NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research

ISSN: 0803-8740 (Print) 1502-394X (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/swom20

"Norwegian Women Got Gender Equality Through Their Mothers' Milk, But Anti-racism Is Another Story"—An Analysis of Power and Resistance in Norwegian Feminist Discourse

Cecilie Thun

To cite this article: Cecilie Thun (2012) "Norwegian Women Got Gender Equality Through Their Mothers' Milk, But Anti-racism Is Another Story"—An Analysis of Power and Resistance in Norwegian Feminist Discourse, NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 20:1, 37-56, DOI: 10.1080/08038740.2011.596162

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2011.596162

NORA—Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research,
Vol. 20, No. 1, 37–56, March 2012

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

"Norwegian Women Got Gender Equality Through Their Mothers' Milk, But Anti-racism Is Another Story"[1]—An Analysis of Power and Resistance in Norwegian Feminist Discourse

CECILIE THUN

Centre for Gender Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway

ABSTRACT *This article seeks to explore majority feminists' difficulties in addressing minority women activists' claims in contemporary Norway. The article identifies different representations of feminism in the Norwegian women's movement. Findings indicate that minority women are excluded in the hegemonic representation of feminism by being defined as "different" and not included in this understanding of "women". Inspired by discourse analysis, intersectionality, and perspectives from black and post-colonial feminist theory, the article argues that the hegemonic representation of feminism is so persistent because it resonates with dominant representations of "Norwegianness", racism, integration, and gender equality. Within the hegemonic representation of feminism, the asymmetrical relationship between "immigrant women" and "Norwegian women" is unreflected, and racial horizons of understanding (race thinking) are not acknowledged. Racism is not considered to be a relevant issue in the Norwegian context and is thus silenced. The article also identifies counter-hegemonic representations that challenge the hegemonic understanding; however, these understandings are still marginal within feminist discourse in Norway.*

> There is a huge distance between Norwegian women in women's organizations [and minority women] … I don't think Norwegian women's organizations care that much about minority women. I don't think so. Because … very few care about what's happening to immigrants and minority women. They don't think

Correspondence Address: Cecilie Thun PhD, Centre for Gender Research, University of Oslo, PO Box 1040 Blindern, 0315 Oslo, Norway. Email: cecilie.thun@stk.uio.no

0803-8740 Print/1502-394X Online/12/010037–56 © 2012 Taylor & Francis
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2011.596162

> it is important … I don't think Norwegian women's organizations are familiar with the problems minority women are dealing with. (Zara, minority women's organization)

Introduction

"Ain't I a woman?" Sojourner Truth, a former slave, asked at the Women's Convention in Ohio, USA in 1851. Her speech addressed black women's experiences, which were not acknowledged on equal terms with those of white women. In 1981, bell hooks, a black US feminist, writes a book named after Truth's speech. hooks criticizes white feminism for excluding black women from their allegedly "universal" feminist project (hooks 1982). This article is about Norwegian feminism today, and the history of black women in the US may seem quite irrelevant. However, my way into exploring representations of feminism is inspired by Sojourner Truth and bell hooks. In this article I ask: Who is included and excluded in the definition of "women" in contemporary Norwegian feminist discourse? What kinds of issues are regarded as feminist and by whom? Who "owns" feminism?

The initial quote is by a "minority" woman activist who talks about the situation in Norway today. She paints a picture of uninterested "Norwegian women's organizations" and a huge gap between "minority" and "majority" women. Over thirty years after the first minority women's organization was formed in Norway, are white majority women still the norm for being a feminist? The aim of the article is to explore different representations of feminism in the Norwegian women's movement. The article will analyse how activists from both ethnic majority and ethnic minority women's organizations talk about majority/minority relations and how they define "feminist issues". Further, I wish to discuss how these representations can be understood in relation to dominant representations of "Norwegianness".

Background and empirical material

The first minority women's organization, the Foreign Women's Group (FWG), was established in Norway in the late 1970s. FWG wanted to establish a wider platform from which to obtain "sister solidarity" with Norwegian women. The white women's movement at the time did not acknowledge racist gender discrimination, and they did not see their own role in making these issues invisible (Salimi 2004; Rood 2007; Halsaa et al. 2008). Today, the organizational landscape is varied and consists of many different types of women's organizations (Eggebø et al. 2007). However, "sisterhood" is not extensively practised, and the women's movement is still characterized by separate organizing. A common assumption by majority feminists is that minority women have "different interests" and that this makes it difficult to find common ground for co-operation (Halsaa et al. 2008). This article is an attempt to investigate further this representation, which I will argue is a hegemonic representation of feminism, and also to try to understand why it is so powerful.

The article is based on empirical material arising from a total of 24 interviews; 19 with activists from 14 women's organizations and 5 with civil servants and

politicians. These organizations were selected because they are the most central women's organizations in Norway. They are either purely women's organizations or have an explicit gender dimension (based on their names, composition of members, aims, and activities) (Eggebø et al. 2007). The concept "women's movement" is used analytically in a broad sense that includes collective action by women presenting gendered identity claims, and the concept "the feminist movement" is in this perspective seen as a sub-category of women's movements (McBride & Mazur 2008). There are only a few minority women's organizations in Norway which are self-defined as feminist, so a wider approach was needed in order to explore different representations of feminism in the women's movement.[2] The quotes in this article are mainly from activists in member-based women's organizations; however, the findings are also based on interviews with members of more professionalized non-governmental organizations working on women's rights, violence against women, and ethnic and/or religious discrimination.

