence to 'our' norms in order to be included.

Figure 2. Inclusive and exclusive storylines

	Inclusive	Exclusive
Legal citizenship	Status based solely on fulfilling legal requirements; <i>Jus sanguinis</i> (includes non-white parents)	Status based on white Norwegian heritage / ethnicity; Minorities required to become 'Norwegian'
Co-citizenship	All residents as part of the social community; Cultural diversity appreciated as more than a curiosity	Residents / minorities required to assimilate Norwegian culture and norms; 'don't be too different'
Community	Organised as well as spontaneous; Welcoming and generous	Organised only; Within designated clubs and institutions

Figure 2

The next section draws on analysis of a dialogue segment to further explore the potential of citizenship discussions to be used within educational settings, and even contribute towards what Biesta (2013, 2020) calls the three aims of education: qualification, socialisation, and subjectification.

“Exploratory talk for learning” (Barnes, 2008)

In the group interviews, educational moments arose which fall under Barnes (2008) definition of exploratory talk, where the discussions allowed students to think out loud and explore their ideas with their peers, resulting in a construction of knowledge. The following dialogue was in response to a question on dual citizenship, where I clarified the government’s 2020 instituted right to dual citizenship. I was prepared to move on to other questions, however, one of the students returned to the issue of dual citizenship.

Researcher: So, when I said that the law says you can have two legal citizenships, I mean you can have a passport from two different countries. Before this wasn't allowed in Norway. If you wanted to become Norwegian, then you had to give up your other passport. So, okay, uhm, have you sometimes discussed the status of new legal citizens in Norway? Or the status of Norwegian minorities?

S2G1Ma1: We haven't discussed that any, but it's actually quite interesting that you can be from two different countries. Because, but what's actually the reason that they would have a

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passport from two countries and not just one? That is what (laughs) the question is actually about.

Researcher: So, you think that it's unnecessary or, you think it's good, or?

S2G1MaI: I don't really know, because I have one of... I don't, like, understand what you're going to do with two passports, but it's probably great for those who actually have a background from another country and then live in another country. So, or for example, if you've moved, they've lived in one country and then move to another country, then they still want to be, like, still be a member of that country, because they're most used to their culture.

Researcher: Uhu.

S2G1MaI: So, for that, both can be good.

Researcher: Yes.

S2G1FaIII: I feel there's, like, positive and negative sides. It's... it's quite positive that people feel better because of what he said that if you have two different backgrounds, and, but you feel... you feel you belong in both, that's why it's good that they have two passports. Uh, but I feel it's a bit, a bit more complicated, and I feel it's a bit unnecessary because there's a lot to keep track of, at least, if you're going to have two passports for one person. Uh, so I... I feel it's a bit unnecessary, but I understand the thinking behind it.

Researcher: Uhu. Yes.

S2G1FaV: Uh, I think that it's quite good, because if I, for example, would move from Norway, then I would like to be able to say I'm Norwegian, but also belong to that other country.

Researcher: Uhu. Someone else?

S2G1FaVI: Yes, I agree with what she said, uhm. It's like, I would have been proud to be Norwegian, but if I moved then I would have... there could have been a new reason for it and then I would have wanted to be a part of that country in addition to Norway.

This dialogue segment can be analysed in at least two ways. Firstly, there is an exploration of capabilities. Legal capabilities are visible in discussion of the right to two passports and complications which may be inherent in maintaining two legal citizenships. Societal capabilities are visible in the students' references to 'those' with a foreign background, drawing on rhetoric implying that it is the Other who must be accommodated through dual citizenship legislation. However, the last part of the segment demonstrates Biesta's "moment" when I encounter my freedom' (2020, p. 101), with the students demonstrating an empathetic

understanding of what this capability can mean for themselves as well as for the Other—transforming dual citizenship as ‘for them’ to ‘for us’. Thus, dual citizenship becomes an ideal equal opportunity capability, benefiting all.

Secondly, if we understand this dialogue segment as an educational exploratory talk (Barnes, 2008), it can also be analysed as per Biesta’s (2013) three objectives of education—qualification, socialisation, and subjectification. The discussion contributed to qualification through my clarification of the meaning of dual citizenship which enabled the students to gain a better understanding of democratic citizenship and its attendant legal capabilities, while the students further explicated the complications which may be inherent in dual citizenship. As for socialisation, the students deliberated on the social and cultural belongings of fellow societal members and peers when they discussed ‘those’ who might find it useful to have dual citizenship. The conversation progressed to subjectification as it moved from those who are ‘mostly used to their own culture’ to reflection on their own subject positions and capabilities. The concluding comment indicates a understanding of Biesta’s argument that “our freedom is fundamentally interconnected with the freedom of others” (2013, p. 106). The students thus demonstrate reflexivity and the ability to see the desirability of duality through the eyes of ‘those’ others with ‘their’ culture.—Or following Biesta (2020), a non-egological viewpoint.

This dialogue demonstrates the ways that the subject position of the citizen is explored through the storylines that shape the categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’. The dual citizen subject position has an inherent flexibility that challenges exclusive rhetoric, however whether this is recognised depends on the storylines invoked.

Conclusion

The implication for teaching which can be drawn from this exploration of student discussions is the potential which a citizenship lens has for opening up spaces to explore the subject position within democratic education. The legal, ideal, and societal capabilities inherent in these discussions highlight the influence of storylines—both exclusionary rhetoric in the public sphere as well as inclusive rhetoric evoking ideals of justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity. Additionally, by disaggregating citizenship into majority and minority legal

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citizenship and co-citizenship (the who), the impact of categorisations (the what) and storylines (the how) becomes clearer.

Beginning at legal capabilities, examining the rights of legal citizens and co-citizens can help students to understand that which is codified juridically. The storyline connected to legal rights and status can offer different benefits for the minority than the majority. For the minority, it offers a storyline of justice, recognition, and empowerment in that they are made aware that rights are available to them—whether as legal citizens or resident co-citizens—and that they have the right to contest the absence of them. This in turn serves as an invitation to action, namely the full claiming of their rights and self-determination. For the majority, it can serve as a reminder that—despite populist rhetoric to the contrary—the minority are due legal equity, recognition, and justice, and it invites to solidarity and being part of social justice within society.

