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Bordering Queer Ethnic Minorities and Social Movement Contestation



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Abstract

Understanding the occurrence of multiple-identity markers can be challenging. These experiences can render one vulnerable to multiple minority stressors. This thesis attempts to solve this by utilizing border and feminist concepts. The theoretical framework understands borders as processes and performances, in order to analyse the internet presence of two central organizations for queer ethnic minorities' in Norway: Queer World and Salam. The findings illustrate the many borders traversing subjects with multiple social markers. Furthermore, the thesis also examined how these organizations can contest the borders and divided their strategies into two themes: reactionary and innovative. Together these activities are resisting, redefining existing borders, as well as partaking in the development of new border meanings. These borders do not perceive categories such as queer and ethnic minority as mutually exclusive. Further research on border processes in relation to queer ethnic minorities could further the inquires on how social movements can develop new borders in mobilization strategies.

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1. Introduction

The week before the national pride-parade in 2016, Solveig Horne, the previous minister of children and equality, stated the following:

“I encourage everyone to take to the streets on Saturday (to the pride parade), especially people from immigrant communities. We must show our disgust for what happened in Orlando and show sympathy for all concerned, both here at home and abroad. We should be proud that we have the freedom in Norway to have such a parade” (Tjernshaugen 2016).

Horne references the nightclub shooting in Orlando where an armed assailant conducted a mass shooting, leaving 53 wounded and a death toll of 49 people. The actions were regarded as motivated by homophobia and classified as an act of a religious terrorism. The nightclub where the shooting took place, Pulse, was hosting Latin Night, something that was not uncommon considering the club was often visited by ethnic minorities. Naturally then, the victims of the shooting were primarily Latin Americans and people with other ethnic minority backgrounds. However, the media coverage that followed did not reflect that reality (Ramirez et. al. 2018). Neither did Horne’s call to the public. In many ways, her statement assumes that all immigrants and ethnic minority communities are intolerant by default (Akin 2018), there are no queer people who are ethnic minorities, and lastly, everyone has equal experience of sexual and gender freedom in Norway. Arguably, a border is set forth, symbolizing the division between “us” and “them”. And in that event - positions some subjects outside and others inside the major narrative. The border then, present queer- and ethnic minority-attributes as mutually exclusive, a process that renders individuals vulnerable to exclusionary mechanisms.

A shortcoming of discrimination studies is the tendency to isolate social markers in its analysis; stratifying ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, class, etc (Eggebø et.al2020). Yet, a recent rapport demonstrates that queer ethnic minorities in Norway are subjected to multiple minority stressors (Eggebø et.al. 2020). The report shows that more than half of the participants have experienced informal sanctions such as name calling because they violate gender and sexuality norms, and a few more due to their ethnic minority background (Eggebø et.al. 2020). These informal sanctions would occur in queer spaces as well as in ethnic

minority communities and created form of double minority status (Eggebo et.al. 2020). As such, Horne's statement ignores the complexities of occupying multiple identity-markers.

In that effect, one could state that queer ethnic minorities are ruled out of the dominant narrative on multiple accounts producing boundaries around communities and between spaces. Recent border studies illustrate how borders are socially produced, maintained and defended (Dembeck et.al.2016). Borders are therefore the result of procedural actions of differentiation that shape identities, categories and encourage certain behaviours (Dembeck et.al.2016). Even though borders often allude to physical demarcation, fences or other spectacular mechanisms of exclusion (Jones 2016), this thesis however, argues that border-lenses can uncover the more subtle forms of ordering (Houtum & Naerssen 2001). Because, as a process, borders are not limited to a physical place, on the contrary they are a diffuse social phenomenon. As the report argue, and Horne's statement exemplify, moments of inclusion/exclusion that are not exclusive to the physical borders of the nation-state, especially not for queer ethnic minorities. Borders, then, imply the premise and criteria through a regulatory frame that is not exclusive to physical borders (Dembeck et. al. 2016). With that in mind, the thesis aims to unpack the ways in which borders spread throughout society and create a multitude of barriers. Because the report mentioned above questions what it means to be included, and thereby also excluded, in social communities, a rethinking of our notions of belonging is important.

The thesis argues for approaching borders as processes and performances in order to uncover how borders encircle queer ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the aim of the research is to study the entanglement of identity-markers from a human geographical standpoint. Using border studies to analyse the intricacies of inclusion and exclusion. With an emphasis on feminist theory, the thesis examines the interplay of different social categories creating different experiences of belonging. In order to do so, the thesis attempts at identifying the borders by examining the internet presence of two important non-governmental organizations for queer ethnic minorities: Salam and Queer World (QW). Following on from this, the thesis analyses the identified borders mechanisms by investigating how they work, or more precisely, how does the borders affect queer ethnic minorities. Additionally, the thesis investigates how Salam and QW engage with these borders through their work as social movement actors. With the purpose of doing so, the thesis examines how the organizations partake in the development of new borders, through reactionary and innovative means. Residing in the

interface between borders, these organizations challenge gender and sexuality-based assumptions that could in turn inform the human geographical border scholarship. Refusing to approach their organization as representatives of a homogeneous group, they contest how the border process constructs heterogeneous narratives of sexuality, gender, ethnicity and community.

This is a qualitative research project investigating a topic that is arguably insufficiently researched within the Norwegian human geographical academia. The thesis hopes to provide new insights. Consequently, the thesis attempts at answering the following topic questions:

1. *What borders confronts queer ethnic minorities in Norway?*
2. *How does borders affect queer ethnic minorities?*
3. *How can social movement actors resist borders?*

1.2. Clarifications

Before anything else, one needs to clarify some central concepts, queer ethnic minorities. Beginning with queer; it is both a concept and a theory. As a concept, it is an umbrella term for gender and sexual minorities, who are not cis-gender or heterosexual. Being originally laden with negative connotations and used derogatory against persons with same-sex desires, queer, have been reclaimed by activists during the 80s. Organizations deliberately used the word to provoke conservatives outside the LGBTQIA+ community, and assimilationist branches within the community (Queer Nation 1990, Sycamore 2008). Being Queer is therefore not necessarily an identity, but a political stance on destabilization of normative ideals of sexual desires and gender expressions. However, due to the historical derogatory usage, some are critical of the reclaiming of the term “Queer”. While others wish to disassociate themselves from its anti-normative approaches. The thesis uses therefore queer and LGBTQIA+ (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual, Trans, Queer, Intersex and Asexual +) interchangeably throughout the text by referring to a broad spectrum of non-normative sexual and gender identities as well as politics. However, when the thesis deploys LGB, it does so to explicitly refer to a community consisting of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals.

Queer theory developed in the aftermath of the Stonewall Riots in 1969, the unplanned series of protests reacting to years of police harassments and discrimination from the dominant society (Armstrong 2006). Based on lesbian and gay academic research, queer theory was formulated during the 1980s to challenge heteronormativity's grip on academia and psychoanalytic research. Against essentialized identities, they analysed the ways in which research presents some identities and sexual practices as normal, and others, deviant. Queer theory has since partaken in a destabilization of academia and society's understanding of sexuality and gender (Luibheid 2008).

By "ethnic minorities", the thesis refers to individuals who differ in religion and ethnicity from the majority group; ethnic Norwegians. Ethnic minorities refers therefore to those who are migrants or have an immigrant background through parental migratory history, and/or follow a religion that is not Christianity+. This is undoubtedly a grouping that eliminates nuances, but can be justified due to the scope of the paper.

2. Norwegian queer history

The chapter begins with a short introduction to the history of the Norwegian queer movement before with an presentation of QW and Salam. Although the queer history is richer than this, the thesis begins with the campaign for the rights of homosexuals, then referred to as homophiles, in the 1950s. By a transnational lesbian and gay movement based on a branch of the Danish homophile organization (Roseneil et. al. 2013). By explicitly referencing the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The Norwegian Association (DNF-48, Det Norske Forbundet av 1948 in Norwegian) mobilized discretely for the decriminalization of male homosexuality (Roseneil et. al. 2013).

A focal moment for the struggle was in 1972 when the queer organization DNF-48, spearheaded by Kim Friele mobilized for the eradication of §213. This repeal led to the decriminalization of LGB individuals (Berge 2021). Even though LGB persons could live openly without the fear of persecution, the eradication of prejudices did not naturally follow thereafter. In 1977, homosexuality was removed from the official list of mental disorders, and in 1982, same-sex sexuality was no longer an official disease diagnosis within The Social Ministry. Thus, LGB individuals were no longer criminals or sick by virtue of their orientation (Berge 2021). The next major advance in queer liberation came in 1981 when section 135a and 349a of the penal code introduced legal protection for LGB individuals. These sections are often associated with racism, but now they also protect against discrimination on the basis of, among other forms of discrimination, sexual orientation. It was primarily introduced in accordance with rental housing and employment and has since been progressively strengthened through introducing similar provisions under the law. For example, under The Working Environment Act in 1998 and again in 2005, or when stating that being HIV-positive was no longer a valid ground for labour dismissal (Berge 2021). Legal rights against discrimination have undergone major changes, with the newest arrival in 2018 with the Equality and Discrimination Act (Foreningen Fri, Berge 2021).

For many, the changes in The Partnership Act in 1993 were the most significant turning point for the queer struggle, as the decision made by the government provided same-sex couples with the same rights through marriage. However, adopting children was omitted, but in 2008

a new marriage law passed, strengthening same-sex couples rights related to marriage (Berge 2021). With that, Norway had no longer a separation between marriage and partnership, thus same-sex couples could also adopt and made available the possibility of assisted conception (Foreningen Fri). In sum, one can observe how the historical shift of policy and legality have gone through three processes of normative change: the legitimization of same-sex practice, the protection of LGB people and the recognition of intimate relationships (Roseneil et.al. 2013)

Still, equal rights to marriage did not equal the completion of the queer movement. Sexual orientation and gender identity include so much more than that. To name a few judicial changes, the removal of the “Discretion Policy” has been instrumental for queer asylum seekers (Akin 2015). Changing this principle meant that the Norwegian authorities could not return asylum seekers under the impression that they could live out their identity discreetly. Furthermore, a new law regarding gender identity was introduced in 2016, making it legal to change one's gender in the official population register (Folkeregisteret), without having to undergo medical treatment or obtaining a specific diagnosis. It should be noted that this juridical change is based on a binary gender system and excludes those who do not adhere to the binary gender relationship (Foreningen Fri).

Additionally, the queer movement has also been progressively introduced to the public sphere. To name a few examples, the establishment of a national research and information centre for sexuality and gender identity, “The LGBT Center” in 2011, and the opening of the Queer Archive, a conversation, documentation and dissemination institution that works with preserving Norwegian queer history in 2011 (Skeivt Arkiv).

2.1. Internal strife and the creation of new organizations

Similar to many other movements, queer history also experienced its fair share of internal strifes and turbulences. Perhaps an aspect mimicking the queer movement in the united states, formulating the main goals for obtaining queer liberation was not an easy task. The Stonewall Riots and uprising was a series of demonstrations by members of the LGBTQIA+ community in New York. Particularly by queer African American and Latin American women.