The terms "majority" and "minority" are used both as my own terminology when I name the organizations and as analytical terms when I analyse minoritizing and majoritizing processes. Being an "ethnic majority" in a nation state refers to the numerical majority. An "ethnic minority" can be defined as "a group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population in a society, which is politically non-dominant and which is being reproduced as an ethnic category" (Minority Rights Group 1990: xiv, cited in Eriksen 2002: 121). The majority/minority dichotomy is contested because it often reduces the problem of power relations to one of numbers and thereby reproduces, rather than challenges, power differences (Brah 1996: 187). Moreover, power is multidimensional and "individual subjects can occupy 'minority' and 'majority' positions simultaneously, and this has important implications for the formation of subjectivity" (Brah 1996: 189). When I use the term "majority" and "minority" women's organizations, I am aware that these terms are not unproblematic, descriptive terms, and I have chosen to use categories like "minority" and "majority" in quotation marks to indicate active processes of racialization (Gunaratnam 2003: 17).[3] The term "majority" women's organizations is used to name women's organizations in Norway with predominantly "ethnic majority" white female members. "Majority" women in this context can in other contexts occupy "minority" positions. When I use these terms analytically, I also use the terms "minoritized" and "majoritized", in line with Gunaratnam (2003), to indicate the active processes of racialization.[4]

The study is based on a qualitative approach to research. I conducted in-depth interviews with the help of topic guides which were used as flexible research tools. The interviews were conducted in the time period May 2007–May 2008. The interviews lasted about $1\frac{1}{2}$–2 hours each and were recorded and later transcribed. The article focuses on representations of "women's issues" and "feminist issues" in interviews with women who are active in different women's organizations; however, the representations presented here are not necessarily the official views of the organizations. Therefore, the activists and the organizations are kept anonymous, and the quotes are used as examples of understandings that are found in several of the interviews.[5]

Analytical approaches

The analysis has been inspired by Carol L. Bacchi's (2009) "What's the Problem Represented to Be?" (WPR) approach.[6] The aim has been to probe the assumptions underlying various definitions of the categories "women", "feminists", "women's issues", and "feminist issues" and to bring *silences* into the open for discussion. The focus on interpretations or representations means a focus on discourse, which according to Bacchi is defined as "the language, concepts and categories employed to frame an issue" (1999: 2). Bacchi draws on Foucault's understanding of discourses as "practices that systematically form the object of which they speak; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention" (1999: 40). I have chosen to use the WPR approach in order to analyse critically and systematically the premises and the effects of problem representations in a vast quantity of data. Bacchi's analytical questions challenge the "givenness" of categories like "women" and "feminists". The focus on effects helps in "identifying implications of problem representations for complex and interconnected power relations ..." (Bacchi 2009: 40). In line with Foucault, power is seen as productive rather than possessed, and it should be studied in its effects rather than its source and who holds "it" (Bacchi 2009: 38). Bacchi mentions three types of potential effects: (1) discursive effects (impacts on what can/cannot be said), (2) subjectification effects (the ways in which subjects/subjectivities are constituted in discourse), and (3) lived effects (material consequences) (Bacchi 2009: 15–18). Thus, my concern is firstly to explore different representations of feminism and analyse the effects of these representations. Secondly, I will critically assess these effects in terms of power relations and discuss these in relation to dominant or hegemonic representations of "Norwegianness". I ask: What terms and words do the interviewees use when they talk about "women's issues" and "feminist issues"? And, importantly, what is left out of the definition? What are the effects of this?

The understanding of the categories "women" and "feminists" is central in defining "women's interests" and "feminist issues", and struggles around definitions are constitutive of women's movements. "The rhetoric that defines women as a distinctive constituency, instead of, within or against their other potentially competing allegiances and identities, is a critical element of what creates a women's movement" (Ferree & Meuller 2007: 580). The definition of "women" and "feminists" will decide whether certain issues will be included or excluded as a "women's issue" or a "feminist issue".

Drawing on perspectives from black and post-colonial feminist theory, I seek to analyse presuppositions or assumptions which underlie different representations in the data. The focus on intersections between race, gender, and class has been central in black feminist theory (for instance hooks 1982; Crenshaw 1991; Carby 1997; Collins 2000; Roth 2004). Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) coined the term *intersectionality*, and she addresses how racism and sexism intersect in the lives of real people but seldom in feminist and anti-racist discourses and practices. Crenshaw argues that "because of their intersectional identity as both women *and* people of color within discourses that are shaped to respond to one *or* the other, the interests and

experiences of women of color are frequently marginalized within both" (Crenshaw 1991: 1244). In an American context, the concept of intersectionality has been used to criticize a structural system built upon the mainstream, white, male patriarchy and racialized oppression (Collins 1998). According to Staunæs (2003), this understanding has a tendency to fix categories and to understand subjects as determined by social systems. However, in order to grasp the complexity of lived experience, one needs to examine the *doing of intersectionality*, which means "the doing of the relation between categories, the outcome of this doing and how this doing results in either troubled or untroubled subject positions" (Staunæs 2003: 105). My approach to intersectionality is informed by this view, in which categories like ethnicity and gender are not predetermined, stable, or fixed. A central point is also the inclusion of majority experiences and differences of power in minoritizing and majoritizing processes (Staunæs 2003; Berg et al. 2010). Terms like ethnic minority woman and ethnic majority woman are relational terms, and racialization as a relational phenomenon can be fruitfully addressed through a focus on whiteness as an unmarked position (Frankenberg 1993; Berg 2008).

In the discussion of "Norwegianness", I draw on the work of Marianne Gullestad (2002, 2006), who has used insights from post-colonial theory in order to identify discourses of "Norwegianness" and processes of racialization in Norwegian society. Post-colonial theory addresses orientalism as a powerful discursive system which still exists in the European imagination of "us" and "the others" (Said 2003). Gullestad emphasizes hegemony "in order to focus on majority-minority relations as intrinsically unstable power struggles and thus to convey that there is a struggle going on to control the use of key signs and the ostensibly neutral values" (Gullestad 2006: 25). In the discussion of gender equality as a boundary marker between "us" and "them", I am also inspired by Nordic post-colonial feminist researchers who claim that gender equality is at the core of the discourse on nationhood in the Nordic countries (Mulinari et al. 2009: 5). In addition, I have found Philomena Essed's (1991) study of everyday racism and the term cultural oppression or "ethnicism" (Essed 1991: 6), an ideology that proclaims "multiethnic" equality but implicitly presupposes an ethnic or cultural hierarchical order, useful in my discussions of representations of integration and racism in a Norwegian context.

In the following, different representations of feminism in the Norwegian women's movement are analysed. The aim is to explore the construction of the category "women" and how some issues are included whereas others are excluded within the different representations. The focus is *not* the extent to which majority women's organizations have in fact practised co-operation with minority women's organizations, but rather how activists in the women's movement talk about relations between majority and minority women's organizations, how they define "women's issues" and "feminist issues", and to analyse the effects that are produced. I start by discussing selected quotes, which should be regarded as illustrative examples from my empirical material and are chosen in order to represent my analysis of different understandings of "women's issues" and "feminist issues" in the interviews with women's movement activists.