As for ideal and societal capabilities, opening up space for discussion can provide an opportunity to critically examine ideals which may be hampered by populist rhetoric. As the findings on rules and norms demonstrates, the implicit *who* defining the norms of societal participation—or how minorities may engage—is the white majority. While activism aimed at strengthening minority rights and representation has increased, nevertheless, by and large, white majority legal citizens are the default eligible citizens, whose capabilities or spheres of participation are broad, and who take for granted that their voices should be heard and taken seriously by those in power. Also taken for granted is that adjustment, integration, or assimilation—depending on the degree of expectation or difference—is required of minorities, both legal citizens and co-citizens.

Exploring citizen subject positions and capabilities thus necessitates a willingness to be explicit about the contradictions between ideal democratic values and populist rhetoric on the incompatible Other in order for Biesta's 'reality check' (2020, p. 97) to be fully realised. The findings highlight a need for critical examination of conflicting storylines, such as inclusive and anti-discrimination democratic values versus the implicit rhetoric of white ethnicity as the legitimate indicator of European citizenships. Such discussion offers an opportunity to recognise the challenges of minority or non-white citizens' lived experience and validate their resistance to gaslighting. It can help white majority citizens to be more aware of the daily

challenges, such as micro-aggressions and everyday racism faced by non-white minority legal citizens and co-citizens (Essed, 2008), as glossing over the diversity in lived citizenship experience is inadequate for providing students with a clear understanding of their capabilities—legal, ideal, and societal.

According to Biesta, “Interruption, suspension, and sustenance are [...] very concrete components of what is required of an education that takes subjectification seriously” (2020, p. 98). This discussion demonstrates that exploring the citizen subject position provides an opportunity to interrupt assumptions, invites to suspending populist judgements, and opens a sustained space for exploration of subject positions and capabilities. Furthermore, Biesta (2020) argues that democratic education should invite students to take responsibility and act maturely. It follows therefore that critical citizenship discussion posits students as citizens in relationship with other citizens. The aim of examining citizen capabilities—including the capabilities of one’s peers—is thus to elicit a reaction, an ex-centric appraisal of society (Biesta, 2020). A non-egological view thus asks critical questions of democracy, such as: Who is participating and how? What forms of participation are open to different citizens? What rights do different citizens have? What barriers do citizens face, whether individual citizens or citizen groups? What can I do about it and what capabilities do I have? This could lead to what is perhaps the most important question: What am I willing to do?

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Articles

Fourth article

Visible and invisible difference: Negotiating citizenship, affect, and resistance

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Keywords: Citizenship, citizenship education, affect and resistance, (in)visible difference

Abstract:

This article offers a retrospective analysis of discussions on citizenship, exploring the role of (in)visible difference, affect, and resistance. In group discussions with Norwegian youth, we found that positionality played a central role, in framing understandings of citizenship, belonging, and discrimination. As white researchers who also experience (in)visible differences, we reflect on the students' explicit discussions of difference, as well as their reactions to our implicit and explicitly acknowledged difference. Additional reflections are put forth on leveraging invisible difference to create space for an inclusive understanding of citizenship, resisting ideas of ethno-nationalism. This discussion demonstrates the potential which experiences with (in)visible difference have for contributing to more inclusive understandings of citizenship. Further potential implications are that acknowledgement of invisible difference by white majority educators may help to open space for an understanding of difference as a citizenship resource.

Introduction

"When I refuse to listen to how you are different from me, I am refusing to know who you are. But without understanding fully who you are, I will never be able to appreciate precisely how we are more alike than I might have originally supposed" (Alcoff, 2006, p. 6).

What does positionality have to do with citizenship? How does being a person of colour influence one's views on citizenship? How does having a different mother tongue and speaking with a foreign accent affect the way people judge citizenship and belonging? Personal experience validates the influence of such factors, and thus we retrospectively reflect on (in)visible difference, affect, and resistance in data gathered through group interviews with youth. This analysis highlights that positionality and experiences with (in)visible difference of our informants are central and explicit in discussions of citizenship—particularly regarding issues of belonging and discrimination. The dialogues with youth also had an affective dimension, evoking our own experiences with (in)visible difference and led us as researchers to engage affectively and at times resist narratives of sameness. The main research question this reflection piece thus seeks to address is: What role do experiences of (in)visible difference play in understandings of citizenship, of affect, and resistance?

The centrality of positionality and (in)visible difference in citizenship discussions is important in light of citizenship education which has an explicit focus on encouraging democratic ideals, including equality and living in harmony in diversity filled societies (Osler, 2017). This stands in contrast to discourse in the public sphere, including news media, which is adept at painting difference as dangerous and a threat. Such discourse is often focused on different cultures with an implicit understanding that the threatening Other are often people of colour (Hervik, 2019). Yet, through tracing the history of xenophobia, Khair (2016) shows that different skin colour is not necessary for people to be marked as Other. On the other hand, difference exists in many forms and in some theories is understood as a societal good. For example, Arendt [1958] (1998) argues that our humanity and ability to act in the world is tied to our uniqueness and bringing something new to the world—something never before present in any other human being. Nevertheless, this uniqueness and individuals' (in)visible differences tend to be erased in 'we are all the same' discourses present in global citizenship education (Howard et al., 2018). Additionally, research in teacher education shows that the term diversity is often used to denote non-whiteness (Fylkesnes,

2018) with such discourses feeding into imaginaries of sameness (Gullestad, 2006) which render internal variety invisible. Both ethnocentric rhetoric on citizenship as well as macro and micro resistance to this rhetoric have affective dimensions (Zembylas, 2019), and may be played out in different ways depending on one's positionality and experience with (in)visible difference.

In this article, we therefore offer retrospective reflection on the interplay of positionality and (in)visible difference in discussions on citizenship, as well as how affect and resistance emerged depending on positionality. The dataset consisted of group interviews with Norwegian lower secondary 10th grade students in three schools, while the interview guide focused on citizenship within 'multicultural' Norway. Findings from these group discussions regarding various dimensions of citizenship have been presented in previous articles (see Dansholm, 2021, 2022a, 2022b). In this article, we retrospectively examine more closely both our research participants thoughtful and complex reflections on, for example, belonging, discrimination, and democratic ideals such as freedom and equality as well as affective dimensions of the students as well as our own reactions to these discussions. Additionally, our positionalities were highlighted in various ways and could be said to have contributed to opening a space for recognition of and reflection on (in)visible difference. In this article, we therefore argue that, in addition to students' personal experiences of (in)visible difference, how we position ourselves as researchers and acknowledge—or *own*—our (in)visible difference has the potential to contribute to more nuanced understandings of citizenship, belonging, and discrimination.