Responding to police violence in their neighbourhood, a series of spontaneous events was evoked that is said to have sparked a queer liberation movement worldwide. After the

Stonewall Riots, the LGBT movement faced gender, class and race obstacles in becoming a unified movement. While some advocated for inclusion in institutions that were preserved for heterosexual practices, such as marriage, others favoured broader liberation politics arguing that marriage was a political strategy reserved for the white middle-class American gay male. Women and lesbians experienced a neglect of their particular grievances within the queer movement, trans people noticed how their gender identity was deprioritized by the mainstream movement and others argued that the movements primary motivations; against normative descriptions of gender and sexuality and against police brutality were overshadowed by the politics of the queer middle-class (Cohen 1997).

Although the disputes were not equal to the ones in the US, they did resemble some of the same animosities as new organizations were created due to internal disagreements. In order to gather for a common struggle, The National Association for Lesbians and Gays (LLH in Norwegian, NALG in English) were formed when two influential organizations, DNF-48 and the Joint Council for Gay Organizations (Fellesrådet for homofile organisasjoner), were merged in 1992. Recently, the organization has changed its name to The National Association for Lesbians, Gays Bisexuals and Transgendered People (LLH in Norwegian), and in 2016 became known as Fri The Association for Gender and Sexuality Diversity (Foreningen Fri).

2.2. Queer World and Salam

The Norwegian queer movement have continued to spread out into different organizations, and there are two organizations that have captured the interest of this thesis, Queer World and Salam. Queer World (QW) was initially a temporary project initiated by Fri in 2010 but became an independent organization due to an ambition to support LGBTQIA+ ethnic minorities. One could gather from their website that their main course of action is hosting social meeting places where ethnic minorities constitute the majority of those attending. Thus, creating a community for their audience. The organization has since then become a central actor for the LGBTQIA+ movement as they developed as an organization, with associations in Oslo and Viken, west- and mid-Norway, and a network through the country (Skeiv Verden, Om Oss).

Salam, on the other hand, being established in 2017 has a much shorter history (Kongehuset.no). Similar to QW, they are an organization that responds to a lack of diversity within the queer movement, in this instance in relation to a specific religion, Queer Muslims. As an organization, they focus on creating an inclusive environment for ethnic minorities and Muslims in Norway. Despite being a rather new organization, they are gaining ground within the queer movement (Salam, Om oss).

3.Theoretical framework

To illustrate this thesis' positioning within the border literature, we begin with a demonstration of traditional border theories. The thesis will then present two themes grounded in the traditionalist approach and are frequently referenced in media: Fortress-metaphors and Borderless world. The reason for this is to use these themes to contextualize the analytical tools this thesis relies on, namely, borders as institutions (Newman 2006b) and border as method (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013). Arguably, these approaches can capture the experience of queer ethnic minorities. This thesis' understanding of border as institution and border as method relies on queer, and by extension feminist and post-structural conceptualization of identity. The theories included are constructionist approaches to discourses (Hall 1997), intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991) and performativity (Butler 2002). Queer theory is therefore woven in the border literature to create a framework for analysing social movements in Norway.

Topics concerned with migration are often inspected with physical borders as a point of departure, for instance as physical walls, technology, border security and wires. A phenomenon that can be described as “the spectacle of borders” and describes the hyper-focus on the brutality of the border (Jones 2016). As a political topic, borders often enter the discussion with a need for deterring and withholding entrance for “ill-meaning” migrants and criminals. During the height of the so-called refugee crisis of 2016, news articles reported on the subject with headlines of “fortress Europe” when describing immigration into the European Union (Malik 2018). While the spectacle of borders describes an intensification of territorialization, in other instances conversations on migration are associated with “a borderless world”. That is, how globalization is creating a world with a free flow of goods, services, capital and mobility for humans. These two perspectives on migration are not a comprehensive representation of the many viewpoints in circulation, however, they do illustrate a common theme: an emphasis on borders encompassing nation-states. More precisely, a framework drawing migration as a subject to be conceptualized in relation to the external edges of nation-states and physical politico-territories.

I could not have foreseen the rate at which borders would be apparent in our everyday life when I first started formulating the ideas for this thesis in February 2020. As the world went into lockdown, the global pandemic constricted the mobility of nearly everyone. Some

countries closed their territorial borders completely to foreigners, while others eased their measures to those who could produce a negative Covid19-test. There were also instances of borders being enforced within a country, confining the mobility to provinces, regions and cities. Curfews were also implemented in some instances, creating temporary borders outside private homes. Likewise, social distancing accompanied borders as it set restrictions on social gatherings and regulation of how many people could congregate at shops, offices and classrooms. It seems like exterior borders are not the only way to understand migration anymore (Jones 2016).

Following, these examples from Covid19 make an argument for borders being present in many aspects of spatial life and not just as physicality around a nation-state and lines on a map. Borders should be approached as a more complex phenomenon that encapsulates the many aspects of regulating social space. Therefore, classical concepts of migration also need to be revisited. Because those that hinge solely on the activities occurring at the external edge of the state will ultimately neglect the abundance of borders located within a nation-state. These frameworks of migration imply a dualism between inside and outside of the border, and thereupon, also a dualism between inclusion and exclusion. However, as Covid19 demystifies borders, the same unveiling must be expanded to perceptions of inclusion/exclusion. Residing within the external edges of a nation-state does not necessarily entail inclusion within the society of said nation-state.

As such, organizing migration with the physical border as the main point of departure deposes those who, for example, are legally located within the border of a nation-state while their residence permit is being processed. In the same vein, it dismisses those whose residence permit is accepted but having trouble entering the labour market. Or, to name another example, individuals who may not have migrated themselves but are nevertheless ethnic minorities and are experiencing unfavourable treatment from public officials due to their immigrant background. These examples bring into question dualisms of citizenship and non-citizenship, inside/outside, inclusion/exclusion and other delimitations associated with belonging that can be traced to borders being defined exclusively with reference to a politico-territoriality.

Although the global pandemic has provided us with a new perspective on borders, these insights have been guiding the border literature for a while, and this thesis wishes to continue

that path. That is a path in which migration is studied through other lenses than just the physical demarcation line between states. This chapter begins with a short introduction to border studies within Human Geography and how traditional border studies views questions of mobility. Then, it will continue the discussion of why the external edges of a nation-state are not comprehensive enough as a point of departure. Theories framing institutions will therefore be presented. Borders as institutions examine the processes by which difference is created. Together with constructionist approaches to narratives, the theory can inspect how borders crystalize meanings, definitions and identities.

Afterwards, the thesis turns to theories engaging with borders as a phenomenon that can multiply. With a stance on the proliferation of borders assumes borders to be a heterogeneous and dynamic event. With concepts like borderscape the thesis discusses how theories must understand borders as an assorted phenomenon. In that effect, one can capture the complexities of belonging, the dynamics of identity definitions and how queer ethnic minorities and migrants negotiate the vast networks of borders in their social movement's mobilization. To analyse social movements and queer organizations, this thesis will adopt "border struggles" to study the contestation of borders. This, while simultaneously furthering conceptualization through the lenses of feminist theory. Considering that the thesis intends to study the occurrence of multiple-identity markers in social movement organizing, intersectionality and performativity is also discussed as a connection to borders as method. Here, feminist and queer theory is introduced to facilitate a lens for seizing the production definitions of identity and the intersecting systems partaking in its creation.

3.1. Traditional Border Studies

As the introduction demonstrated, a border is a rather ambiguous entity. Considering the plethora of connotations borders can accommodate, conceptualizing the border can be problematic. From a traditional perspective, borders constitute visible and physical lines of division between political, social and even economic spaces (Newman 2006b), like for example Norway or The European Union. This line of reasoning framed borders as merely exclusionary practices. From this perspective, borders were studied through descriptive analyses of historical and political series of actions that would culminate into its boundary. Thereupon, borders were implied to be outcomes of a diverse set of processes. Such an

analysis can be characterized as typological and deterministic and aims its attention on the physical geographic environments of borders (Newman 2006b).

Along with the increased opening of borders between countries and an expanding European Union during the 1980s and 90s, the major focus of borders within Human Geography was transboundary cooperation (Newman 2006b). Given territoriality's prominence in the geographic study, borders were often studied concerning scalar changes and how it influences border functions. As de-territorialization narratives secured a footing within social studies, border studies adjusted themselves to illuminate the multi-layered compartments of territories (Newman 2006b). Within this stage of the literature, borders, together with the territory, were analysed as entities with internal dynamics able to create change as much as being outcomes of external processes. In other words, Human Geography distanced itself from deterministic formulations of borders.

3.1.1. Fortress- and castle-like metaphors

The traditionalist approach of borders altered towards understanding borders as processes, and not just a demarcation line within academia. Still, popular narratives on migration carried an emphasis on border security. The successive statement is a proposal from the UK regarding a new European Border guard:

“National borders are highly symbolic. They define the territory over which a state exercises sovereignty; they are an integral part of its identity; and they traditionally represent the point at which a person seeking to enter the country must demonstrate their admissibility”

(Proposals for a new European Border Guard, House of Lords, 2003-4 in Carr 2015:11).

Despite originating from the UK, the quote coincides with a narrative of hardening borders circulating in many other western states, such as Australia, the USA and Norway (Carr 2015, Jones 2016). Social movements and activists have since the 1990s brought attention to the global trend of restrictive border practices culminating in a border regime with fortress-like qualities (Georgi 2019). As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, corresponding border regimes are often termed “Fortress Europe” or other imagery alluding to castle-like border practices that exclude or restrict movements of immigrants and refugees (Georgi 2019).

These castle-like images, like the ones found in the proposal above, conceptualizes border regimes exclusively from the eternal edges of a nation-state, or as in the proposal, from the EU borders. Arguably, that framework is complementary with traditional border studies where migration entails a distinct separation between the inside and outside of (a castle). And where nation-state governments hold absolute power in claiming territory. This reduces migration to that precise point in time where a migrant seeks entry by proving admissibility at the border.

Although the quote inhabits problematic temporal confinements of borders, it does illustrate its symbolic power. Consequently, it is made clear in the Proposal for a new European Border Guard, the borders have two functions; 1) represent an area of sovereignty by visualising external bounding of territory of states; 2) being mechanisms in framing nationhood. Be as it may, physical borders are still an important contributor to migration regimes. However, this paper argues against reducing migration to the spaces of physical borders, like these images, because it is not exhaustive. An analysis that is unaccompanied by other aspects of regulation that can occur leaves the framework one-dimensional and with a presumption of a dichotomy between inclusion/exclusion. This is not favourable for the analysis this thesis wishes to embark on.

So, why is it that the border is so difficult to grasp? It is because it is still understood as a static, singular entity, even though framings have elements of process and dynamics. Perhaps understanding them as disappearing is a better plan of attack for this thesis?

3.1.2. The borderless world

If one overlooks the recent changes accompanied with the global pandemic, deterritorialization and the forecast of a borderless world is still held by many today. None more than economists (Newman 2006b). With globalization allowing free flows of goods and mobility for people, one cannot help but anticipate the departure of borders. Consequently, this will result in States removing themselves from governing borders, as activities of transnational capital influence the regulation of mobility. For some it is a utopia to strive towards, for others, it is foreseeing the effects of globalization and transnational cooperation.