Majority representations of feminism: exclusion of minority women's issues

> The focus on women's issues has shifted. There has been a shift towards men and immigrant women. These issues are important issues as well, but feminist women's issues do not have the same focus as they should have. (Anne, majority women's organization)

In this quote, "feminist women's issues" are understood as something different from issues concerning "immigrant women". The interviewee, from a majority women's organization, talks about a turn away from focusing on feminist women's issues to men and immigrant women. There is an underlying understanding of women's interests as opposed to men's interests. However, here, the "women" in question do not include all women. Immigrant women are excluded in this representation, and issues concerning immigrant women are viewed as competing issues. The understanding of "women" seems to be "equated in practice with 'white women', where whiteness is treated as an 'unmarked category' and normative claims are made as if this category represented the whole" (Ferree & Meuller 2007: 580). The discursive effect is that white Norwegian women are seen as the "real" women. Within this representation of feminism, immigrant women appear to deviate from the norm. They are viewed as "different", and their interests are seen as "different interests". "Different" experiences and interests are made invisible and denied as being true for "women". Thus, immigrant women are excluded. Within this representation, the category "immigrant women" is placed in a troubled subject position, meaning that immigrant women are seen as problematic because they deviate from the unmarked norm and their issues draw the focus away from "feminist women's issues" (Wetherell 1998; Staunæs 2003). Moreover, "immigrant women" are minoritized and racialized in the sense that they are assumed to be a homogeneous category and excluded from the category "women" because of their assumed "otherness" in a Norwegian context (Gunaratnam 2003; Gullestad 2006; Berg et al. 2010). Thus, they are positioned outside the realm of feminist women's issues and excluded from the majority feminist agenda.

> In my opinion, feminism is feminism. It is on the basis of gender. It is the same discussion we had in relation to middle-class feminism and working-class feminism … It is divisive and it is wrong. I mean that in regard to class and in regard to ethnicity … To be a woman is more important than to be black. (Berit, majority women's organization)

This quote also illustrates an understanding of categories such as "gender", "race", "ethnicity", and "class" as distinct and not intertwined. In this definition of feminism, gender is viewed as the basic category, and in order for the feminist movement to be strong and united other categories like class, race, or ethnicity cannot be included on equal terms. Moreover, they are viewed as competing categories. This representation of feminism is based on a static and essentialist definition of "woman" (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1992: 96). Moreover, the effect of this representation of the category "woman" is that white women are seen as the norm for being a woman. Black

women's experiences of sexism *and* racism are not acknowledged (Crenshaw 1991). The interviewee's majority position as a white woman is silenced. Moreover, when whiteness as a majority position is silenced because of its seemingly self-evident naturalness, the "others" are constituted as different and problematic (Berg 2008). Thus, in this representation of feminism, black feminism is seen as dividing women's movements.

> Interviewer: Does your organization work with issues related to racism, anti-racism, and/or ethnic discrimination?
> Anne: No, I can't say that. Not particularly, I don't think so, no.
> Interviewer: What is the reason for that?
> Anne: Well, there are many issues that many of us would have liked to work with. However, we think that … There are some issues which are women's issues, and then there are other issues where you have other interest groups which work specifically with those issues. So that limits what we can work with.

In this interview extract, issues related to racism and ethnic discrimination are viewed as "other issues". Anne, who is from a majority women's organization, considers these other issues to be important, but they are not considered to be "women's issues". Furthermore, she claims that anti-discrimination organizations deal with these issues and argues that there is a division of labour among the voluntary organizations. This can be interpreted as a practical concern due to lack of resources, but it can also be interpreted as an exclusion of racism and ethnic discrimination from "women's issues". The exclusion of these issues from women's issues resonates with a colonial discourse ("us" versus "them", "Norwegians" versus "immigrants") and a view of racism as being an issue that only concerns people of colour. The effect is to conceal the reality that categories like majority and minority, "Norwegians" and "immigrants" are relational terms; they are co-constructed, and it hides the power relation (Frankenberg 1993).

A general finding from the interviews with majority women is that white Norwegian women are viewed as the norm for being a "woman" and a "feminist" in the interviews with majority women activists, whereas "other" women are seen as deviant in the Norwegian context. Thus, "other" women's issues are excluded from the majority feminist agenda. In the next section, I will present minority representations of feminism.

Minority representations of feminism: a wish to widen the feminist agenda—to include racism

> On the one hand, you have minority women who are integrated into Norwegian society. Then you expect them to face the same challenges as Norwegian women, and you don't need to talk specifically about minority women. So maybe Norwegian women's organizations think like that. But on the other hand, you have minority women who face problems Norwegian women don't face, and they need that special attention … Some women face racism, even if they don't like to talk about it, it is a fact. So you have to talk about the problems these women face in their everyday life because they are minorities.

> So maybe feminism has to open up a little or widen the agenda to a certain degree. (Alisha, minority women's organization)

In this quote by a minority woman activist, the similarities between majoritized and minoritized women—the common challenges they face as "women"—are emphasized. However, minoritized women also express the fact that they face discrimination in the work-place and in other parts of society because they are women *and* minoritized. Feminism, which is equated with Norwegian women's organizations in this quote, is represented to be narrow in the sense that ethnic discrimination and racism are excluded from this feminist agenda. This representation of feminism echoes the criticisms of black feminists both in the US and in Norway (Crenshaw 1991; Collins 2000; Salimi 2004). Another minority interviewee also addresses the intersection of racism and sexism in minoritized women's lives:

> The fight against racism is also a women's issue … The connection between gender and racism is very, very clear. Minority women are not only discriminated against in the work-place because they are women, but because they are minorities and black. (Ruth, minority women's organization)

Racism and sexism are included in this representation of "women's issues". Hence, discrimination based on gender and discrimination on the grounds of "race" or the category "minority" are not seen as separate issues but as intersecting (Crenshaw 1991).