Literature review / theory:

Extensive research has been done on citizenship education (cf. (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Osler & Starkey, 2006), including a body of work on the contribution of minority non-white social science teachers in citizenship education and how they negotiate and are able to leverage their positionality to (re)define what citizenship and belonging mean (cf. (Burner & Osler, 2021; Kim, 2021; Rodríguez, 2018; Vickery, 2017).

Their contributions demonstrate that experiences of (in)visible difference influence their approach to citizenship education and their ability to challenge both students' and the curricula's static notions of citizenship. Educational researchers, such as Zembylas (2019) and Eriksen (2020), have also explored the affective dimensions of agonistic conflict over ethno-nationalism as well as the connections between affect and resistance in critical pedagogy. This article builds on these lines of inquiry to explore positionality difference, both on the side of students as well as researchers, and the role of personal affective experiences with (in)visible difference in deliberations on citizenship and belonging.

The normative framework for the research project which this paper is based on is that of inclusive citizenship (Kabeer, 2005). This concept, resulting from Kabeer and colleagues' synthesis of feedback from marginalised people in diverse parts of the world, highlighted four recurring themes as vital for inclusivity in citizenship to be realised: namely, recognition, self-determination, solidarity, and justice. While these themes are in some respects self-explanatory, it is important to note that the understanding of justice expressed by their research participants included not only fairness in equal treatment, but also an understanding that there are times when it is fair for people to be treated differently—which requires a recognition that people *are* different.

Citizenship as a term in itself can be conceptualised in a variety of ways (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018) which are outside the scope of this paper. However, the setting of the project within the Norwegian context provides a linguistic divide between two dimensions of citizenship: namely, legal citizenship (*statsborgerskap*) as covering juridical aspects of citizen membership, rights, and responsibilities, while co-citizenship (*medborgerskap*) focuses on issues of community membership as well as societal and political participation and can be understood to include all residents within the national borders.

Both legal citizenship and co-citizenship experiences are impacted by positionality, and within this paper, positionality is understood as the social space one inhabits, gendered, racialised, and / or intersectional, as well as one's lived experience (Haraway, 1988). Thus, we understand that a woman of colour experiences social

situations differently than a white male, and a person from the minority may have cultural differences which influence their feeling of belonging or experiences of discrimination (Guðjónsdóttir, 2014). However, it must also be clarified that we understand culture to be dynamic, and use the term loosely, with an emphasis on norms and values.

In regard to difference, Alcoff (2006, p. 6) argues that, “In our excessively materialist society, only what is visible can generally achieve the status of accepted truth.” Thus, visibility as a social concept provides some reflection points. Brighenti (2007) points out that while many fields address visibility, they tend to treat it as a local concept. However, she argues that there are at least three schemata of visibility, namely social, media, and control (Brighenti, 2007, p. 339), and posits recognition as a type of social visibility. Additionally, she writes that there are minimum and maximum thresholds of visibility and that, “Below the lower threshold, you are socially excluded” (Brighenti, 2007, p. 329,330). Through this explication, we understand there to be literal and figurative visibility and difference. Brighenti (2007) also touches on power when she theoretically explores visibility in media and the control of visibility. Specifically, she shows that the powers framing the narratives regarding *recognised* visibility remain invisible themselves.

Regarding literal visible difference, Alcoff (2006) discusses visibility as it pertains to gender and race, arguing that “in the very midst of our contemporary skepticism toward race as a natural kind stands the compelling social reality that race, or racialized identities, have as much political, sociological, and economic salience as they ever had” (2006, p. 181). Thus, literal visible difference includes racialised physical appearance or skin colour, as well as symbolically imbued clothing, such as the hijab.

Audible or linguistic differences can be understood as a form of figurative (in)visible difference. A body of educational research finds many teachers’ view minority language speakers as deficient (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Fylkesnes, 2018; Røthing, 2015). Additionally, Røyneland and Jensen’s (2020) research combining physical appearance and linguistic aspects shows that linguistic similarity can play a role in

understandings of belonging where visible difference might dictate otherness.

Figurative (in)visibility can also be played out in various ways, and invisibility can be enacted through silence. For example, a person of colour may remain silent and thus render themselves essentially invisible, while a linguistically different person can use silence to hide their difference. Cultural differences may also be rendered visible or invisible through performance or lack of performance of those differences.

The language of difference is important to explore in light of citizenship education and its variants. One critique of global citizenship education argues that “interconnection cannot be based on a universalism that denies and denigrates difference” (Abdi et al., 2015, p. 1), and empirical research demonstrates how this depreciation of difference can be played out in schools (Howard et al., 2018). In the Scandinavian context, Jante’s Law (Sandemose, 1936), recognisable as a societal aversion to standing out, adds another layer to this denigration of difference. While some may argue that Jante’s Law is an outdated notion, a 2021 book traces the links between Jante’s Law and the high level of social anxiety in Norway. In the book, Ekelund (2021) explores research on conformity, (lack of) freedom of expression, group narcissism, and stress factors. Additionally, she interviews Norwegian psychiatrists as well as immigrants to underscore the psychological and behavioural impact of Jante’s Law within Norwegian society.

Alcoff argues that visible differences are salient, and “yet visible difference threatens the liberal universalistic concepts of justice based on sameness by invoking the specter of difference” (2006, p. 180). Interestingly, “Young’s notion of a ‘politics of difference’ [...] seeks to sever the link between difference and social disadvantage by treating difference as a political resource” (Eisenberg, 2006, p. 11). While Young’s (1990) focus is on group difference at a political level, in line with Arendt’s [1958] (1998) concept of uniqueness, we would argue that difference should be viewed as a resource on the individual level as well. This discussion of difference is not exhaustive, and within this article is confined to differences represented in our empirical data. However,

while it is outside the scope of this paper to touch on all forms of difference, ideally, by destigmatising and demystifying (in)visible differences at the micro level in schools, the ‘threat’ of otherness can be challenged.