Either way, this thesis endorses the contrary. Borders are still relevant today (Newman 2006b), however, the conceptualizations of them need to change. This is not an either/or dilemma; where one either adheres to migratory regimes increasing border security and thus places an emphasis on the physical borders or believes the accelerated processes of globalization will remove borders altogether. It is a question of refocusing the lenses of analysis.

What these two perspectives illustrate, is the innate contradiction of borders today. They are being removed at high rates, yet, simultaneously built and constructed in new ways (Jones 2016). For social scientists, one cannot avoid questioning the nature of border relations, this not necessarily concerning other nation-states, nor physical geography – however, as a reflection of power. We should be interrogating the mechanisms that allow groups to possess the ability to determine, perpetuate, impose and remove lines of separation. Why is it that some individuals can receive the privilege of globalization with easy entrance, while others experience border crossing as aggressive, sinister and cynical? We should therefore question the criteria a border can encapsulate. As such, the borderless discourse can be a prediction for some, while for others, a myth.

These questions leave room for studying how borders can play a vital role in the demarcation of identities. Recalling the Proposal for a new European Border Guard, borders are described as the symbolic representation of the nation it encapsulates. When inspecting borders with the intention of understanding identities, the possibility of extending the framework to include other aspects of socio-spatial life that are not enclosed at the physical border is made possible. As has been pointed out by scholars, borders navigate a plethora of aspects of our lives (Newman 2006b), therefore, it can be fruitful to study how the representation that borders symbolize can be found in other spaces. Borders can be invisible, some made evident with social distancing restrictions, others are taken for granted in our everyday life, but remain instrumental for reflecting and creating societal differences (Newman 2006:172). Those borders can also determine membership within groups, similar to how external borders can be sorting mechanisms.

Consequently, this thesis does not argue for neglecting physical borders, nor a complete dismissal of globalization effects on borders. Instead, this is an advocacy for re-evaluating how we analyse borders. We should further the conceptualizations of the border as processes

to employ it in this thesis. There is reason to contend that globalization has changed how borders operate, a move away from the dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion. This change does not postulate a disappearance, but rather quite the opposite – they are proliferating, expanding and thus continuing to play a vital role in societal and political organization. Before embarking on the expanding aspects of borders, one needs to form an understanding of how borders work. Thereupon, the following section will present contemporary approaches to borders.

3.2. Contemporary approaches to borders

So far, this thesis has argued that borders are more than just physical barriers or lines on a map that signifies division between nation-states. There is reason to believe that borders are not outcomes of processes, but an integral part of the demarcation of its process. It is therefore fruitful to approach borders as institutions, instead of static entities. When allowing the framework to include more aspects of the border, the thesis aims to use these theories to understand how differently situated and intersecting identities experience migration differently. The following sections present Newman's conceptualization of borders as institutions and why this frame of analysis is fruitful for this thesis (2006). Newman argues that borders should be understood as a process constituted of actors with discursive and constructive abilities, two elements that constructionist approaches to narratives will illustrate. Subsequently, the thesis turns to border as method to further its inquiries of the dynamic characters of borders. Continuing its stance on dichotomies, borderscape illustrates the unstable delineations of borders in its creation of differences. Intersectionality and performativity are included to strengthen the conceptualizations of difference-making. Border-struggle, then, conceptualizes how one could productively approach borders to study mobilization strategies of social movements.

3.2.1. Border as institutions

While fortress metaphors reduce migration to the external edges of a nation-state, the main error of the borderless discourse is arguably its neglect of spatial control. More precisely, how they are institutionalized rules with authority to exercise mechanisms of separation (Newman 2006b). Both approaches to migration wrongly conceptualize borders as a-historic, static entities, instead of activities of spatial distribution with flexible characteristics with the

ability to change its function. Hence, academics argue for a broader understanding of borders in the defence of borders as processes (Newman 2006b).

That one may answer what it means for a border to be an institution; one needs to acknowledge that border processes illustrate how borders produce and reproduce spatial differences. “Activity” is a keyword here and alludes to participation in processes rather than being outcomes of them. This view contrasts both the traditional geographic approach presented earlier, as well as argues for borders being an intrinsic part of the political decision-making processes. Conceivably, an advantageous position to claim for this thesis

3.2.1.1. Bordering and demarcation of borders

Furthermore, borders as a process can also be termed as “Bordering” and defined as the demarcation through which categories are made. Borders could therefore be understood as the outcome of different actors exercising creative abilities. These are the tools this thesis wishes to use for analysing the identity markers of a queer ethnic minority and how it appears in social movements. Demarcation of borders and “bordering” can thus be used analogously, and both describe the process “through which borders are constructed and the categories of difference or separation are created” (Newman 2006b:148).

Moreover, bordering is the set of activities leading up to a division between “us” and “them” that borders will ultimately represent. The activities behind the demarcation of the border creating the, seemingly static, outcome of differentiation between “us/them” binary is the point of interest here. This because bordering can illustrate the very criteria of separation between those who are allowed entry, participation and belonging to societal groups, activities or even citizenship, and those who are denied such entry. Bordering can be understood as an ordering of the societal fabric. An example of this was the proposal of a new European Border Guard, where borders could symbolize what is needed to “become one of us”. Interestingly it is not visible in the statement what those criteria entail, approaching borders as institutions can thus unmask the symbolism of borders.

In order to understand the activities leading up to a division between “us” and “them”, this thesis turns to constructionist approaches of narratives as explained by Stuart Hall (Hall 1997). In the chapter “The Work of Representation” (1997:15-71), Hall explains how we engage in cultural practices giving *things* like objects, events and people meaning through

interpretation frameworks. These frameworks are created by how we interrogate the meaning of *things* in our everyday life, at different sites and through different practices. In some instances, the meaning of *things* can give us a sense of identity and says something about who we are and who we are not, where we belong, and subsequently, do not belong. This thesis argues that border processes could be understood as a particular form of making, marking and maintaining identities between groups. Interrogating borders would then entail studying the meaning of a border.

Meaning has, according to Hall, a regulatory effect on our practices. The meaning of a border can organize rules, norms and conventions of the social life it encapsulates. Bordering processes gives individuals shared meanings of *things* through language (Hall 1997). "Language" here is understood in the broadest sense; including images, words, sounds, photos, clothing etc. Language is, therefore, a system of representation that uses different elements like words, images, sounds etc. to signify meaning (Hall 1997). The meaning of a border is shared through language when it represents concepts, ideas or feelings. As the quote from the UK stated, "*National borders are highly symbolic*" as they signify the societal rules within a nation-state. By paying attention to how the meaning of a border is signified, we can question how it expresses ideas of belonging. For example, one can pinpoint what it means to be Norwegian through ideas and images representing national identities (Hall 1997) like skiing and the traditional costume, "Bunad". Albeit a trivial example, it demonstrates how border processes say something about a geographic location, and then what activities are associated with it.

Based on the arguments so far, one could state that borders take part in a production process. The meaning of a border does not exist in the material and natural world, prior to its demarcation. This also opposes the traditionalist approach of the border because it does not assume borders to be a mere reflection of the world.

Consequently, this thesis is interested in what a border means, and will look at this through its signifying practices: the production and circulation of meaning (Hall 1997). More precisely, it is interested in the effects of bordering practice. When explaining the work of representation, Hall refers to the discursive approach as an inquiry into the effects of representation (1997). From this, this thesis will analyse how border processes, that is its meaning, signifying practices through language, are intertwined in knowledge and power. A

border then, consisting of a set of practices and ideas is a latent grid of “knowledge”, that has the power to regulate individual behaviour. Based on Foucault, Hall illustrates that meaning has a regulatory effect by how something is deemed as true (1997). Therefore, a border process naturalises a certain meaning of things and contains acceptable behaviour, expressions and ideas that regulate our social life.

Borders must therefore be studied in relation to knowledge and power, not as separate entities but as intertwined concepts. Border processes take place in a vast system of power relations. It is therefore border processes that allow knowledge to come to be and deems which ideas and behaviours accepted as “true” (Hall 1997). Following, from a Foucauldian perspective, one could argue that borders processes govern how topics are reasoned about, ideas put into practice and utilized in the regulation of others (Hall 1997). Borders are a way of thinking and will therefore appear across different sites. In other words, a border is not one statement, text or a physical site, but a set of practices referring to patterns, objects and strategies. This thesis is interested in how border processes produce ideas and behaviour of queer ethnic minorities and migrants, what meanings lie latent and how the concept is bounded. What is included and excluded in the bounding of “truth” and “knowledge” of a queer ethnic minority? Therefore, borders are institutions because meanings are institutionalized. An event of freezing power relations and naturalizing a particular form of knowledge has taken place.

Even though this might seem bleak, borders can be productive as well as constraining. It should be noted that a border is not imposed by a single unit of individuals upon its inhabitants. Instead, the border process is something we all engage in. Border practices can be described as a dialogue between individuals as we partake in producing and reproducing borders (Hall 1997). One could therefore argue that there is room for contestation. When studying borders as a historical specificity, as a particular form of institution, one can observe how borders change and even the development of new ones. Consequently, one can observe how Salam and QW do more than critique existing narratives but develop new ones which seek to further the opposition to oppressive social structures (hooks 1991). Bordering produces different kinds of truths. Thus one should ask; who and how is something excluded from being true? From this, one might be able to detect how the meaning of a border can change when being challenged by new “truths”. By studying processes one can focus on the activities entailing these relations.

To sum up, border processes occur in a system of power relations, creating different kinds of knowledge. To study border processes, one must approach power and knowledge as intertwined entities; as power/knowledge. Through bordering, this thesis will analyse how power/knowledge occurs in relation to geography – to a specific space. Power, then, produces different kinds of knowledge about geography. Borders are therefore activities and not simply a line on a map. Borders signify meanings and due to its productive nature, the meaning does not already exist in nature waiting to be discovered, but rather process. That is the institutional character of the border.

How does one then study the border processes orbiting queer ethnic minorities? Following Hall, one could argue that the border process presents knowledge about queer ethnic minorities, consequently, it conveys a truth. Furthermore, borders also prescribes a set of rules about the bounding of queer ethnic minorities, in so doing, governing how the topic is conceived. A border also presents a binary between inside and outside, and with it, the border presents certain attributes. Therefore, one should be attentive to personifications of borders. Moreover, border processes institutionalize the definition of queer ethnic minorities over time. A border, then, has historical aspects to it as its authority is found in history (Hall 1997).

Additionally, when ordering spatial life, borders can discipline transgressions. Thus, how border institutions confront those who do not adhere to the border criteria's can illuminate its underlying knowledge (Hall 1997). Lastly, borders present something as a true way to organize ourselves and the social world, this truth has been institutionalized and legitimized in ways that represent a historical moment in time. Consequently, borders are also potential sites for contestation. Understanding how borders come to be could potentially pave the way for change (Hall 1997).

However, it should be noted that this thesis will not engage in a discursive analysis, but rather use Hall's approach to studying the narratives and symbolic practices entailing a border process together with other concepts in a theoretical framework. As such, the questions above will be used to interrogate the data collection.

3.2.1.2. Management of Borders

Demarcation of borders is one of two overarching categories Newman uses to explain borders as institutions (2006b). The other category is *The Management of Borders*. While demarcation represents differentiation, management represents the activities of demarcation. These are the many ways borders are exercised through, for example, politics of migration and integration.