> We've had some immense discussions here [in our organization] among minority women about definitions. One of the reasons why we most often use "minority" women instead of "black" women is because it is sort of a consensus concept … "Black" is a political concept, it's a political consciousness. It is how you define yourself, how you reclaim your own identity, and how you define yourself in relation to society. The political consciousness is a result of experience and political engagement. When an anti-racist movement was established in Norway, that definition was clearly political… [In our organization] we discuss these things all the time. Lately it's been *desi*-feminism. These definitions are being developed at the periphery… they live at the periphery and eventually they die. To bring them into the centre and say: "I'm as much a woman and a feminist and a Norwegian as you or anyone else is." But we're not there yet. As long as we are marginalized in the women's movement we'll have these marginalized identities as well… I still define myself as a black woman, not because of my colour, but because of my political convictions. (Ruth, minority women's organization)

This quote from a minority woman activist gives a picture of black feminism as marginalized in the Norwegian women's movement. Black feminism is connected to a political consciousness and a political identity as a black woman. This identity is based on personal experience and political engagement. The concept of black

feminism is linked to an anti-racist feminist perspective in the fight for women's rights, and it addresses the intersections of racism and sexism (Crenshaw 1991). Black feminism and *desi*[7]-feminism are represented to be at the periphery, whereas white feminism is at the centre. This centre–periphery metaphor represents a picture of majoritized women as the norm for being a feminist and also for being a woman in a Norwegian context. In this representation, experiences of racism combined with gender discrimination are not included in the majority women's movement's understanding of women's experiences and women's issues. Minoritized women also represent themselves as marginal in the Norwegian feminist movement, where a political identity as a black feminist is viewed as "deviant".

> I am not a feminist. I am not against men, for example. I don't think that all women and men are alike. There are women and men who are modern, and there are women and men who are very conservative… Feminists, they think that women have to do it [fight for women's rights], women and only women. I don't think that is a good idea. It's not. Women and men have to fight together. Otherwise there will not be gender equality, and that is what I'm concerned with. (Zara, minority women's organization)

This quote, from another minority woman activist, illustrates a representation of a feminist as being "against men". Several of the minoritized interviewees were reluctant or even opposed to calling themselves or the organization feminist. These respondents were very much in favour of gender equality and emphasized women's rights and the great opportunities for women in Norway. This representation of feminism is in line with findings in other studies showing that many of those who are in favour of gender equality resist the label feminist (Lovenduski 1997). The public understanding of feminists as "man-haters" has not been unusual among the majority population in Europe and is also found, for instance, in studies of feminist movements in Finland and West Germany from the 1960s to the 1980s (Bergman 2004). The interviewees who rejected the label feminist argued that Norway is still not a 100% gender-equal society, but yet women in Norway have many possibilities. Some also wanted more collaboration with majority women's organizations to work towards achieving a gender-equal society and a widening of the feminist agenda.

This understanding of the category feminist and the explicit distancing from the label feminist can also be interpreted as a kind of resistance against majority feminist organizations and an expression of the experiences that some have had of a lack of interest from feminist organizations. The impression of Norwegian feminists being "against men" and the wish to work together with minority men can also be understood in light of having common experiences with racism (Sudbury 1998).

Hegemonic processes of boundary-making: "Norwegians" versus "immigrants"

So far in this article, I have identified majority representations of feminism in which white Norwegian women are viewed as the norm for being a feminist, while "other" women are constructed as deviant in a Norwegian feminist context. In the minority representations of feminism, white Norwegian women are also seen as the norm;

however, this norm is questioned and challenged. The analysis of majority representations of feminism indicates that racialization is a relational process in which "immigrant women" or "black women" are minoritized by being positioned as deviant from the category "woman". The majority position, simply referred to as "woman", is silenced and unmarked. However, a feminist discourse does not exist in a void, and in the remainder of the article I will use quotes to exemplify representations of "Norwegians", "immigrants", racism, integration, and gender equality in the data as a point of departure to discuss how the majority representation of feminism has a privileged position because it resonates with dominant representations of "Norwegianness".

> It's fine [to open up different kinds of feminism] … but they [most immigrant women] have special issues connected to their own ethnicity, being ethnic minorities. It is not connected to society at large. If you are a Pakistani or an Indian immigrant girl it is probably harder than being Norwegian. But for the most part that is not because of how the society at large is treating them, it is mainly due to how they are treated by their families … The reason why they are disadvantaged is because they have a different family culture, a different kind of oppression and cultural expectations regarding how they should live their lives and what choices and possibilities they have. (Berit, majority women's organization)

In this quote from a majority woman activist, the categories "ethnic minorities" and "Pakistani or Indian immigrant girl" are used to name certain women who are categorized as "not Norwegians". "Immigrant women" is also a category that is not included in this representation of "Norwegian women". In this understanding, which exemplifies what I will argue is a hegemonic representation of feminism, immigrants/ethnic minorities and Norwegians are constituted as mutually exclusive categories. The subjectification effect of this representation is that immigrants/ethnic minorities and Norwegians are set in opposition to each other; a dynamic called "dividing practices" (Bacchi 2009: 16, with reference to Foucault 1982: 208). The term immigrant (*innvandrer*) is usually viewed as a "neutral" description in a Norwegian context; however, it has an implicit code "based on 'Third World' origin, different values from the majority, 'dark skin', a working-class background" (Gullestad 2006: 175). Ethnicity and ethnic minorities are increasingly used in a Norwegian context because they are seen as more "neutral" notions than for instance "race" (Berg & Kristiansen 2010). However, these understandings contribute to a division between "us" and "them" in an asymmetrical relationship (Gullestad 2006: 176). Thus, the effect of being labelled immigrant or ethnic minority is that being a Norwegian citizen—legally speaking—is not sufficient for being a "Norwegian". Immigrants are thereby excluded from the imagined Norwegian nation. The terms have elements of hierarchy and work as boundary markers.

The boundary-setting between immigrant/ethnic minorities and Norwegians is also created by the reference to "culture". The oppression of immigrant or ethnic minority women is understood to be a cultural problem. An underlying assumption in this representation is that structural discrimination is the main problem for

women's liberation and gender equality in a majority Norwegian context, while oppression of immigrant or ethnic minority women is due to different cultural expectations of girls within their ethnic community. Hence, majority feminist organizations are fighting structural discrimination against women, which is seen as a universal issue, whereas ethnic minorities are fighting cultural discrimination, which is seen as special, particular, and reserved for minorities. The understanding of minority violence as "special" and explained by "minority culture" is in line with much of the media coverage of honour killings in Norway, where minority violence against women is linked to culture, whereas majority violence against women is linked to gender, power, and societal structures (Bredal 2007: 58–59).