Educational policy analysis research indicates there is political intention to foster inclusion (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Fylkesnes, 2019), and yet the discourses for and against racial and ethnic citizen diversity work on the macro, the meso, and micro level. Affect theory is one way to tie these together in order to understand how these discourses work both as political language as well as within one’s own body (Hynes, 2013). One example of this is what we term *intrusive curiosity*. Within many European white majority countries, non-white peoples and those whose linguistic accent varies from the majority are frequently asked such questions as, “Where are you *really* from?” While the enquiring individual defends the question on the basis that they are ‘just curious’, the inference of otherness inherent in the question links to macro and meso discourses on the Other. Therefore, this intrusively curious question triggers a sensitivity in the recipient of the question. Accordingly, Zembylas (2019) contends that the distinction between emotion and affect is not always clear or relevant, and Hynes (2013) argues for thinking of affect not as static but transitional. Thus, affect theory allows us to explore the connections between discourses in the public sphere, such as racialised anti-immigrant sentiment, and our physical or undefined emotional reactions to these discourses based on our positionality or personal experiences with (in)visible difference. This brings us to the connection between affect and resistance, which Zembylas (2019) applies to critical pedagogy. Resistance, Zembylas (2019) argues, is not just about macro struggle, but through the lens of affect theory can be seen in the micro, in classrooms, in the playground. He further argues that affect theorising allows for a validation of resistance, moving away from pathologizing resistance on an individual level to an understanding of its political legitimacy. Finally, he argues that affective resistance is not just about representation, but production and practice, for example, how our bodies respond and react to discourses in social settings.

Through these concepts, we understand positionality and (in)visible difference as central to navigating citizenship discourses. Our informants' positionality is therefore presented as per our socially constructed understanding in order to provide readers with a crude glimpse into their potential life histories, and we as researchers will present our own positionality more fully. We begin with an outline of the data collection and research methodology.

Methodological details

Data collection methodology:

The data collection, approved by the national ethics committee, consisted of group interviews with 10th grade students from three schools. The objective was to interview one whole class in each school in smaller groups, and thus create space for different citizenship experiences to be in dialogue. However, only at one school (S1) was every member of the class able to join, while at the other two schools (S2 & S3) approximately half of the class joined. The first school (S1) was a private, budget-friendly, Norwegian-language school with a smaller class cohort. This school was originally intended as a pilot and my (Dansholm) son was one of the students (he mainly observed). He had not been a long-time student at the school and therefore, at the time, I was not acquainted with his classmates. Some minor changes were made to the interview guide following the pilot, however due to the richness of the interviews and relevance to the overall analysis, the data was included in the project data. Although most of the participants at S1 were white, over thirty percent were visibly (racially) different. At the second school (S2)—a public school—all the students were white, with a few participants with invisible or cultural difference. At the last school (S3)—a public school in a remote area of Norway—there was only one visibly different student, who remained silent throughout.

In order to avoid an overt focus on identity within the student groups, we had asked teachers to provide anonymised information on students, specifically gender and majority / minority status, with the understanding that these teacher-defined positionings would be highly

subjective. It became clear that teachers might also find such positions problematic. We had to reassure the teacher at S1 that we did not understand “minority” as equivalent to non-Norwegian or “ethnically” different—simply that they might have a mixed cultural background or family, including other European regions. We utilised this explanation regarding mixed cultural backgrounds at the next schools, and the other two teachers showed less reservation. However, as expected, these positions were at times challenged by students’ self-identifications in the group interviews. Positionality information was collected, including notation on numbers of non-white students, not to label students, but to acknowledge societal perceptions of (or obsessions with) visible differences while providing us as researchers and the readers with a (admittedly limited) degree of insight into the potential life histories which may inform students’ opinions. Thus, we highlight that while minorities may often be racialised, not all minorities are *racially* Othered.

The interviews focused on students’ understanding of the Norwegian vocabulary for legal citizen (*statsborger*) and co-citizen (*medborger*). In order to situate the discussion within the national context of public debate, after some introductory questions, a two-minute clip from the national news channel, NRK, was shown (NRK P3, 2017). This clip features Faten Al-Hussaini, a Norwegian hijabi television host, interviewing Siv Jensen, a high-profile politician from the right-leaning Progress Party (FRP). The discussion centres on national belonging, language, values, identity, and participation. At one point, Al-Hussaini asks Jensen whether she *sees* her as Norwegian, to which Jensen replies that she can *hear* she is Norwegian. Upon Al-Hussaini further pressing the question, Jensen veers into discussion of participation, values, and an admonition against isolating oneself in a minority community. After we conducted the pilot interviews and undertook further reading on epistemic inquiry (Brinkmann, 2007), I (Dansholm) added a component to the interview guide after the television clip. This consisted of presenting my (our) positionality to the students in order to offer examples of diverse relationships to legal citizenship and co-citizenship. I (Dansholm) invited my co-researchers to present their positionality as well, and Dickstein agreed while Stokmo declined.

The interviews were conducted in Norwegian due to it being the lingua franca of the school environment. Thus, I (Dansholm) had recruited Dickstein and Stokmo specifically as co-interviewers fluent in the regional Norwegian dialects where the schools are situated. The option of presenting their positionality was outside the scope of the initial collaboration agreement, and thus purely voluntary.

The audio data was transcribed fully and kept in its original language (Norwegian) throughout the analysis, while dialogue segments were selected according to their thematic relevance. The dialogue segments which are included in the text retain vocal fillers and repetitions, due to a polyphonic (Liamputtong, 2007) understanding of the importance of participant voices. This also allows for greater transparency. Lastly, Dansholm translated the selected excerpts into English, after which they were proofread by a native Norwegian speaker.

Researcher positionalities:

My positionality (Dansholm) is that of a white Danish-Norwegian woman whose upbringing and work, predominantly in non-Western countries, has strongly impacted both my cultural reference points and identity. My proximity to difference is enhanced through being the (biological) mother of a mixed daughter (Afro-European). As for linguistics, I speak English as a native speaker and Norwegian as a second language.

I recruited Stokmo, who is my sister, as a co-interviewer at the third school (S3) since she is studying for her masters in education. We did not inform either the teacher or the students that we are sisters (since she declined to present her positionality and the main objective was to highlight student voice), although they likely noticed our familiarity. It is noteworthy that while we are sisters, our life experience is different. My sister has had Norwegian citizenship for many years now, while I continue to maintain my Danish passport. Due to the age gap between us, we also did not spend our childhoods in the same countries, and I returned to Norway as a married woman with two children, while Stokmo spent several of her formative years in primary / secondary

education in Norway. Thus, our affective responses to the inevitable intrusive question, “Where are you really from?” are slightly different, and I approach my Norwegian side pragmatically since my formative teenage years were spent in countries where I *was* a foreign citizen.