There is a flexible aspect of the management of borders. They can be opened and closed throughout time and space. Due to these factors' borders do not have a universal appearance. Take for example something as casual as a vacation abroad with a destination reached by an international plane trip. The well off can treat themselves to a comfortable first-class seat and ease through border security before boarding, while others will have to settle with coach and long lines at the airport. Others, in contrast, might be met with hostile or even aggressive security officials and subjected to different treatment due to their names, visible religious or ethnic affiliations despite possessing equal citizenship as the other two travellers. Not to mention those who do not possess the needed papers, passport or finance to use this type of transportation. It is therefore important to pay attention to how borders do more than reflect differences between the outside and inside but can also represent the "sharp cut off point between two polarities" (Newman D 2006b:148).

Together, these two overarching categories constitute the system of border demarcation (Newman 2006b). Demarcation of borders and management of its constitutive borders are collectively an institution of the specific social and spatial compartment, which in return are delaminated (Newman 2006b). In sum, bordering defines the inside/outside separation. The border as an activity entails constructive labour and groundwork creating categories that could for example enable discrimination or stereotyping. The result of bordering could be the acceptance for some groups, while simultaneously denying other groups border crossings or entry to participatory arenas (Newman 2006b). However, borders are never a single institution, or process, but exist in a symbiosis of other borders. As the premise of the thesis is to analyse and discuss how multiple-identity markers affect queer ethnic minorities, one should also include conceptualizations of borders that take this into account. Consequently, the book "border as method" is introduced to examine how borders proliferate in heterogeneous manners (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013).

3.2.2. Borders as method

This thesis aims to analyse identity through border lenses. To do so, this paper turns to Mezzadra and Neilson argument of a need to interrogate the conceptualizations of the border literature (2013). And more importantly, how borders can be used as a method (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013). Here, the thesis makes a case for studying the conflictual elements of borders.

It might be needless to state that concepts guide the analysis of the problem, and thus also knowledge production. The book “border as method” by Mezzadra and Neilson invokes a similar logic; methods of knowledge production by which we analyse the societal organization of borders should be scrutinized by researchers and activists alike (2013). As such borders are “not so much a research object as an epistemological viewpoint that allows an acute critical analysis not only how the relation of domination, dispossession, and exploitation are being redefined presently but also the struggles that take shape around these changing relations” (2013:28). In sum, borders are both an epistemological viewpoint through which one could analyse borders as a research object, as well as a site of struggle.

Therefore, when one places borders at the centre of analysis, while simultaneously broadening it as a research object, one could expose characteristics of borders that do not involve the drawing and redrawing of lines on maps as separation tactics or exclusionary tools for nation-states. As a substitute, borders are racialized, sexualized constructions separating individuals (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). Thereupon external borders exist and are tools of physical exclusion, but also have other exclusionary mechanisms. These can be cognitive, cultural and social borders that create boundaries within a nation-state.

As a result, borders can be described as a social method of division as much as physical ones. According to Mezzadra& Neilson, they also are methods of multiplication, suggesting they can both divide geographical space while simultaneously multiplying social differences, in turn, this participates in the emergence of subjectivity (2013). In other words, fortress metaphors would presume an exclusion of all immigrants, when in reality, a filtering process takes place; negotiation of which type, during which temporal confinement and circumstance, a migrant is an accustomed residency. Or how ethnic minorities experience discrimination based on their “immigrant background” despite being born in Norway. One could therefore assert that when borders open to including migrants, a hierarchization process takes place

leaving migrants to be included differently. Mezzadra and Neilson describe this as the heterogenization of borders resulting in differentiated subjectivities and legal statuses, which cannot be captured by the dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion. To summarize, inclusion could be said to exist within a continuum of exclusion. A line of argumentation that might correlate with the queer migrant experience as it is affected by borders of heteronormativity and patriarchy, as well as race, ethnicity, all the while being stationed within the nation-state territory.

Furthermore, border as method can also illuminate the proliferation of borders (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013). The spatiality and function of borders have undergone significant changes due to globalization. These changes are not the result of what the borderless discourse hypothesizes of erasure of borders, but instead because of diffusion and dispersion of borders being negotiated under the conditions of globalization. Alternatively, because the existence of a multiplicity of borders attest to how migration regimes are a contested policy arena where nation-states governments are not the only actor. Instead, one can find a plethora of heterogeneous actors, such as UNHCR, IOM and Frontex. Similarly, actors of queer social movements have different political and social stances. Consequently, the border regime is a fragmented policy arena where actors, NGOs and states alike, strategically decide which issues to prioritize or support. As such, opposing the static description given by castle metaphors where a single actor claims sovereignty (Geiger & Pecoud 2010).

To put it all together, theorizations of borders need to be based on more than just the linear structure enclosing a political territory. Moreover, "Border as Method" can uncover the absence of logic and coherence of migration theorizations by using the border as the focal point of control with a direct link to the scale of the nation-state. Coupling this with borders as institutions, when studying borders as the focal point of control, it is the power-relations emphasized in this thesis. Border processes entail power relations from which different kinds of knowledge is produced. As such, when following the steps laid out earlier on how to study border processes, the proliferation of borders reminds us that power-relations reside in a vast system.

However, how can one study the power/knowledge processes of institutionalized borders? Intersectionality, a current and widespread approach within feminist theory might help capture such complexities. As both a methodology and social theory, intersectionality is

compatible with the proliferation of borders as it emphasizes the power relations of race, gender and sexuality and the knowledge it produces.

The following section will discuss how intersectionality can aid in analysing the complex power/knowledge relations that produce and constrain the definition and representation of queer ethnic minorities.

3.2.3. Intersectionality

As discussed earlier, borders are connected to exclusion and inclusion and these mechanisms can be traced to bordering processes. More precisely, power-relations and their connection to knowledge and truth. The thesis wishes to use borders to study identity and the negotiations that take place around knowledge and truth. Border as method asks the researchers to study border phenomena from the viewpoint of the border, however, borders are implicated in a variety of practices. This has been made clear by both border as institutions and the proliferation of borders. Therefore, this thesis uses intersectionality to narrow the scope of the paper. Intersectionality guides the paper in choosing whose perspective to highlight in this research: actors engaged in queer social movements, hence individuals translating the lived experience of queer ethnic minorities and migration into mobilization.

For the purpose of assisting the conceptualisations of bordering, the thesis will utilize intersectionality, an analytical tool often used to examine the location of an individual within overlapping structures (Crenshaw 1991). Popularly coined by Crenshaw to illustrate how the occurrence of coinciding identity-markers like gender, race, ethnicity and sexuality intersect resulting in the creation of a particular context and experience (1991). For this thesis, it is important to utilize frameworks that can analyse axes of oppressions, the relationship between them, and how they unfold in harmony and disharmony.

Crenshaw observed how studies on discrimination often applied a single categorical axis, as such it could not consider the particular experiences of people with multiple identity-markers (Hopkins 2019). For Crenshaw, Intersectionality was a tool to combat the erasure of black women's experiences of race and sex discrimination (Hopkins 2019). The main argument in her theorization is that "mutually constructing systems of power produce distinctive social locations for individuals and groups within them" (Crenshaw 1991:82). Relationality is thus a

key concern of this framework, as it allows for lived embodied experiences to come to the forefront (Crenshaw 1991).

Intersectionality has since the first formulations by Crenshaw gained traction both within and outside academia. It has been applied in various ways: as epistemological practice, ontological framework, political orientation or as a framework for social justice (Hopkins 2019). Without a specific method and methodology, researchers have applied Intersectionality with an array of approaches. This thesis will argue that the proliferation of borders and border-struggle are compatible with intersectionality. With that aim, the thesis turns to Hopkins article, *Social Geography 1: Intersectionality*, it is argued that when studying migration, researchers should be sensitive to an individual's connection to multiple places and localities (2019). This can be explained as a trans locational or multilevel positionality, and arguably, when saturated through the lenses of gender, ethnicity and sexuality, can enrich understanding of migration (Hopkins 2019). Especially, when it also questions narratives of identity.

However, another way to utilize the concept is by studying subjectivity and the unique personal experiences that border processes can produce. Therefore, the thesis presents Butler's notion of performativity, a conceptualization often used to study gender and the political and social forces constructing and normalizing practices. Hopefully, it can illuminate borders as institutions and the power-relations defining and maintaining queer ethnic minorities and migrants.

3.2.4. Performativity

So far, it has been stated that borders tell a story or a narrative. As this thesis aims to understand queer ethnic minorities, it is important to include conceptualizations of how gendered stories are told. Therefore, performativity, another post-structuralist conceptualizations is added and will be used to analyse how borders are a performance.

From a feminist perspective, gender and sexuality can be understood as performative categories (Butler 2002). A person has a fixed Sex (either male or female), which then culture asserts to be a stable gender expression (of either masculinity or femininity), which in turn determines desire. This train of thought is referred to as the heterosexual matrix and

illuminates invisible relations between gender, sex and desire. The heterosexual matrix is a system of power relations that cements as well as reifies itself. Consequently, sexuality and gender should be understood as it pertains to broader cultural narratives (Butler 2002).

One could therefore argue that one must challenge that sex, gender and desire can follow naturally from each other as they do in the heterosexual matrix, because desire cannot be based on binary gender roles. The question to be posed is then, if Sex is not inherently essential – what is it then? For Butler, it is performative. When a person assumes that a person *is* a Sex by virtue of their gender expression, a fallacy is made here based on the ontology of substances, which is artificial and superfluous (Butler 2002).

This could be explained by how regimes of power can reproduce identity concepts of sexual desire that in our language appears as a substance. By substance, it is referred to as physical matters and self-identical beings. Moreover, the metaphysical substances of Sex, Gender and Desire appears as a natural unity, however, this unity is an illusion. An illusion created by and upheld by regimes of power that naturalizes identities through our language (Butler 2002). Consequently, Non-binary identities or trans persons who have not undergone hormonal or surgical transitions would, according to this line of reasoning, not be the gender they identify with as their physical appearance does not match.

To put it differently, gender is produced through social rituals. These social rituals rely on institutional support, as such it is suggested that gender identities are performances. Gender is therefore something one does, not something one is. Performative aspects of gender are important to queer migration and questions of sexuality because the naturalized social ritual is based on heterosexuality. These arguments will later be used to question the premises of credibility assessments. If an individual acts according to what is deemed intelligible within a sexual gender system, how can there be an authentic expression of such identity? It is therefore critical to consider how identities and desires can deviate from the heterosexual matrix.

Some have critiqued performativity for being a theory assuming a subject-less conception of agency. This thesis does not follow cultural pessimism, and instead, proposes the possibility of demystification of gender. The repetitive character of gender performances can arguably be open to the possibility of subversion of gender norms through “resignification” or repetition of gender performances outside of the original context.

Borders are what allows the thesis to study contestation, because of its focus on the creation of new border meanings. Especially when accompanying Hall's outlining of observing the meaning of categories because performativity can tend to how new border meanings, ideas and practices originate. Even though performativity suggests that actions and practices are performative, it does not diminish their ability to be perceived as "real". After all, they do contain meaning. The aim of this thesis is not the discovery of authentic identity, but the power of performative utterances and therefore the function of the border. The thesis studies how border functions are experienced by queer social movements and how they contest the regulatory mechanisms of borders.