The focus on cultural difference within the majority representation of feminism resonates with a common understanding of culture. In this view, culture is seen as a static and bounded entity. According to Gullestad, culture has replaced "race" in Norwegian politics and conventional wisdom, and "the idea of cultural difference is working to prevent specific categories of racially coded people from being included in the nation" (Gullestad 2006: 27). Norwegian society is often described as egalitarian. However, this egalitarianism is based on "sameness" (*likhet*), and people who are perceived as "too culturally different" are therefore problematic (Gullestad 2006: 170–171). The representation of ethnic minority/immigrant women's issues as solely related to their ethnicity and their culture is not only a Norwegian phenomenon, and it plays into wider "ethnicist discourses" of difference in which the experiences of racialized groups are defined in "culturalist" terms (Brah 2009: 506). According to Brah (2009), this leads to stereotyping and fails to address other social experiences and relations of power related to class, gender, race, and sexuality. The main point here, however, is that the unmarked and silent majority position within the majority representation of feminism seems to resonate with a dominant representation of "Norwegianness". In this representation of culturally different ethnic minorities, "Norwegianness" and whiteness are constructed as an undefined normative centre. The effect is that the term "Norwegian" is constituted rather narrowly, meaning exclusively those of Norwegian descent.

"Integration, integration, integration"—the silencing of racism

> Integration is the big thing now. The last twenty years one has worked with integration, integration, integration. They have tried all kinds of different measures. The voices have been very much in conformity, and they have gone into the general discourse in society about immigration, and they have supported the prejudice and the stereotypes which are already there in society. Those voices have been presented by researchers, the media, and others. But the voices of our organization and the women here … It has been a very conscious women's political organization with an anti-racist feminist agenda. (Ruth, minority women's organization)

The difficulty of acknowledging racism as a part of more general discourses in Norwegian society is exemplified in this quote from Ruth. In this representation, the

focus on "integration" is supporting prejudice and stereotypes, and it is seen as an obstacle for anti-racist feminism.

The emphasis on minorities/immigrants as culturally different positions "them" as troublesome subjects within the discourse of integration. Moreover, minorities are seen as problematic when they are not integrated—meaning different from "us". Thus, processes of racialization—disguised as talk about cultural differences—are silenced in the discourse of integration. The denial of racism within this dominant representation works as an effective instrument of repression by de-legitimizing an anti-racist feminist agenda (Essed 1991). In Essed's study of everyday racism in the US and the Netherlands, she argues that Dutch racism "operates through the discourse of tolerance" (Essed 1991: 6). Racism operates as cultural oppression or "ethnicism", an ideology that "proclaims the existence of 'multiethnic' equality but implicitly presupposes an ethnic or cultural hierarchical order" (ibid.). In contrast to the Netherlands, Norway has a self-perception as a small country without a tradition of imperialism or colonialism (Gullestad 2006: 39). There is a self-image of Norway as "the good agent" in international relations, connected to development aid and peace-building (Eide & Simonsen 2008). However, based on the representations found in my empirical material, I would argue that "ethnicism" (Essed 1991: 6)—implicitly presupposing an ethnic or cultural hierarchical order—is also present in the Norwegian context and that these representations resonate with wider discourses. The discourse of integration is one of these. Integration has been the key concept in Norway since the 1970s; however, there has been a change in the way in which integration is defined, moving from a focus on social problems to a focus on cultural and religious difference (Hagelund 2003; Døving 2009).

The following quote from a majority woman activist also exemplifies the understanding that racism is not a big problem in Norway:

> We don't have structural racism here. We don't have ghettos, and we don't have prisons filled with young black men … To be a member of our organization is irreconcilable with racist and Nazi points of view … (Berit, majority women's organization)

In this quote, racism is associated with the "structural racism" of American society and this is contrasted with Norwegian society. In this representation of racism, "structural racism" is also linked to "ghettos" and "young, black men". The word "ghettos" carries connotations of poor housing conditions, poverty, and an underclass, quite the opposite of the image of the egalitarian Norwegian welfare state. "Young, black men" in prisons are mentioned, which can give the impression that structural racism is a gendered issue, primarily concerning men in other parts of the world, not women here in Norway. The last part of the quote also points to a quite common view in Norway: to have a racist point of view is often equated with having a Nazi point of view. Present-day Norwegians distance themselves strongly from both Nazism and racism (Gullestad 2006: 42). Racism is linked to extreme right-wing and neo-Nazi actors. Norwegian politicians are also very careful and reluctant about labelling anyone or anything as "racist" or "racism" (Hagelund 2003: 249). Racism is a sensitive topic in Norwegian society and an issue that causes

"discomfort when responsibility is placed in larger portions of the population or, even more, in linguistic practices and modes of thought shared by the whole population" (Hagelund 2003: 265). The kind of racism that does exist in Norway is commonly understood to be "located in the malicious intentions of specific individuals, not in institutionalized state and everyday practices, in structural economic inequalities, or in discursive resources available more or less to everybody" (Gullestad 2006: 47).

Racism is not considered to be a relevant issue in the Norwegian context and is thus silenced in majority representations of feminism. When majority feminists were specifically asked about racism or anti-racist work, a typical answer would be: "To be a member of our organization is irreconcilable with racist and Nazi points of view." Being accused of racism is considered a huge insult, and it clashes completely with the self-understanding of what a feminist is. However, despite, or perhaps because of, this understanding, within majority representations of feminism, the asymmetrical relationship between "immigrant women" and "Norwegian women" is not considered, and racial horizons of understanding (race thinking) are not acknowledged.

When racism is mentioned in the interviews with majority activists, it is often articulated as a fear of buying into a racist agenda:

> I think we have been a bit afraid of putting violence against immigrant women on the agenda because one is afraid of doing something wrong and contributing to further stigmatization and discrimination. (Mona, majority women's organization)

> In relation to honour killing and forced marriages, the political Right has been more attentive, rather than the political left and the women's movement. I think that's a pity, both for the women's movement and those who are victims of forced marriages. I think these are extremely difficult issues, of course … I don't think that [my organization] has a well developed policy on these issues. But I think we have to realize that forced marriages can be a problem for those who are affected by them. That there are oppressive patriarchal structures in immigrant communities that are maybe even strengthened by being in Norway because you feel defensive about being in a minority who are being discriminated against in the first place … To say that it is a real problem without saying that immigrants themselves are a problem … I wish the political Left and women's organizations and feminists [would deal with these issues] even if it's very difficult. (Mona, majority women's organization)

These quotes address the difficulty for majority women of articulating criticism against ethnic minorities. In the second quote, Mona, from a majority women's organization, addresses discrimination against immigrant/minority (men) as an issue that can contribute to the oppression of immigrant/minority women. In her opinion, criticism of oppressive minority men can lead to further discrimination and racism. Interestingly, in this representation the majority position is marked, meaning that

discrimination against minorities by the majority is acknowledged. The interviewee expresses regret about the organization's passivity in relation to "minority violence". Uneasiness, guilt, and shame are often expressed in relation to whiteness (Berg 2008). The feelings of regret and guilt that are present in several of the interviews with majority activists can be interpreted as a result of the articulation of whiteness in the interview situation, which is related to the recognition of being positioned in a majority position. However, by defining minority women's issues as "different" or "too difficult" within the hegemonic representation of feminism, the lived effect is that the majority women's organizations are avoiding issues related to majoritizing and minoritizing processes. According to Berg (2008: 220), only the dominant, unmarked positions are allowed avoidance, and the paradox is that avoidance reproduces inequality.