Dickstein:

I empathise with the experience of having my national membership (even positively) judged by ethnic Norwegians. I identify as Norwegian, but unlike ethnic Norwegians who have an implicit national belonging to the geographic space, I find myself restricted to a cultural belonging. This is most likely due to my parents being labour migrants from South Africa and the United States. I have observed that since childhood I have selected, developed, and expressed parts of my identity to optimise my sense of belonging in the eyes of my fellow countrymen. These characteristics include, for example, being an outdoorsman and avid salmon fisherman. This representation of myself likely developed as a response to being Othered at a young age by visible (curly hair; white but darker features) and (in)visible differences (language/culture). – Including frequently being asked, “Where are you really from?”

This intrusive curiosity from members of the majority population is a constant reminder that I may be excluded from the national fellowship and the assumption of citizenship. It is interesting that my Jewish physical features symbolise (racialised) difference, when Jews are an official national minority, representing an explicit connection to the Norwegian nation-state. During encounters with members of the majority population, I habitually insert unobtrusive examples, proving my cultural belonging to Norway. Once I have positioned myself as an ‘honorary’ Norwegian, I feel relieved. I have verified my existence and identity here.

Stokmo:

As my parents are white Scandinavians, one would assume that my citizenship wouldn't be the object of intrusive curiosity. This, however, is not the case as, 1) my invisible difference of cultural belonging is comprehensive, and 2) my vowel pronunciation at times makes visible that Norwegian is my second language. This is why, when

Dansholm asked if I would like to present my positionality to the students, I declined. This decision was made without much consideration, as it has been my standard (positioning) practice due to the social climate in Norway, which expects ‘sameness’ (Gullestad, 2006). Ordinary is ‘safe’ and a ‘common’ background makes it easier to be accepted. Thus, by positioning myself as ordinary and hiding my (in)visible difference, I avoid defending / proving my right to citizenship and belonging. This can be seen as my affective reaction to, for example, Jante’s Law, where I have resigned myself to conforming rather than resisting. However, it is tiring to feel the need to consistently hide parts of myself.

Findings and analysis:

In this section, we discuss the three schools, and the interplay of students’ discussions and affective reactions alongside our, as researchers, affective reactions to the discussions. In previous articles, I (Dansholm) have explored various citizenship aspects of the data collected in these discussions (Dansholm, 2021, 2022a, 2022b), but in this section the focus is on retrospective reflection on positionality, (in)visible difference, and affective dimensions.

The group interviews at the first school (S1) were conducted in the autumn of 2019 and were originally intended as a pilot group. Interviews at the second (S2) and third (S3) schools were held in the early spring of 2020. S1 therefore gave us our first empirical glimpse into youth perspectives on the topic. The groups sizes at S1 were bigger (eight students per group) and the atmosphere was lively, as if participating was a fun reprieve from regular classes. All the students in the class joined the interviews—even if they did not all participated in the conversations to the same degree. About thirty percent of the students in the class presented as visibly different, while in the interviews some students highlighted their own invisible differences.

Our first group interview at S1 with eight students included one non-white student with a white Norwegian parent and two white students from mixed families. The excerpt below shows them drawing on their own and their classmates' (in)visible differences in reacting to the NRK clip. It is interesting to note that, in contrast to the case of a non-white boy with a white Norwegian parent at S3 who was essentially invisible to or ignored by his classmates, the non-white student (who we will call Chris) in this group was drawn into the discussion by his classmates. In this S1 group, a white boy (who we will call Jon) from a mixed family took the lead with a normative stance, positing that (in)visible difference should be accepted, and that exclusion based on religion or physical appearance is racist. (Note: The students at S1 tended to talk over each other, and thus some utterances were not identifiable.)

Researcher B (in reference to the television clip): Okay. What do you think about that?

Jon (S1G1MwmVI): That quite a few Norwegians are racist. (laughs) Clearly.

Student: Yes.

Researcher B: Pardon me?

Student: It's true.

Jon (S1G1MwmVI): No, like, that you can't be Norwegian with a hijab, that's actually quite racist. That she [Jensen] didn't say that she's [Al-Hussaini] Norwegian just because... If you live in Norway and want to be Norwegian, then of course you will be allowed (skal få lov) to be Norwegian. [...] Because I'm... I'm half Dutch (anonymised), but I'm Norwegian because...

S1G1FwI: Aren't you a quarter Dutch?

Jon (S1G1MwmVI): What? No, I'm half Dutch.

Student: Oh, yes.

S1G1MwII: But Norway is a multicultural country and then... So that means that we should be able to believe in what we want as well.

Student: Yes.

Jon (S1G1MwhVI): It's actually a free country.

S1G1FwI: It's like, what you look like, it has absolutely nothing to do with what you look like.

S1G1FwVIII: Uhu. It's a free country, so you should... Like, Chris [S1G1MnwVII] is actually Norwegian, right?

Chris (S1G1MnwVII): Yes, I'm Norwegian.

This dialogue shows students drawing on their own positionality as they legitimise (in)visible difference as part of democratic citizenship, while they also invoke ideals of freedom and equality in articulating the idea that everyone is or can be Norwegian regardless of religion or visible difference. Jon (S1G1MwhVI) had been classified by his teacher as 'majority', and one of his classmates thought he was only a quarter 'foreign'. However, even if his difference remained largely invisible to those in his social circle, it clearly played an affective role in informing his perspective on the normative ideals of citizenship and belonging. Jon essentially argues that although he comes from a mixed family, he is accepted as Norwegian, and thus this option should be open to all, thereby setting a normative tone for the citizenship debate. His fellow students build on this stance and highlight their non-white classmate ("Chris is Norwegian") to justify the discourse of equality and universality. Thus Chris, as a literally visibly different student who had remained figuratively invisible through silence, was drawn into the conversation by his classmates. Interestingly, while most of this dialogue segment focuses essentially on 'we are all the same' rhetoric and the democratically ideal society ("it's a free country"), the starting point was

a social critique of Jensen's othering of Al-Hussaini in the television clip ("quite a few Norwegians are racist"). Thus, this segment highlights the conflict between the rhetoric of universalism and social reality, while the students' own positionalities play a central role in their argumentation.