However, to properly use subjectivity within the framework of borders, the following sections will discuss how borders create differently situated subjects. By understanding that borders are sites of struggle, one can understand the conflicting tensions actors. Borderscape is therefore presented as a means to emphasise the spaces of political possibilities that social movements engage in. There is a performative aspect of borders that can be captured by studying borderscape.

3.2.5. Borderscape and the emergence of differently situated subjects

So far, this thesis has tried to illuminate other functions of borders than just the edges of a state. Borders are tools for determining the composition of subjects within a nation-state and do so by for example encouraging some performances, norms, values and even identities while deterring others. Borders have also proliferated in a manner of convergence in contingent frames that systematically promote certain performances (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). The uniqueness of the queer ethnic minority experience demands analytical lenses that are in turn unique, and perhaps even challenging the traditional understandings of political organizations and notions of belonging. Therefore, the following paragraphs will present concepts such as borderscape and border-struggle.

Borders influence the composition of subjectivities. Whereas classical notions of subjectivity frame them as a relationship between the subject and the nation-state, multiplication of borders contests a one-sided dimension of subjectivity. Instead, the border as a method

understands borders as spread throughout the whole society, which is termed Borderscape. In other words, within the Borderscape exists a convergence of a multiplicity of borders with all their practices and narratives (Paasi 1999:670 in Mezzadra & Neilson 2013:13). As such, borders are converging systems or social constructions of power and meanings. What Mezzadra and Neilson term the convergence of social constructions of power and meanings is arguably similar to what Newman terms the demarcation of borders, that is the process of creating categories of difference, as mentioned earlier in the thesis (2006b).

Therefore, queer ethnic minorities must first be analysed in accordance with a multiplication of social differences, and secondly, as intersecting systems of control that distort boundaries of inclusion/exclusion. A false dichotomy assuming migrants situated inside or outside a "castle" can result in the erasure of queer ethnic minority experiences of border literature. The Borderscape then can be interpreted as the activities of the border allowing geographers a framework beyond state-centric and state physical borders without leaving behind the aesthetic nature of the border.

Subjectivities, however, emerge around the uneven layering of borders in the Borderscape. When these formations of subjectivities are conflictual, the event taking place can be defined as a "Border-Struggle" from which the outcome is political subjectivities. Due to the dynamic character of the Borderscape, one cannot help but assume that experiences of belonging differ from individual to individual. Consequently, the political subjectivity is a product of an embedded subjective experience – the political subjectivity of the queer ethnic minority. Following previous arguments of borders being more than crossing state edges, border-struggle include other border crossings such as narratives and everyday practices "by which migrants and by extension ethnic minorities continually come to terms with the pervasive effects of the border, subtracting themselves from them or negotiating them through the construction of networks and transnational social spaces" (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013:13). Therefore, it is compatible with performativity and its approaches to identity and identity-formation.

In conclusion, the thesis has so far pointed out the problematic aspects of using dichotomies like interior/exterior as the basis for analysis and proposed "Border as Method" as an alternative. This theoretical frame analyses borders as a site of many struggles and negotiations, which at the surface illuminate different subjectivities. "Border as method",

therefore, combines both the material and ideological components of borders to account for how globalization prompts significant changes to the spatiality of borders (Andrijasevic 2009). In contrast to castle metaphors that reduce borders to geographical circumscriptions, Borderscape can analyse the proliferating borders constraining queer migration.

The thesis intends to use these concepts to analyse how intersecting identity-markers like sexuality, ethnicity and gender create borders for queer migrants. Instead of basing the analysis on the dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion, one could consider how subjects are affected by multiple domains of regulations. Likewise, through borderscape and border-struggle, one could study how activists such as Salam and QW contest the borders produced at the scale of the nation-state by government authorities, or community-level scale with religious community members or even within the queer movement. It is therefore fruitful to use an analytical frame that exceeds traditional conceptualizations of borders as they suggest a one-dimensional analysis of migratory movement and perhaps even erases differently situated subjectivities to those of male, cis-gendered and heterosexual expressions.

Consequently, the border theories chosen by this thesis are compatible with logics of intersectionality with its rejection of the singular axis of identity categories when analysing belonging and identities. The borderscape emphasises how forms of inequality are mutually constitutive as an interlocking system of oppression. By not viewing them as separate systems of oppression, the borderscape is an intersectional approach displaying sensitivity towards multi-layered experiences. Therefore, we observe a rejection of dichotomy and an embrace of social stratification. Moreover, border-struggle stresses the subject formation that occurs when actors engage with borders and different identity-markers creates a specific political subjectivity.

As an epistemological tool, borderscape and border struggle is inherently intersectional and can illuminate the complexities of the queer migratory experience. The thesis will therefore use it to study the process of bordering and how it creates specific outcomes. Borderscape and constructive approaches to narratives are compatible because power is productive, it involves opposition as well as suppression. Borderscape is the constant negotiations about identities and should be analysed as continually moving.

Consequently, borders are important in the production of political subjectivity. As have been argued so far, borderscape can aid in understanding new forms of belonging and becoming, hence the emergence of differently situated subjectivities. A common theme in this chapter is a wish to study how a variety of bordering practices can change social and political configurations and borderscape as a concept is another step in that direction. The spaces of borders are illustrated as fluid and changing. When discussing borders as institutions, it was explained how bordering is a set of practices with many actors taking part in – and Borderscape continues to narrow this thought as it explains how borders are traversed by many narratives, practices and relations creating endless shifts in belonging and exclusion (Brambilla 2015). The shift in academia from studying borders to studying bordering brought a focus on the procedural elements of borders. This thesis intends to use Borderscape to analyse how the narratives of the border are constantly being negotiated.

An approach to capturing the emergence of differently situated subjects can be through borders performative aspects. The thesis translation of border as institutions and the power-relations that define and maintain queer ethnic minorities goes hand in hand with Butler's conceptualization of performativity.

3.3. Summary of theoretical framework

The topic questions are: what borders confronts queer ethnic minorities in Norway, how does borders affect them and how can social movement actors resist borders? In order to answer these questions, the thesis posits the following conceptual tools: Borders as Institutions and the processes through which difference is created. Border as Method, with the proliferation of borders, the borderscape, and border-struggles. As well as feminist theories such as Intersectionality and Performativity. The analytical tools were discussed in relation to each other and can arguably be helpful in analysing bordering of Queer Ethnic Minorities. The theoretical framework, then, divides the concepts into three segments; identifying the borders, mechanisms of borders and how does Salam and QW contest borders.

The first segment, identifying the borders, aims to discuss what the borders are and what stories they tell. In so doing, the segment includes borders as institutions, consisting of management of borders which refers to actors through which the border is upheld, and the

demarcation of borders and the discursive work a border entail. Beginning with outlining the border managers, that is, the actors engaged in upholding, producing and reproducing the borders through sets of practices and activities (Newman 2006b). Afterwards, the theoretical framework addresses the demarcation process of the border. As such, asks the data collection the following questions based on Hall's formulation of language (1997:45-46):

1. Statements of the topic that can provide certain kinds of knowledge. Does the border convey a "truth"?
2. Set of rules prescribing ways of talking about the topic, thus also excluding other ways of approaching the subject. Here we pay attention to the bounding of the definition or topic through what is "sayable" about it. Studying rules can give insights into the border mechanisms.
3. Is there a subject personifying the border? Who is "us" and who are "them"? Based on the knowledge about the topic, what attributes do these subjects have? From here, one could detect binaries of the border. Who does it reject, and subsequently, who does it reject? Consequently, can border binaries be uncovered?
4. How did the knowledge about the topic acquire authority? What led to the naturalization of the topic and how was it accepted as truth? This from a historical and spatial perspective.

The next segment of the theoretical framework is, Mechanisms of Borders, and furthers the questions of how they work. As a process, borders proliferate and spread throughout society creating a borderscape. Additionally, borders also intersect creating a specific mode of difference. Furthermore, border processes also discipline transgressions and constitute question 5 of understanding meaning (1997:45-46):

5. How is border transgression, or breaking the rules of the border, treated? How does the border institution confront subjects? Can you say something about discipline for those conducting deviant activity? Whose activity is being regulated and organized? (according to those ideas)

The third and final segment of the framework, how do Salam and QW Contest Borders, discusses Hall's final point (1997:45-46):

6. Studying border processes acquires an acknowledgement of the fact that a different border institution can arise at another historical moment. Institutions can supplant each other, and, in those occasions, new border processes will follow, with new conceptions of meaning, idea and behaviour within new power-relations and new regulations of social practice.

This is followed by conceptualizations of border-struggles in the creation of a complicated relationship between the inside/outside, as well as the emergence of differently situated subjectivities. The framework also utilizes performativity to analyse how borders are the result of social rituals, how can they be subverted?

4. The qualitative research project

The thesis has so far provided a research question and a contextualization of the research within the field of queer social movements. The theoretical chapter then displayed the framework from which the research question could be answered. In this chapter, a methodological framework will be submitted. The research project is of a qualitative nature.

As a tool for acquiring new knowledge, it is common to presume that research methods can assist in objectively and externally presenting the information. Academic research is in essence driven by an eagerness to provide new perspectives, yet, most academic conclusions are limited and even predictable. Nevertheless, there is a value inherent in scientific research due to its ability to improve and monitor the research community for further inquiries. (NESH, 2016, p9). So far, research on queer ethnic minorities in Norway is somewhat limited (Gustavsson 2016), especially from the perspective of Human Geography. The aim of this thesis is to advance this research field by examining queer social movements.

The research method guides the analysis with “how” questions, an inquiry that often appeals to a descriptive approach, rather than the predictive approaches of quantitative methods (Baxter 2016). According to Dalland (2012), qualitative methods give access to in-depth, flexibility and proximity to the research field. Lastly, the central goal for qualitative research could be said to be an expression of how individuals experience their social world and social events (Dalland 2012) One could imagine that understanding how lives are structured necessitates flexible data collection strategies for researchers to account for the complexities of human nature. With this in mind, a qualitative method is the most applicable approach to answer the how question of the thesis; What border confronts queer ethnic minorities in Norway, how does borders affect them, and how does Salam and QW contest them?” Since this research project aims to understand a social phenomenon, qualitative methods are the most applicable approach. This, because as the thesis intends on investigating underlying structures, thought patterns and ideas, a qualitative method is arguably best suited for the task. This is due to its ability to undertake questions of individual experiences and social structures (Baxter 2016).

The remainder of the chapter presents the methodology and methods for the chapter. It is a qualitative case study, with a methodology influenced by feminist philosophical

underpinnings. The data collected are from Salam and QW's internet presence, that is Salam's Facebook- and homepage, and QW homepage and yearly reports. Document and narrative analysis are the chosen strategies for analysing the data collection. For the purpose of ensuring rigour, the chapter presents strategies for achieving quality of the research, and some ethical considerations of the research and myself as a researcher. The final segment presents the data collection process and the coding strategy.