The representation illustrated by the quote above also points to the either/or rhetoric in the public debate, which the majority respondents do not see any way out of, and which makes the majority women's organizations prone to paralysis and passivity towards minority women's organizations (Pristed Nielsen & Thun 2010). This understanding within the majority representations of feminism resonates with the dominant representation in the Norwegian context: you are either "for" or "against" immigrants—you are either accused of *snillisme* (defined as "mistaken kindness" towards immigrants) or you are buying into a racist agenda (Hagelund 2003: 196). This either/or rhetoric is connected to colonial discourse, what Gullestad (2006) calls a polarization between "us" (majority Norwegians) and "them" (immigrants) based on descent. This rhetoric has become more or less hegemonic in Norway since September 11th, 2001 and the murder of Fadime Sahindal in 2002.[8] Gullestad argues that gender and cultural differences have largely replaced social class and structure as the main categories of social conflict in popular consciousness, and that a new form of ethnic nationalism is becoming naturalized as self-evident. I would also argue that the dominant representation of integration—with a focus on cultural and religious differences—resonates with the colonial discourse and constitutes "them" as the problem, not "us", and thereby contributes to the silencing of racism.

"Normal" gender equality versus "crisis" gender equality

> Norwegian women are very concerned with that [gender equality]. They got it through their mothers' milk. So that's the main thing. But anti-racism, that is … It is not so much the focus … the women's organizations are not … I think if I ask them or you ask them, they are opposed to racist attitudes. (Alisha, minority women's organization)

This quote illustrates a view shared by several of the minority respondents in this study, and I would argue that it gives a quite accurate description of the attitudes shared by many in Norwegian society: gender equality is seen as a basic value which cannot be compromised, and this value is closely linked to "Norwegianness" (Gullestad 2002, 2006; Lotherington 2008; Berg et al. 2010). Gender equality has become a marker between "good" and "evil", between "us" and "them". In this

representation of gender equality, the "suppressed immigrant" woman, often identified as Muslim, is contrasted with the "gender-equal Norwegian" woman (Berg et al. 2010).

> They [immigrant women] have some issues that they are very concerned with. So we have a very different point of departure. They have other problems … They might think that our problems are "luxury problems" because they have a different background and a different reality. (Heidi, majority women's organization)

This interview extract illustrates a representation of two different gender equality agendas: one for majoritized women and another for minoritized women. Even if the former category is not yet equal with men, the latter category is represented as a uniform group of women who are "even worse off". Majority representations of feminism draw on a polarized understanding, where "women's issues" are synonymous with "our" (majority Norwegians) issues and "minority women's issues" are first and foremost connected to "crisis" issues (honour-related violence) and linked to culture. The "crisis" gender equality related to minority groups is also visible in Norwegian policies (Siim & Skjeie 2008). The discursive and also institutional division between "us" and "them" that is linked to cultural differences resonates with the representation of integration discussed above and, within this representation, gender equality is seen as a Norwegian value, something "we" have and "they" do not.

The subjectification effect of the representation of "minority violence" as cultural and as a sign of lack of integration is that minorities are constituted as troublesome subjects. The logic seems to be that "they" are the problem because "they" have a different culture (meaning women-oppressive), and because "they" are not like "us" (meaning gender-equal). When gender equality is linked to "Norwegianness", it is seen as a positive value and becomes a marker of difference, a boundary marker between "us" and "them", rather than a political goal and an aim for common political work.

The focus on "crisis" gender equality, linked to cultural oppression and the discourse of integration, also overshadows a potential common feminist agenda opposing violence against women. An unproblematized issue within majority representations of feminism is that the feminist slogan "the personal is political" does not seem to apply to women who are dealing with gender discrimination due to "a different family culture". Violence against women has been a central issue for the women's movement since the 1970s, and there has been a continuous expansion of the way in which this issue has been strategically framed (Verloo & Lombardo 2007). However, when "minority violence" is understood as cultural and different, the discursive effect is that so-called minority violence is constructed as "their" problem, not a general "women's issue". In this representation, "minority violence" is understood as an "integration issue" rather than a "women's issue". This understanding supports the image of "them" versus "us" and the stereotypical image of the "suppressed minority woman" versus the "liberated majority woman".

Conclusion: feminist discourse embedded in dominant representations of "Norwegianness"

In this article, I set out to explore representations of feminism in contemporary Norwegian feminist discourse. My starting-point was to analyse definitions of the categories "women" and "feminists" in order to see whom these categories included or excluded, and thus which issues were regarded as feminist and by whom. I found that minority women are excluded in majority representations of feminism by being defined as "different" and that there is a boundary between "Norwegian women" and "immigrant/minority women". Within majority representations of feminism, the fight against racism and ethnic discrimination is not included in the way "women's issues" are represented. Moreover, racism is not considered to be a relevant women's issue in the Norwegian context and is thus silenced in majority representations of feminism. Minority/immigrant women's issues are represented as being related to their ethnicity and culture. Nevertheless, one can ask: Are these different representations expressions of unlike, yet equal, feminism*s* in the plural? Political struggle within a political movement is not a new phenomenon, and internal strife dates back to 1884 when the first women's rights organization was established in Norway (Halsaa et al. 2008: 8). My claim is that these different representations of feminism are not equal because one cannot overlook the aspects of power. The processes of minoritizing and majoritizing and boundary-making that have been analysed here have elements of hierarchy and define who belongs and who does not belong to the feminist movement in Norway.