The second group at S1 was the only group where a full half of the students represented the minority: non-white and white mixed students. In the following dialogue segment, the students also deliberate on Jensen's response to Al-Hussaini. As can be seen, they reflect not only on Al-Hussaini's hijab and whether this negates her national belonging, but also on duality, acceptance of duality as well as the injustice of prejudice. The discussion shows students grappling with complex issues of racial and religious discrimination while affectively drawing on their own positionality to further explore personal identity.

S1G2MnwVI: But... Yes, what the girl [Al-Hussaini] was wondering was just a question that this lady [Jensen] could have answered yes or no. And... yeah.

S1G2FnwIII: But I think, for example, many of them who are, uh, Islam or believe in... have Mus... uh, Islam as a religion, they maybe think that... and they come to Norway, or something like that, maybe wonder, 'Will I be seen as Norwegian even though I wear the hijab or won't I?'

S1G2MnwVI: Hmm. I don't think or maybe it's more... I think they want to be seen as both, but maybe it's kind of... they think... they feel, like that society, for example, in Norway, can have, kind of pressures them towards being one part instead of both, so... Yes, and then they think that it's unfair and such, outside the rules, sort of.

S1G2FnwIII: They really just want to be themselves, but maybe people don't always accept that. – At least, within the society we live in today, with peer pressure and all that.

S1G2MwIV: It also has something to do with, like if, uh... There are many who, like, if they see someone with the hijab or something, then they wonder what country they come from. Maybe they don't consider them Norwegian, even if that is what they call themselves and what they actually are.

S1G2FnwVII: It's not just the hijab. If you have a different skin colour or don't look typically Norwegian, like, then they always wonder, like, yeah, what country they're from.

S1G2MnwVI: Yes, I think so too. Two years ago, there was an accident at my dad's work, and he was injured or something, and then it was... The company didn't want to support him through the process, like, even though he had a contract and everything, so then a lot of stuff happened and... Yes, but I think, like, if it had been a white person or a Norwegian (nordmann), then it would have been solved in one month. So much stress.

S1G2FnwIII: But it can also... What often happens, for example, for they... I have noticed also that, for example, I, for example, I was born in Kristiansand (anonymised), and I have grown up in Norway, but every time I meet a new person, then they always ask like, 'Where do you come from?' So, I answer, like, that I come from Kristiansand, but then they ask, like... they ask, 'No, but where do your parents come from?' And then I think a lot of us are like... very like, 'Yeah, where *do* I come from?' (laughs)

This segment shows students affective reactions to discussion of citizenship belonging, drawing on their own visible difference, skin colour, to relate to another visible difference, the hijab as a sign of religious difference, with duality acting as a central feature of the discussion. The speech ticks in the comment about Muslims who wear hijab indicates that this student (S1G2FnwIII) was perhaps not accustomed to discussing issues of religious prejudice. However, the students go on to discuss their affective personal experiences with visible difference as young people of colour and thus they relate to Al-

Hussaini's experience of being othered. The segment demonstrates complex deliberations on societal challenges, such as censure of duality ("pressure them towards being one part rather than both") which they describe as unfair. The discussion also demonstrates the disconnect between citizenship ideals of fairness and justice versus the realities for those who suffer discrimination, whether in the workplace or those whose duality is not accepted due to having a different skin colour than the majority. It is also worth noting the validation demonstrated by the wording which one of the majority students (S1G2MwIV) uses in this segment, where he says that maybe people would not consider someone Norwegian, even if that is "what they actually are". This stands in contrast to a comment (explored further later) where a majority student (S3G2FwII) at S3 described Al-Hussaini as "actually not totally Norwegian". The last comment in this segment shows that intrusive curiosity can inflict insecurity and even delegitimise duality ("Yeah, where do I come from?"), while the comment, "They actually just want to be themselves", highlights the importance of destigmatising difference and recognising or legitimising uniqueness.

At the second school (S2), the students were cooperative and participated, but the atmosphere in the interviews was subdued compared to the previous school and group sizes were smaller. In the presentation of our positionality, Dickstein elaborated on his participation in various Norwegian cultural traditions, such as fishing and hunting, while I (Dansholm) focused on my upbringing abroad and my Danish legal citizenship versus my Norwegian co-citizenship. The students' initial comments after the television clip and presentation of our positionality were directed to us as responses; and while the effect of physical presence is outside the scope of this paper, in hindsight Dickstein's presence as co-interviewer and presenting as visibly different seems to have influenced student reflections on (in)visible difference. Additionally, Dickstein presented his Norwegian-ness with a definiteness that I (Dansholm) had not anticipated, which according to

this analysis, we understand as part of his affective resistance to the hegemonic discourse of sameness.

The following two dialogue excerpts are from S2, where all our informants were white, and group sizes ranged from five to six. However, some students self-identified proximity to difference which facilitated nuanced reflection on (in)visible difference. The main point of personal experience referenced by students at S2 is linguistic difference, as demonstrated by the following excerpt:

S2G1FIII: Umm, I have a stepfather from the U.S. and he came here, like, when he was about my age. Um, and I, he told me that it was quite difficult in the beginning because, um, for example, he was fluent in English, but the school wanted British, so he got worse grades for it. And it was difficult to, like, come into the Norwegian society because of all the norms we have. Um, but after a while people have, like, there are many who don't realise he's American at all. So, um, I feel that if you live here a long time, then people get used to you eventually. But I know it's very difficult in the beginning. Uh, yeah.

This excerpt demonstrates that experiences with difference need not be confined to literal visible difference, nor personal experiences. This student had been identified by her teacher as a majority student (not from a multicultural family), however her proximity to difference acted as a resource in her reflection on citizenship, belonging, and discrimination. She highlights linguistic difference as a potential factor in discrimination, while she also acknowledges challenges which can arise due to cultural difference and the adjustment period for those with an Other background.

Later in the discussion with this S2 group, our positionality as researchers (Dansholm and Dickstein) was reflected on explicitly. The next dialogue segment was a response to the presentation of our positionality following the viewing of the television clip. Two students emphasised an idealised democratic individual identity as criteria for being Norwegian, while the same student who had reflected on her stepfather's linguistic and cultural experience with difference countered with a discussion of prejudice which can accompany both visible and linguistic difference.