4.1. A Qualitative case study

A research project relies on studying a single unit intensively in pursuance of understanding a similar, but a larger unit in society (Baxter 2016). As such, this research project is also a case study of queer social movements in Norway, with two units; Salam and QW. Within qualitative methods, case studies are often utilized, especially in relation to social research. As a method, it attempts to describe a phenomenon from within the social reality. Consequently, in-depth examination of social events is the underlying principle (Baxter 2016). In situations when embarking on an immense research project, with many participants and a prolonged time frame is not available, the case study can explore events and cases in hopes of understanding why something has or is happening (Andersen 2013).

This thesis aims to gain in-depth understandings of border processes orbiting queer ethnic minorities. It is motivated to be a part of the small, but rapidly growing field of queer migration within the social sciences. The thesis assesses existing theories in neither purely deductive, nor inductive logic in order to expand existing theories. The thesis' supplementation to the existing literature is therefore an attempt to expand theories through a cross-sectional, cyclical theory and theory testing method strategy (Baxter 2016).

4.2. Methodology

Regarding methodology, this thesis aims to align itself with the legacy of black feminist thought and their interrogation of social-sciences assumptions of neutrality (Harding 1992). Appertaining to how reality can be expressed by representations created by the individual mind. And our knowledge of said reality are outcomes of us, as social actors, interpreting encounters in the world. Consequently, a post-positivist and post-enlightenment methodology might be useful (Hardin 1992). In view of how the thesis engages with questions of a subjective matter, studying a world of differently situated subjects, an appropriate choice of

methods hinges on its effectiveness in selecting ontological and epistemological tools sensitive to subjectivity. Therefore, constructivist and idealist based on feminist methodology, highly influenced by feminist knowledge production, is best tailored for studying social phenomena of this nature.

Before embarking on a research project, the researchers should make clear their philosophical apprehension of the nature of social reality. Thus, ontology and epistemology are two central factors of a researcher's perception of reality. Whilst an ontological position describes assumptions of the nature of social reality, epistemology is a related set of attitudes towards how knowledge of a particular reality can be obtained (Blaikie 2007). Together these assumptions have methodological implications, and feminist knowledge production has presented various ways of approaching the nature of social reality (Johnson 2009).

Enticed by the social justice and protest culture of the 1960-70s, feminist movements campaigned for equal rights and the end of discrimination by appealing to the female experience in politics, work, family and sexuality (Johnson 2009). For academia, this era which is often referred to as “second wave feminism”, critiqued the ways in which women were included in academic establishments and research (Johnson 2009). Broadly speaking, this entailed an inquiry into the production of knowledge and whose knowledge could be redeemed as scientific. This thesis argues that the feminist tradition within human geography provides the thesis with applicable lenses for research. As such, the following paragraphs present the ontological and epistemological assumptions of this tradition.

Feminist knowledge production is often affiliated with the idealist ontology (Blaikie 2007) and refers to how the external world consists of representations made by the individual mind. The idealist ontology has many subcategories, but they converge in the assumption that our representation of social reality creates an impression of being real. Consequently, the nature of social reality is dependent on creative activities and subjects constructing the world of objects (Blaikie 2007). Social actors make sense of the world around them through interpretations through relational activities, resulting in social reality consisting of shared interpretations (Blaikie 2007). The nature of social reality is therefore a multiple one without one “true” reality out there, waiting to be discovered by social scientists (Blaikie 2007). Accordingly, the theories will concur with how reality is often dependent on the individual experience.

If feminist methodology prescribes an idealist ontology to “the study of being”, how can one obtain knowledge about this reality? In answering what constitutes knowledge and how it can be acquired, constructionism might be compatible. While idealist ontology frames social reality as shared interpretation, constructionism indicates that knowledge cannot be discovered through reason alone, nor is it external to humans. Instead, social actors interpret social reality through meaning-giving processes. Similar to idealist ontology, constructionism has several subcategories, however, the approach this thesis follows is Social constructionism and argues that the activities behind meaning-giving are a social process between individuals as they create reality (Blaikie 2007).

Consequently, constructionism extends itself to hold scientists accountable for their knowledge production. Just as social actors construct their reality through interpretations and conceptualizations of experiences, scientists also interpret the reality of their social research (Blaikie 2007). Assuming knowledge is a social matter, one could argue that all knowledge and observation is laden with theory. When researching social phenomenon like this thesis intends to do, one does so within personal frameworks of shared interpretations, languages and practices (Blakie 2007). This will be further elaborated when discussing the ethical considerations of this research.

Nevertheless, feminist methodologies questions biases associated with knowledge production (Cresswell 2013). Idealism and constructionism dissent the takes on pure objective empirical positions and contends that the social world is situated and differentiated. Pure objective empirical positions claim absolute knowledge and the universalist legacy of positivism can be accused of embodying a masculine perspective of what could be considered science (Johnson 2009). The “objective” is in many ways a view from however due to its external and disembodied approach to knowledge. Such a view is arguably resided in the privilege of an unmarked body, contrary to marginalized, hence marked bodies, who cannot enjoy the benefits of dissociation from their social position (Cresswell 2013). Data collection strategies must adhere to the epistemological sensitivity of situated knowledge.

Being sensitive to situated knowledge is done in two ways; firstly, by acknowledging personal biases, as will be discussed later in the thesis, and secondly, using Salam and Queer World as an attempt at aspect seeing. Collecting data from their internet presence centres the

thesis attention on how they perceive their social world and is an epistemological stance on how knowledge can be acquired (Cresswell 2013). As such, it posits that their situated knowledge is for scientific research (Cresswell 2013). This resembles the feminist “Standpoint Theory”, that posits that the world is socially constructed, and an individual’s experience will influence the constructed social reality (Cresswell 2013). Nevertheless, it cannot be over accentuated the limits to the research project due to its reliance on internet data. The thesis still positions itself as an “outsider”, viewing in, even though it attempts to view borders from the perspectives of Salam and Queer World.

4.2. Analysis strategy

The data collection consists of information gathered from Salam and QW’s internet presence. In order to answer the research question, the thesis posits two analysis strategies: document analysis and narrative Analysis.

4.3.1. Document analysis

Document analysis is traditionally used to research linkages between written documents and reality. In other words, the relation between the semiotics and materiality (Asdhal 2015). The adoption of document analysis is justified because Salam and QW’s internet presence can be understood as documents in the sense that they are communicative tools to convey messages to readers. By accounting for the relations of semiotics-materiality, these documents might have been an integral component of everyday life (Asdhal 2015). For this research, documents can illustrate social borders for queer ethnic minorities, as they describe their grievances. As social organizations, their internet presence could give insights into how boundaries affect their social reality. Arguably, the documents chosen are shaping and reshaping understandings of external reality through their conceptualizations of queer struggle.

According to Asdhal, document analysis is a form of qualitative research where documents are analysed with the purpose of considering a theme (2015). This process includes coding collected content and relating it to the researchers chosen theme of inquiry. Perhaps a paradox when considering the paperless era we live in, but when thinking about documents, one might find oneself associating it with piles of paper and files. Our society is predicated

on different forms of documents. And some are more sophisticated and systematized than others. In order to be declared a document, it must have been preserved or have been recorded to represent, reconstitute or obtain a physical or intellectual phenomenon.

Documents carry the ability to create links between the textual and the real world (Asdhal 2016). As a piece in a larger process and context, documents can be used as an integral part of the case study (Asdhal 2015).

Asdhal posits three pathways of document analysis: the document as a text, the document as a process and the document as a context (2015). In doing so, the researcher asks the documents questions to uncover new information about the case. Through approximating documents as text, one takes note of who the author is, genre, narratives and what the text is conveying to their readers. Whereas approximating documents as processes, the researcher concentrates on its history, production process, its circulation and reception. Lastly, approaching documents as a context implies observing what perspectives are legitimized, and how this has come to be.

Consequently, document analysis reflects the underlying logic of analysis language discussed under methodology, as well as the theoretical framework and its emphasis on borders as a process with semiotic capabilities. This thesis aims to understand border processes and their implications for belonging - this from the aspect of Salam and QW. That being the case, the documents in question are based on their internet presence through social media and their homepage. Moreover, academic papers written on the subject, especially in a Norwegian context can expand the areas where this thesis falls short. Therefore, the document analysis will be conducted on both primary and secondary sources.

4.3.2. Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis is suitable for studying the intersecting role of gender and sexuality in the production of borders. Based on Loseke's interpretation of narrative analysis, this thesis finds the analysis strategy useful for studying the production and reproduction of border meanings (2007). Narratives are often presented as objective truths, however, upon closer inspection, one can reveal how they are subjective positions intertwined with normative statements (Loseke 2007). This thesis explores culturally bound narratives and their ability to be tools

for border processes, as both tools for meaning-making and legitimization for social authorities and social movement actors. Based on those grounds, narrative analysis follows the logic of idealist ontology.

Narrative analysis is a strategy with many approaches, and for clarification this thesis follows Loseke's reading who claims that narratives can be upheld and produced at many layers of society, hence be researched thereafter (2007). Arguably, such a reading is very compatible with human geographical thought and its conceptions of scale. Narrative creation can be created on multiple levels, that is scales, of social life. A reflexive understanding is integral to this thesis. With its basis in scalar conceptualization, narrative analysis corresponds with the view of a complex relationship of the socio-spatial organization without clarity of where one layer begins and another ends. In other words, the strategy harmonizes with the overall aim of this thesis, which is to investigate the narrative of queer ethnic minorities.

There are four scales or levels according to Loseke, available for examination: cultural identity, institutional narratives, organizational identities and lastly, personal identities (2007). Picking apart the compartmentalization of socio-spatial arrangement into four layers may be fruitful for exploring borders of belonging.

First is the scale of cultural identity, which are (re)produced at the macro-level as a simplification of an otherwise complex group of people (Loseke 2007). These identities exhibit a normative distribution of responsibilities as well as cultural codes for a given society, as such, they can shape the social world. However, despite their broad reach, they face contestation within the communities they appear in. It is therefore important to keep in mind that culture is not a singular or overarching entity because the rivalry between thought communities often appears (Loseke 2007). This echoes the theoretical framework and borders' ability to provide knowledge about a topic. This is exactly why studying cultural identities through the perspective of Salam and Queer World would be interesting, as one could analyse their perception of cultural identity through contestation or corroboration. The cultural identities open for this thesis as thus both the dominant, along with the contesting narratives over queer ethnic minorities.

The second scale is the level of institutional narrative identities and can be found at the meso-level. It can be imagined that this is the level that cultural identities manifest themselves

(Loseke 2007). The norms and values of the cultural identities are often reflected in policies, laws and even justification of decisions and institutional arrangement (Loseke 2007). Consequently, cultural identities have a material component as these narratives are stories defining the problem, cause of the problem and thus the direction of the policy.

Third, and also at the meso-level, one finds the scale of organizational identities. In this thesis, the organizational scale refers to social movements like Salam and QW. Generally, organizational identities are often used to study those who carry out policies, however, this thesis found it interesting to explore how organizations strategically position themselves in agreement as well as in conflictual positions to cultural narratives (Loseke 2007). Fourth, and finally, at the micro-level; personal identities. These are the narratives made to evaluate personal experiences, often in relation to other circulating social stories (Loseke 2007). This was initially the least critical scale for this thesis.