Using Bacchi's (2009) analytical distinction between three potential effects of problem presentations, the discursive effect is that minority women who experience structural hindrances, for instance in the labour market, are silenced, while the minority women who experience honour-related violence are being heard (hypervisibility, cf. Bredal 2007), but they are excluded from a majority feminist agenda. This again leads to a strengthening of the assumed difference between minoritized and majoritized women. The subjectification effect is that minorities are constituted as troublesome within the majority representation of feminism. Thus, processes of racialization—disguised as talk about cultural differences—are silenced in this representation. The lived effect is that the majority women's organizations find it difficult to bridge the gap between majority and minority women activists, and as a result they remain passive towards minority women's organizations (Pristed Nielsen & Thun 2010). Within majority representations of feminism, the asymmetrical relationship between "Norwegian women" and "immigrant/minority women" is for the most part unreflected, and racial horizons of understanding (race thinking) are not acknowledged. When whiteness as a majority position is articulated in the interviews, it brings out feelings of regret and guilt, which leads to avoidance of "difficult" issues.

I would argue that majority representations of feminism hold privileged or hegemonic positions because they draw on a dominant national discourse of Norwegianness, in which white so-called ethnic Norwegians are viewed as the norm, while "others" are constructed as deviant, as second-class citizens in a Norwegian context. The discourse of Norwegianness is a hegemonic discourse that is built

up around dominant principles such as representations of racism, integration, and gender equality. The notion of Norwegianness is named in the interviews, but otherwise not defined or explained, and is the unmarked norm. The term "Norwegianness" works as an exclusionary notion in the sense that immigrants/minorities are constituted as holding troubled subject positions; they deviate from the norm, they are described as "different"—not fully Norwegian. The discourse of "Norwegianness" is encompassed in a wider colonial discourse ("us" versus "them", "Norwegians" versus "immigrants/minorities"); however, in the particular Norwegian (Nordic) context this dominant representation is closely linked to the concept of integration and gender equality (Keskinen et al. 2009). This is combined with "ethnicism" and a denial of racism (Essed 1991).

In order to understand why minority women's claims have proven to be and still are viewed as a challenge to white majority feminists, I would argue that a hegemonic representation of feminism resonates with and is embedded in the dominant representation of "Norwegianness" in the overall Norwegian society, which is why it is so powerful and persistent but yet unacknowledged. There are counter-positions which challenge this hegemonic understanding; however, they are still marginal within feminist discourse in Norway. A first step in building a more inclusive feminism would be to reflect upon the relational processes of minoritizing and majoritizing. Another step would be to include minority women in the definition of "women" and "feminists" and thereby redefine the notions of "women's issues" and "feminist issues". A next possible step might be to open up to a more intersectional perspective and include issues like racism and ethnic discrimination in the feminist agenda, instead of seeing them as separate and competing issues.

Notes

[1] This title is a slightly altered quote from one of the interviews on which the analysis in this article is based.
[2] "Feminism" can be defined and understood in many different ways (Bergman 2004: 27), and this concept will be discussed empirically later in the article.
[3] Racialization refers to "the process of differentiating people and stabilising these differences, as well as legitimating power relations based on these racialised differences" (Mulinari et al. 2009: 4).
[4] However, for reader-friendliness, I will not place these terms in quotation marks in the rest of the article.
[5] The names used in relation to the quotes are fictional.
[6] Bacchi's "What's the Problem?" approach was introduced in her book of 1999, and later developed as the "What's the Problem Represented to Be?" (WPR) approach in her book of 2009. The WPR approach is usually applied in the analysis of policy documents in order to highlight competing constructions of issues addressed in a policy process. However, the approach has also been used to analyse interviews (see for instance Rönnblom 2002).
[7] *Desi* is a concept used to describe South Asians living outside Asia.
[8] Fadime Sahindal was a young Kurdish-Swedish woman who was killed by her father in January 2002 because she had a Swedish boyfriend. The murder received much public attention in Scandinavia.

References

Anthias, Floya & Yuval-Davis, Nira (1992) *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-racist Struggle* (London: Routledge).

Bacchi, Carol L. (1999) *Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of Policy Problems* (London: Sage Publications).

Bacchi, Carol L. (2009) *Analysing Policy: What's the Problem Represented to Be?* (New South Wales, French Forest: Pearson Education).

Berg, Anne-Jorunn (2008) Silence and articulation—whiteness, racialization and feminist memory work, *NORA—Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 16(4), pp. 213–227.

Berg, Anne-Jorunn, Flemmen, Anne Britt & Gullikstad, Berit (2010) Innledning: Interseksjonalitet, flertydighet og metodologiske utfordringer, in: Anne-Jorunn Berg, Anne Britt Flemmen & Berit Gullikstad (Eds) *Likestilte norskheter. Om kjønn og etnisitet* [Equal Norwegiannesses: about gender and ethnicity], pp. 11–37 (Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forlag).

Berg, Anne-Jorunn & Kristiansen, Tone Gunn (2010) Synlig forskjell—om 'nyankomne innvandrere', kjønn og rasialisering, in: Anne-Jorunn Berg, Anne Britt Flemmen & Berit Gullikstad (Eds) *Likestilte norskheter. Om kjønn og etnisitet* [Equal Norwegiannesses: about gender and ethnicity], pp. 225–259 (Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forlag).

Bergman, Solveig (2004) Contextualising and contrasting feminisms: studying women's movements from a cross-country perspective, in: Hilda Rømer Christensen, Beatrice Halsaa & Aino Saarinen (Eds) *Crossing Borders: Re-mapping Women's Movements at the Turn of the 21st Century*, pp. 23–39 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark).

Brah, Avtar (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge).

Brah, Avtar (2009) Difference, diversity, differentiation: processes of racialisation and gender, in: Les Back & John Solomos (Eds) *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader,* chapter 31, pp. 503–518 (London: Routledge).

Bredal, Anja (2007) Den 'spesielle volden'. Vold mot minoritetsjenter på sidelinjen [The 'special violence': violence against minority girls on the sidelines], in: Knut Storberget, Beret Bråten, Ellen Rømming, Kristin Skjørten & Astri Aas-Hansen (Eds) *Bjørnen sover. Om vold i familien*, pp. 56–60 (Oslo: Aschehoug).

Carby, Hazel V. (1997/1982) White women listen! Black feminism and the boundaries of sisterhood, in: Heidi Safia Mirza (Ed.) *Black British Feminism: A Reader* (London: Routledge).

Collins, Patricia Hill (1998) It's all in the family: intersections of gender, race, and nation, *Hypatia*, 13(3), pp. 62–82.

Collins, Patricia Hill (2000) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (London: Routledge).

Crenshaw, Kimberlé W. (1991) Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color, *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), pp. 1241–1299.