S2G1MI: It's mostly about what you yourself feel. For example, uh, if you've grown up in Norway your whole life and what you yourself think, even if others think you're from a different place. So, it's more about the importance of what you yourself think, because there's no one else who knows better than you if you're Norwegian or not. It's more about whether you feel Norwegian inside. And at the same time, you have, for example, some parents from a different country, or something, but you've lived in Norway and are used to the Norwegian culture, so you're, like, as Norwegian as everyone else. – Even if maybe not everyone sees you that way, but that's just the way it is.

Researcher A: Uhu.

S2G1FwV: Yes, I also think that as long as you see yourself as Norwegian, then you're Norwegian, so long as you have, like, a small connection to it. If you just live in Norway, if you've just moved from another country to Norway and feel Norwegian already, then I think you're Norwegian. – So long as you feel it.

Researcher A: Yes. Something else? Yes?

S2G1FwIII: Uhm, I agree, but also, it's like, it's very easy to be influenced by others, how they see you. Like, at least I think that Norwegians are very, like, uhm, what should I say... judgemental, in a way, that they're a little like, if they see someone that doesn't look very Norwegian, then it's like that, uh, they can come with some, what's it called? Like, conclusions.

Researcher A: Yes.

S2G1FwIII: Um, uh, so like, for example, you, that like, they're not used to someone speaking such good English. That's because normally Norwegians, you notice they're Norwegian by the way they speak English. They have, like, a certain way. Um, and they think it's kind of strange that you are Norwegian but speak English very well. It's a little, like, in a way, a little scary. – And then they can easily judge you, and like. Yes.

This dialogue shows students responding to our positionality, beginning with a particular understanding of idealised democratic openness, where the first two students validated our Norwegian-ness by

arguing that if we feel Norwegian, then we are Norwegian. While I (Dansholm) had originally understood this as a general response to our positionality, our later reflection led us to conclude that it was a response to Dickstein's definiteness about his Norwegian-ness. However, the third student, through her own affective experience with or proximity to difference, countered with a more nuanced understanding of social realities. It could be argued that her discussion of English as 'scary' resonates with ideas of Jante's Law, and the censure of standing out as different. Through her argument, she highlights the fact that other people's feelings—or societal judgements—play an important role in issues of citizenship, belonging, and discrimination. This discussion therefore addresses an affective aspect central to issues of identity and belonging: the relationship and at times conflict between one's view of themselves and the viewpoint understood as the societal norm, particularly when differences are visible or linguistic.

At the third school (S3), the atmosphere was casual but not as lively as S1, and the group sizes ranged from three to five participants. However, the tone in the first interview at S3 was distinctive, as pronounced immigrants-as-threat sentiments were expressed (for more details, see Dansholm, 2021). Whether this is because Stokmo and I (Dansholm) present as visibly the same as the majority can only be speculated on.

An important recurring theme at S3 was visible difference, particularly in the first two groups. The following comment made by one student after viewing the television clip and presentation of my (Dansholm) positionality focuses on visible difference. Her response highlights visible difference in definitions of citizenship and belonging, while she also deliberates on the desires of the Other and endeavours to relate to experiences of discrimination.

S3G1FI: It's exactly the same as if we, like, make a trip to Turkey or something, where we're looked at more than, like, the others, I think. And... Like, that they notice you more. But it's also, it's like, if I had, like, seen someone with a hijab, then I would have thought she's not Norwegian, like, right away. But, like, it's maybe something that should be talked about a bit more, because maybe they don't want to be seen as different just because of a head covering. It's exactly the

same as if I, like, wear a cap, and then would be, like, if people were saying I'm not Norwegian.

This comment demonstrates the student's understanding of visible difference as definitive, and she argues that stereotyping based on visible difference is a universal phenomenon. However, she also endeavours to empathise with those who have been Othered due to difference, trying to understand their feelings, and relates prejudice connected to the hijab to being discriminated against due to any type of head covering. Thus, while this student may not experience racial discrimination in her home country and does not necessarily grasp the power dimension connected to being part of the invisible majority, in this excerpt she utilises her experience of being seen as different while abroad as a reflection point in relating to difference and discrimination.

As we continued with the interviews at S3 and moved into the second group interview, I (Dansholm) found it increasingly uncomfortable that my linguistic and cultural difference was framed as acceptable while Al-Hussaini's (the host in the television clip) belonging was called into question due to her visible difference. Therefore, as the following dialogue segment shows, we explicated the differences and similarities between Al-Hussaini and myself (Dansholm) more clearly. While we had been prepared to engage in epistemic dialogue, this is the only time in the interviews that we explicitly challenged students' ideological stance as opposed to simply asking for clarification.

S3G2FII: Hmm, I know in a way it's difficult to explain because you don't think of her... like she's Norwegian because she speaks Norwegian, but she looks... and she doesn't look totally Norwegian. You see she has foreign features and... but it's true, in a way, that she is Norwegian, or she's actually not totally Norwegian, but she has Norwegian citizenship. So, it's actually hard to say if she is... yeah, I don't know.

Dansholm: Uhu. Other opinions or thoughts? Or just something that came to mind? (pause) What about me? (laughs) Am I... where do I fit in here?

S3G2FwII: You are half Norwegian, like, and half Danish. So, then you can be both. (laughs)

Dansholm: Yes, but what about that I don't have the same understanding of all the Norwegian norms that Faten (Al-Hussaini) has?

S3G2FwI: Umm. (pause)

Stokmo: I think you need to explain more (addressed to Dansholm). Because Faten (Al-Hussaini) has lived in Norway her whole life. So, she has acquired all the social norms and codes, but you haven't lived in Norway your whole life so you're missing a good deal in regards to social norms. (laughs)

Dansholm: (laughs) Sorry. I hope I haven't done something wrong here. But you understand the difference that I'm trying to point out, about understanding of Norwegian norms.

S3G2FwII: But are both her parents foreign?

Stokmo: It looks like it.

S3G2FwII: Yes. It's... also she has more, in a way, experience from Norway than you have because she's lived here her whole life. But you are more Norwegian than her because you have... you're in fact half Norwegian. And you have Danish citizenship or a Danish passport, so you are... aren't you a Danish citizen?

Dansholm: Yes.

S3G2FwII: And she is... yes.

Dansholm: She has Norwegian citizenship.

S3G2FwI: Yes, if she has Norwegian... doesn't she have that? Norwegian citizenship?