However, in relation to the theoretical framework, the cultural identities can be hypothesized through how they manifest themselves. From the institutional level and organizational level, the thesis will outline some cultural identities by analysing how border processes create and communicate meanings. This is to say, that the cultural identities can be hypothesized when discussing the discursive aspects of the border. There is an emphasis on the scale that could connect the data collected to the theory, through narrative analysis. Hopefully, by fashioning the analysis strategy to the theoretical framework, the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of both chapters make it easier to observe emerging findings in the data.

4.3. Ensuring rigour

The foregoing methodological discussions have provided the reader with connections between theory, data collection and analysis. As complementary segments in the research can illustrate a coherent framework throughout the paper. That is done by producing theoretical explanations of the case, followed by sufficient abstractions that later might enlighten the case study (Baxter 2016). In the same vein, the following segments illustrate how the research could be transferable; the research produced explains the phenomenon in a credible manner. Hence, the phenomena appearing in the case reflect a greater population (Baxter 2018). The tools and criteria chosen are transferability and triangulation. When reviewing

trustworthiness of the finished product, ethical considerations are made. Here, reflexive management is performed when assessing the ethical conduct of the project, as well as my role as a researcher.

4.3.1. Transferability

Being a creative process, transferability of qualitative projects relies on innovative behaviour. By this, one argues for a rejection of the separation between the scientific and the rational, from the creative and rhetorical (Bailey et.al. 1999). Ensuring rigour, and a degree of generalizability of the creative process, the language of conviction needs to reflect that very nature. That is, a language applicable for evaluating research that explores questions of a situated world of identity, narratives and experiences. Of necessity, the thesis aims for trustworthiness, as will be reviewed later, and transferability due to them being suitable for synthesizing the dialectical logic of rhetorical and scientific thinking this thesis aims for (Bailey et.al.1999). This thesis is transferable because of the theoretical assumptions made in the previous chapter; that borders can be understood as processes and performances. The assumption can be studied concerning individuals who reside in spaces not made for them. An example briefly touched upon in the discussion chapter is the bounding of categories of refugee and asylum; how it is discursively made and not a pre-existing category. Moreover, the assumption could further some of the inquiries of the thesis, continuing to study queer identities. For example, providing deeper insights into religious queer identities, or non-conforming gender expressions such as trans and non-binary. Hopefully, the assumption could also be utilized in studying non-normative ontological positions that differ from the hegemonic western perceptions on history, gender and sexuality.

However, this is within some limitations, because transferring to other contexts requires conceptual lenses that adhere to the social reality under study. Additionally, there were limitations to how the data collection could provide insights to all aspects of the data collection. Furthermore, human behaviour is not predictable, and deeply complex. When studying social phenomena, researchers must accept that findings cannot be generalized in the same manner that the traditional sciences assume they can. Language is also under constant change. The immutability of how we understand and assign meaning to social interactions makes the findings transferable only within specific contexts. This thesis is therefore transferable within a dependable context, a context where the theoretical framework can account for the meaning of social practices being studied.

4.3.2. Triangulation

Moreover, triangulation is achieved through applying multiple methods, sources and theories throughout the research project (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016). Triangulation, then, can provide the thesis with reliability and accuracy. The theoretical framework attempts at an interdisciplinary practice as it combines and connects theories from different disciplines, human geography and feminist theory. Not necessarily to provide contrasting perspectives, but to build upon each other in order to say something about the complex bordering of queer ethnic minorities. The data collection relies on different forms of documents, speeches, videos, pictures, social media posts, books, rapports and podcasts. However, using more data collection methods would improve the triangulation of the thesis; in-depth interviews for example could improve the findings.

The thesis investigates two different organizations with varying approaches to politics and community outreach. Salam is a younger organization who focuses on ethnic minorities who also are Muslim and are a vocal political actor in media. QW is an older organization, however still young compared to other queer organizations in Norway and have a stronger institutional presence. By that I refer to their engagement with asylum reception homes, communication with the department of immigration and diversity, as well as the many services they provide for their audience. As such, choosing these two organizations could provide a picture of the ethnic minority queer movement in Norway.

When I began the research project, I had envisioned a linear process, however, I soon realized that research is rarely conducted in such a manner. Instead, the series of actions receiving a result came about in a hermeneutic circle; “starting from the interpretive community and involving our research participant community and ourselves, before retiring to our interpretive community for assessment” (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016:126). Meaning that even though academic research is a systematic business, it is also innately social. Being an activity driven by values and norms, researchers are committed to the scientific ideal of searching for truth, without guaranteeing to be able to achieve this goal.

Evaluating this thesis sustainability requires one to consider if findings in this study can be corroborated with similar studies, and about the researcher's ability to be reflective of their own interpretations. Even though the thesis finds itself in a small field; human geographical queer studies in Norway, this is not the first attempt to analyse queer ethnic minorities. There is, therefore, a confirmability of the project considering the findings can be confirmed by other studies. Such as Eggebø et.al, who analysed the burden of carrying two identity-markers (2020), or Akin who have written several papers on the discursive creation of refugee categories for non-western queer asylum seekers (2015, 2019 & 2017). There are also several master thesis' produced at the university of Oslo that can corroborate the experiences of being an ethnic minority in queer spaces in Norway, such as Dalsåen and their research on queer Muslims (2017), and Høibråten's inquiry into minority-stressors for queer ethnic minorities (2018).

4.3.3. Ethical considerations

Conducting academic research is a responsibility that master students do not take lightly, certainly when their research is based on non-governmental organizations. Ensuring an ethical conduct throughout the thesis hinges upon the criteria of trustworthiness (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016). And achieving trustworthiness can be done through reflexive management which is about ensuring transparency and being aware of personal biases (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016). Beginning with transparency, which refers to reporting extensively on the stages of the research process in order to give illustrative descriptions of observations and decisions made. This is practiced during the deliberations on the data collection process, where I account for how the data was collected and coded. Transparency could provide the readers with a back-trail, contextualize observations and the possibility of dissecting the transferability of the research project (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016). However, it should be noted that the thesis strives towards transparency. Meaning, the paper has been open about the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the thesis as well as the motivations for conducting the research. Openness is without a doubt a forceful instrument for ensuring trustworthiness, but in the same vein transferability has limits, the same goes for transparency. It is inevitable that decisions were made based on intuition, subconsciously and without necessarily deliberating on them.

4.3.3.1. Of the data collection

Regarding the data collection, the data consists mostly of online content. The primary ethical consideration is to correctly cite the documents so that verification of arguments and assertions is possible. The attachment provides links to the posts as well as the date it was published. It is divided in two sections, one for Salam and one for QW, with titles describing the content of the link. Moreover, the internet can often feel like its own society, place and virtual community. Basing the research on this kind of data collection could therefore be justified. Being a material consisting mostly of words it is compatible with document analysis. Although within the political context, actions are prioritized over words, this thesis contends that words and actions are interrelated. Of course, words can be empty and non-binding, but that does not take away their power in providing legitimacy and providing meaning to social relations. Online content and its language play an active role in producing and reproducing everyday life by conveying information, feelings and perspectives (Tjora 2018).

Despite being content available to the public, the thesis does not refer to members of the organizations by their real names. Although giving them aliases could be perceived as an attempt to erase their work, the justification for this choice was to make it easier to write about them. The aliases provide a veil that reorients the attention towards the organization and away from them as individuals. Although removing the link between the thesis and the individuals could simultaneously remove them as authors of their own work (Alcoff 1992), the attachment provides sources for the data collection thus crediting them for their authorship. Additionally, aliases protect them from possible biased or wrong analysis of their statements. It is also of utmost importance that translations do not misrepresent opinions and ideas. Furthermore, it was important to me to present the participants as individuals with agency, who are active participants in border processes and not as victims a thesis *speaks on the behalf of*.

4.3.3.2. Of myself as a researcher

As previously mentioned, reflexive management requires one to consider how the subjectivity of the researchers affect the project. The following segment attempts to do that.

My role as a researcher of this project cannot be characterized as absolute objective, however, it has been motivated by carrying out the research with integrity, honesty and respect for the sources. Subjectivity is always a looming danger when analysing social events. As have been stated in relation to methodological consideration, the researcher is a part of a society and thus also societal processes like the ones being studied. The research produced is never a view from nowhere, but highly influenced by personal perspectives. Being knowledgeable of the social event prior to the analysis could therefore be beneficial. Trying to understand the different representations of social groups of / in the project before conducting the data collection can hopefully aid in not reproducing social biases in the research.

As previously mentioned in the methodological section of the paper, social actors actively interpret their world, arguably, the same goes for researchers. This thesis uses concepts, theories, as well as knowledge of our world and actions to analyse the social world under question (Dowling 2016, Stratford & Bradshaw 2016). Positionality is therefore important to consider for researchers. For many, positionality has become a buzzword for papers within and outside of the social sciences. However, for it to come to pass in this paper, positionality is applied and reflected upon at every turn, step and discovery throughout the research.

I can also explicitly state that I have a form of commitment to what is being researched by being acquainted with some of the members in Salam, Queer World, various activists and the organizations they affiliate themselves with. These acquaintances were done prior to the research project, and through university and common friends. It is therefore unlikely for me to be completely neutral, nevertheless, it is not a goal either. But being open about my own perspectives, how I understand the social event and how it can affect the research, is. An effort has therefore been made in order to reflect on actions taken. Nevertheless, removing all forms of subjectivity is an impossible task, nor should it be a qualifying factor for proper research. Likewise, complete objectivity or neutrality is inaccessible for academic research as we all commence and explore our research questions with personal experiences as well as collective attributes for interpretation from our research communities (Baxter 2016).

I am without a doubt engaging in a sensitive field as a researcher. As has been previously mentioned, subjectivities shape the social world. Therefore, one cannot go about this research project without an internal interrogation of positionality. Or more precisely, how my position in the social world both as a researcher at UiO and myself on a personal level can affect the

research findings (Dowling 2016). I am a cis-gendered woman with Norwegian citizenship; hence, complications can therefore occur when writing about a diverse while simultaneously marginalized group such as those carrying identity-markers of queer and migrant. However, my minority ethnic background might have granted me the privilege of a “double knowledge” of the experiences of the world of migration. With parents who immigrated from Somalia and Portugal/Cape Verde, I am privileged with insight to ethnic minority communities. Nonetheless, it is still within some limits. Regardless of my positionality in some instances entails writing from a place of knowing, I will always be writing from a place of learning. Consequently, I attempt to listen to, and speak to, the data collection, instead of speaking behalf of or about the Salam and QW. This can provide a counter-sentence between us (Spivak 1988). In that way I neither decline my positionality as a master’s student nor assume to represent QW and Salam without flaws (Alcoff 1992). Thus, critical reflectivity is an important tool for safeguarding ethical standards in the research.

4.4. Data collection and selecting participants

The case is an example of a general process that can be theorized, as such Salam and Queer World mobilization are cases of bordering processes of Queer Ethnic Minorities. The thesis does not have informants, but through collecting empirical information from their internet content, they are passive participants of the project. Salam and Queer World were chosen due to their participation in the Norwegian queer movement as the only major representatives for ethnic minorities, migrants and Muslims. As mentioned previously, the thesis relies on their internet presence.