Døving, Cora Alexa (2009) *Integrering. Teori og empiri* [Integration: theory and empirical data] (Oslo: Pax forlag).

Eggebø, Helga, Halsaa, Beatrice, Skjeie, Hege & Thun, Cecilie (2007) *Organisasjonslandskapet i eit kjønnsperspektiv, 1990–2007* [The organizational landscape in a gender perspective, 1990–2007] (Oslo: Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Research, University of Oslo).

Eide, Elisabeth & Simonsen, Anne Hege (2008) *Verden skapes hjemmefra. Pressedekning av den ikke-vestlige verden 1902–2002* [The world created from home: media coverage of the non-Western world 1902–2002] (Oslo: Unipub).

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (2002/1993) *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press).

Essed, Philomena (1991) *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory* (California: Sage Publications).

Ferree, Myra Marx & Meuller, Carol McClurg (2007) Feminism and the women's movement: a global perspective, in: David A. Snow, Sarah Soule & Hans Peter Kriesi (Eds) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, pp. 576–607 (Malden: Blackwell).

Frankenberg, Ruth (1993) *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (London: Routledge).

Gullestad, Marianne (2002) *Det norske sett med nye øyne: Kritisk analyse av norsk innvandringsdebatt* [Norwegianness as seen with new eyes] (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget).

Gullestad, Marianne (2006) *Plausible Prejudice: Everyday Experiences and the Social Images of Nation, Culture and Race* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget).

Gunaratnam, Yasmin (2003) *Researching "Race" and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power* (London: Sage Publications).

Hagelund, Anniken (2003) *The Importance of Being Decent: Political Discourse on Immigration in Norway 1970–2002* (Oslo: Unipax Institutt for samfunnsforskning).

Halsaa, Beatrice, Thun, Cecilie & Predelli, Line Nyhagen (2008) Women's movement: constructions of sisterhood, dispute and resonance. The case of Norway, *WP4 Working Paper No. 4* (Oslo: Centre for Gender Research, University of Oslo; Loughborough: the Department of Social Sciences and Centre for Research in Social Policy, Loughborough University), available at: http://www.femcit.org/publications.xpl (accessed 29 June 2011).

hooks, bell (1982/1981) *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (London: Pluto Press).

Keskinen, Suvi, Tuori, Salla, Irni, Sari & Mulinari, Diana (Eds) (2009) *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Lotherington, Ann Therese (2008) Over grensen. Konstruksjoner av likestilling og norskhet i russisk-norske familier [Beyond the border: constructions of equality and Norwegianness in Russian/Norwegian families], *Tidsskrift for Kjønnsforskning*, 1(8), pp. 6–19.

Lovenduski, Joni (1997) The integration of feminism into West European politics, in: Martin Rhodes, Paul Heywood & Vincent Wright (Eds) *Developments in West European Politics*, pp. 281–299 (London: Macmillan).

McBride, Dorothy & Mazur, Amy (2008) Women's movements, feminism and feminist movements, in: Gary Goertz & Amy G. Mazur (Eds) *Politics, Gender, and Concepts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Mulinari, Diana, Keskinen, Suvi, Irni, Sari & Tuori, Salla (2009) Introduction: postcolonialiam in the Nordic models of welfare and gender, in: Suvi Keskinen, Salla Tuori, Sari Irni & Diana Mulinari (Eds) *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*, pp. 1–16 (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Pristed Nielsen, Helene & Thun, Cecilie (2010) Inclusive women's organisations in Denmark and Norway? *Kvinder, Køn og Forskning*, 19(2–3), pp. 62–71.

Rood, Erika (2007) *Feminism in the Plural: A Cartography of the Feminist Landscape in Norway Through Intersectionality and Positionality*, Master's thesis (Oslo: University of Oslo: Senter for utvikling og miljø).

Roth, Benita (2004) *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Rönnblom, Malin (2002) Ett eget rum? Kvinnors organisering möter etablerad politik [A room of one's own? Women's organizing meets established politics], Akademisk avhandling, Umeå Universitet, *Statsvetenskapliga institutionen skriftserie*, 3.

Said, Edward W. (2003/1978) *Orientalism* (London: Penguin).

Salimi, Fakhra (2004) Den historiske utviklingen av svarte og etniske minoriteters kvinnebevegelse: Noen av oss er modige [The history of the black and ethnic minority women's movement in Norway: some of us are brave] *Mira-magasinets 10 års jubileumsnummer*, 1–2.

Siim, Birte & Skjeie, Hege (2008) Tracks, intersections and dead ends: multicultural challenges to state feminism in Denmark and Norway, *Ethnicities*, 8(3), pp. 322–344.

Staunæs, Dorthe (2003) Where have all the subjects gone? Bringing together the concepts of intersectionality and subjectification, *NORA—Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 11(2), pp. 101–110.

Sudbury, Julia (1998) *"Other Kinds of Dreams": Black Women's Organisations and the Politics of Transformation* (London: Routledge).

Verloo, Mieke & Lombardo, Emanuela (2007) Contested gender equality and policy variety in Europe: introducing a critical frame analysis approach, in: Mieke Verloo (Ed.) *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality in Europe: A Critical Frame Analysis Approach*, pp. 21–50 (Budapest: Central European University Press).

Wetherell, Margaret (1998) Positioning and interpretative repertoires: conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue, *Discourse & Society*, 9(3), pp. 387–412.

Cecilie Thun, Cand. polit. in Sociology, Centre for Gender Research, University of Oslo, is affiliated with the FEMCIT project funded by the EU's 6th framework programme and the PLUREQ project financed by the Norwegian Research Council.

Her fields of research are citizenship and feminism, women's movements, and gender/ethnicity/religion. Her publications include: Helene Pristed Nielsen and Cecilie Thun (2010) "Inclusive Women's Organisations in Denmark and Norway?" *Kvinder, Køn og Forskning*, 19(2–3), pp. 62–71; Beatrice Halsaa, Cecilie Thun and Line Nyhagen Predelli (2008) "Women's Movements: Constructions of Sisterhood, Dispute and Resonance: The Case of Norway", *WP4 Working Paper No. 4* (Oslo: Centre for Gender Research, University of Oslo; Loughborough: Department of Social Sciences, Centre for Research in Social Policy, Loughborough University); and Katrine Fangen and Cecilie Thun (2007) "*Unge somaliske kvinner snakker om omskjæring*" [Young Somali women talk about female genital mutilation], *Sosiologi i dag*, 37(3–4), pp. 107–141.