S3G2FwII: Yes.

Stokmo: Yes.

S3G2FwII: And she has more experience because she has lived in the country and grown up and... yes, her whole life has been Norwegian in a way. So, uh, yeah.

In this dialogue segment, the students acknowledged Al-Hussaini's belonging due to her linguistic similarity, while they questioned it due to her visible difference. Thus, while linguistic similarity played a role in ascribing belonging, visible difference was posited as the most important factor—more so than citizenship. This othering of someone (Al-Hussaini, who notably was not physically present) due to visible difference elicited an affective reaction in me (Dansholm) and I tried to challenge or resist this discourse. Stokmo, while maintaining an invisibility around her own difference, responded to my affective reaction and was able to assist in calling into question the importance of visible difference (and its connection to white lineage) in understandings of citizenship and belonging. We (Dansholm and Stokmo) therefore drew on my (Dansholm) positionality, explicitly highlighting my invisible (cultural) difference. In this way, my (Dansholm) difference was leveraged to create space for an understanding of citizenship not anchored in whiteness. As the dialogue likely suggests, it felt awkward to place my positionality at the centre of the discussion, since I had hoped that presenting my positionality after the viewing of the television clip would have been enough to foster understanding of different relationships to citizenship and belonging. However, while it was temporarily discomfiting, I would argue that by being willing to be uncomfortable, Stokmo and I (Dansholm) acted as allies to Al-Hussaini, advocating the idea that there are numerous ways of being different—which need not equate to otherness.

It is interesting to note that the tone of the last S3 group interview which followed the lunch break was markedly different, with extended reflection on how minorities and refugees may suffer psychologically from experiences of discrimination (see Dansholm, 2021). Thus, it can only be speculated on whether my (Dansholm) affective resistance in making my own difference visible was reflected on by the students during lunch. What is clear is that difference plays an important role in narratives of othering, even where citizenship is a factor, while reflecting on one's own experiences with difference can be a useful resource in discussions of citizenship, belonging, and discrimination.

Discussion / Conclusion:

These findings indicate that positionality and experiences with (in)visible difference have the potential to elicit an affective investment from the majority population toward minority well-being. More generally, the findings demonstrate varied reflections on citizenship, belonging, and discrimination: namely, the students reflecting on their own positionality, the students reflecting on our positionality as researchers, and us as researchers reflecting on our positionality, and affectively leveraging that positionality to advocate for a view of citizenship which recognises and legitimises difference. It could be speculated that our (in)visible and linguistic difference as researchers served a different purpose in each of the schools. In the school (S1) with more visible diversity among the student body, our implicit differences may have contributed to the feeling of a safe space for difference to be articulated. In the second school (S2), our difference—particularly Dickstein’s visible difference—elicited reflection on their own experience with and proximity to difference. In the last school (S3), Dansholm’s invisible difference had to be actively highlighted in order to challenge the rhetoric of the Other as not one of us. However, regardless of how positionality and difference were made visible in each school, it is clear they played a central role in discussions of citizenship, belonging, and discrimination—even while the ‘normal’ positionality of majority students remained largely invisible.

The findings also show that certain potentially conflictual narratives are implicitly evoked in discussions of citizenship and belonging, such as the tension between the ideals of democratic citizenship and notions of universalism versus societal realities and discriminatory rhetoric on the Other. The group interviews demonstrate a correlation between students’ utilisation of narratives and their own positionality and experiences with difference. Those with strong identifications with or proximity to difference showed themselves to be acutely aware of the injustices of society while also evoking the normative ideals of democracy, justice, and universalism. On the other hand, students with perhaps less awareness of their own positionality and uniqueness approached the issue in two different ways: either glossing over social realities to claim democratic ideals, such as those who said

whether we ‘feel’ Norwegian is all that matters; or upholding the rhetoric of othering non-whiteness, such as those who said Al-Hussaini was not ‘really’ Norwegian.

Our informants’ affective reactions to discourses of othering and depreciation of difference led us as researchers to reflect on our own experiences and ask: If we, as cis het whites, whose claims of belonging are generally legitimised by white Norwegians once their ‘intrusive curiosity’ has been satisfied, struggle in this regard, how much more challenging is it for non-white and minority persons and groups who are Othered due to greater (in)visible difference? This seems to imply that an alternate approach to difference is needed, and we would argue that explicitly highlighting positionality and (in)visible difference has the potential to contribute to the objectives of democratic education. Franck argues:

Subjectification, in contrast [to identification], is what happens to a subject when she is disturbed, comes to see things that were not there before, and arrives at the insight that this new situation is one that she enters as a unique, but not isolated, being. She exists in — as Biesta described in his discussion of Levinas — a responsible relationship to the Other, to other unique beings, existing under the same existential and moral conditions as herself (2020, p. 82).

However, without recognising the uniqueness of each individual, by glossing over difference in idealised universalist terms, it would be difficult to experience that disturbance of finding oneself in relationship with that Other. Moreover, as Arendt [1958] writes, “each [wo]man is unique, so that with each birth something uniquely new comes into the world” (Arendt, 1998, p. 178). Thus, it must be explicitly acknowledged that majority individuals are each unique as well and have differences within, which have the potential to be used as a resource in their enactment of citizenship. Arendt [1958], however, acknowledged that there are risks involved: “Although nobody knows whom he reveals when he discloses himself in deed or word, he must be willing to risk the disclosure” (1998, p. 180). This risk Arendt writes of is mirrored in Biesta (2020) article title “Risking ourselves in education”. While the

article focuses on his concept of subjectification, the risk which his title refers to is that incurred by educators. Thus, the pedagogical implication which might be derived from these findings is that this risk is the discomfort of acknowledging difference, and that it is something which must be embraced. Our co-citizen educators of colour in majority white countries bear these risks on their body, and due to their profession are not afforded the luxury of silence (e.g. (Burner & Osler, 2021; Kim, 2021). Thus, Arendt's 'disclosure' is not just a risk, but rather is a daily reality for those with literal visible differences who carry that risk on their body, while white members of the majority have the ability to cloak themselves in figurative invisibility. But what is contributed through such silence? Is it not incumbent on us as white researchers and educators in white majority countries to take the risk of making visible our own uniqueness and difference in order to be allies? – And thereby, rather than a threat, highlight difference as both ubiquitous and a resource.

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