On one hand, the internet has undoubtedly changed how many social movements mobilize, thus, studying organizations through their own channels for communicating to their audiences is an interesting take. Social media and homepages illustrate how they articulate to their audiences. With their own symbols and language, the thesis can observe the collective identity they form. On the other hand, I can be faced with the problem of speaking for others considering the liberties I take when analysing their meaning and translating the actual language (from Norwegian to English). When I speak, I cannot transcend my social location as an outsider and a master’s student, hence will have epistemically significant impact on my claims (Alcoff 1992). There is also the possibility of reinforcing narratives when analysing

the data collection. Having conducted in-depth interviews could have curbed some of these issues, although I would be speaking about them nonetheless (Alcoff 1992).

The internet presence studied were platforms such as their Facebook-page and their homepage. Other social media outlets were rejected because the content was too similar. This choice was shaped by the ongoing pandemic, and the fluctuating restrictions on social gatherings at the time. Therefore, the participant selection followed an opportunistic and convenience sampling, where leads were flexible based on access in the field (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016). Moreover, Salam and Queer World are two different organizations, with varying mobilization strategies and political goals. One could argue that Salam is more present on their Facebook-page, engage in what could be said to be political discussions and community organizing, while Queer World are characterized by their community engagement like community building, engaging in research and direct services for their audience. Therefore, the empirical data from Queer World is heavily influenced by their homepage.

The thesis also made a conscious decision of a time frame for which the sampling should be done. The data collected from Salam consists of Facebook-posts and homepage submissions from 2019-2020 and includes statements, videos of speeches and reports of news articles. The data did not include reposts that they did not write themselves, to preserve their active voice throughout the collection. Furthermore, they also have a podcast available for the public. The episodes published at the time were: “Black Lives Matter” (July 2020), “Queer and Islam” (October 2020), “Trans-mess” (November 2020). Regarding Queer World, the data consists mostly of their homepage, where they describe their organizational work and reasons for it, as well as yearly reports of their work. The reports included were from 2018-2019. They also participated in one of Salam’s podcast episodes. Moreover, they also had a book available online with poems, drawings, fictional and nonfiction texts. The title of the book is “I am what I am” and was published with IMDi, the Norwegian department of integration and diversity (2020).

As the data collection progressed, an imbalance between the organizations developed. The collection has more datum from Salam than Queer World. This can be a result of several reasons, due to their usage of social media and homepage differently or that the content Salam had available was more applicable for this thesis than Queer World. Nevertheless, the thesis managed to ensure significant insights to the research in the selection of data. If the

data can be utilized to analyse meaning within a specific context, perhaps the sample can justify its imbalance (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016).

4.4. Coding strategy

On the subject of the coding process, the coding program NVivo 12 was used. A tool often used for qualitative data. NVivo was chosen based on recommendations from others and through the introduction provided by the master thesis program. This is a suitable tool for systematizing interview data and producing different categories from the empirical data. For coding of their internet presence to be carried out in NVivo, podcasts had to be transcribed and online texts had to be copied and posted into separate documents.

On that account, the subsequent paragraphs will present the metadata activities of the thesis, that is, the process of creating data about data, in the forms of codes, categories, analytical memos and graphical summaries (Saldana 2009). Coding strategies entail the process between data collection and the researchers' more extensive data analysis; therefore, coding is a mental process that goes under the analysis of qualitative data (Saldana 2009). A code can be said to represent a datum's primary content and essence in the same way a title captures a book's content and essence (Saldana 2009). There are many ways to carry out a coding process. Instead of following a standardized terminology or a specific genre or methodology, the thesis employed consistency and transparency throughout the coding process.

The coding took place in the form of categories, and in the first coding process it was useful to retain the three major themes: outlining the border, reactionary border contestation, innovative contestation. As will be argued for, the themes were identified based on the narrative analysis. Additionally, the coding happened in three rounds, accordingly, the coding process was hermeneutic (Saldana 2009).

I began with coding after identity-scales of narratives; meso, institutional, organizational and the personal. Here I made a layout of the different borders, and paid attention to the units of social organization and their scalar position. As such, the narrative analysis was followed. Roles, like politicians, policy-makers at the institutional level, religious leaders and activists at the organizational level, were observed. Actors who could be representing Institutional identity narratives were immigration authorities and foreign policy makers. And actors who

could be representing organizational identity narratives, other than QW and Salam, were Palestine Committee and Kurdistan Committee, Fri, Patient Organization for Gender Incongruence, Garmeres, to name a few. Identifying the roles captured the essence of the theme, a strategy that is often referred to as code-lumping (Saldana 2009). When coding for this theme, I focused on how Salam and QW encountered these organizations, as well as each other. What could be said about their interactions, where they are conflictual or harmonic?

Afterwards, I continued to focus on the organizational identity narratives at the meso-scale, in hopes of gaining insights to other scales. I therefore began coding the datums representing contestation and resistance. By focusing on the essence of the datum, I did code-lumping again (Saldana 2009). However, in this round a code-splitting took place after the lumping, that is continuing to code within the same set of codes. Splitting the code encouraged further scrutiny of the social interactions within the data (Saldana 2009).

The code-splitting began with identifying two subthemes: reactionary contestation and innovative contestation. I paid attention to how the organizations positioned themselves to what they understood as cultural narratives in this part of the coding. Moreover, when coding the subthemes, I took notice of aspects that would later become discussion and analysis topics for the thesis. The aspects were also useful in linking the identity narratives between the scales. Accordingly, cognitive aspects or meanings like ideologies, rules, self-made concepts and identities could be detected (Saldana 2009). Furthermore, the thesis also paid regards to emotional aspects and feelings; if the data expressed sympathy, satisfaction or dissatisfaction (Saldana 2009). Emotional aspects could illuminate the mechanisms of borders and how they were experienced. As such, cultural identity narratives were revealed as aspects illustrating a story that strengthens social coherence within the different borders analysed. When coding contestation, aspects that reinforce social norms or legitimize history became apparent. Either way, the cultural identity narratives were still theory derived. The last aspect guiding the coding process were expressions of hierarchy and inequalities; racial inequalities, religious discriminatory language and gendered assumptions (Saldana 2009).

Throughout the process, writing notes became essential for encouraging the thought process. Writing what the analysis would be able to capture, different ways of sorting the datum as well creating relationships between codes later in the analysis. This is often referred to as analytical memoing (Gibbs 2018). Accordingly, coding became an integral part of the data

analysis as the thesis made inferences and linkages whilst coding the data in NVivo. For this reason, coding became an important step in linking the methodological choice of narrative analysis with the theoretical framework and its emphasis on border narratives.

However, coding is not a strategy without flaws. For several reasons, one could argue that coding is a reductionistic and outdated method for qualitative data analysis. coding is a mechanistic and instrumentalist process that distances the researcher from the data in manners that could portray a false objective stance on the research. being a method that relies on condensing data, one could even argue that this is nothing more than counting. Nevertheless, despite these valid critiques, for this thesis coding is a useful way of analysing the data at hand. As a craft it creates a critical link between the data collection and the data analysis, allowing researchers to translate data for the creation of categorization and pattern detection.

5. Data analysis

The following chapter will perform an analysis of the findings. Following the strategy of the narrative analysis, one could study the findings by being attentive to how narratives manifest themselves at different levels in society. The data collected from Salam and QW illustrates how border activities and meanings are attached to different levels of society and affect their audiences in multiple ways. The data collection also displays how the organization can make use of border meanings located at different levels in order to formulate new narratives.

As has been mentioned earlier, the thesis is interested in how border meanings transmit values attached to sexuality and gender identity, and following the logics of narrative analysis, one could do so by studying the social world through a scalar-lense (Loseke 2007). As such, the first sections of the chapter will outline the borders in order to analyse where they reside. The data collection found the following: at meso-level, the state produces two borders at the institutional level; immigration-border, and foreign politics-borders. Also, at the meso-level, organizations resided. Here, the data collection observed borders within the queer community as well as ethnic minority and religious groups. Furthermore, throughout the chapter it is analysed how the borders affect individuals at the micro-level, as well as how some of the border meanings can be traced to the macro-level, consequently, have values attached to them that displays a specific narrative of belonging.

Moreover, the data collection could divide Salam and QWs border contestation into two different themes: reactionary and innovative. The first theme being reactions to bordering: Establishing new organizations and creating safe spaces. Here, it analysed how Salam and QW create new borders as a retroaction to how their audience experience border practices, like exclusion, due to their identity-markers. Innovative contestation, however, are practices that challenge the dominant borders in a more direct way. They produce new border meanings by creating alliances across state-borders and across organizations. By being visibly queer, they also articulate the erasure of queer people from religion and history, thus challenging the authority of borders. Additionally, through articulating the contradictions of the borders, they portray the aesthetics of (in)visibility, that is how they fluctuate between being visible and invisible due to their intersecting identity-markers. Consequently, they illustrate the paradoxes between the bounding of ethnic minority and queer. Lastly, they

creatively make use of classical tropes and narratives and subvert them in order to attach themselves to existing borders.

The discussion will therefore rely on the analysis of the different borders. Hence, an identification of different institutional and organizational narrative identities, meaning border practices and meanings. Together they can hypothesize cultural identity narratives constituting a border. However, as the discussion will show, they are mutable, temporal and highly contextual, thus ends in a complex and messy borderscape for queer ethnic minorities. The idea is, that if one studies how borders manifest at institutional and organizational levels, one can hypothesize what Loseke terms as cultural narrative identities, in order to understand border processes.

5.1. Outlining the borders

The consecutive sections will provide an outline of when and how Salam and QW perceive border contestations to occur. Beginning with Salam and QW's relationship with the state, as both a collaborator and an antagonist, then their relation to other feminist and Queer organization. Lastly, how Salam and QW experience borders within religious and ethnic minority communities. This segment of the data observed which actors Salam and QW perceive to be border managers. Some borders were observed at the public domain; the state and organizations, while others at the private domain; within families. The proliferation of borders and their management is therefore deduced from the following section and analyses how borders fluctuate and can regulate behaviour. Furthermore, the commonality between the observed borders is how it singles out identity-markers, hence a rejection of multiple identity-markers. The notion of inclusion and exclusion is highly influenced by intersectionality. As such, one cannot understand the categories of gender, sexuality and ethnicity as isolated borders, but as relational.

5.1.1. The state

The data collection has made it apparent that the state is the most eminent actor of contestation. According to their social media platforms and organizational documents, border disputes and conflicts occur whilst encountering immigration authorities, like UDI and UNE, and the sitting administration. However, in those encounters, the organizations follow

different strategies. In some cases, they directly oppose or vocalize their dissatisfaction, while in other instances, they are invited by state institutions to consort with state authorities.

5.1.2. Consorting with state actors

Both Salam and QW have exhibited the ability to consort with state actors. While both organizations offer school visits, QW also visits reception centres for asylum seekers. These sessions entail discussions on religion, equality, negative social control, racism and bullying. Other social media posts describe their visits as illuminating and welcoming, thus indicating a willingness from both school administrations as well as students to learn about the experiences of queer Muslims in Norway.

QW, on the other hand, offers national workshops for schools about:

*“Intersectionality with a focus on LHBTQI+ themes at high schools throughout Norway”
(Courses and Workshops).*

With these sessions, QW intends to increase the visibility of queer people with ethnic minority background amongst the younger demographic by sharing experiences. They describe their methods as interactive and promote reflections on identity and gender norms. Their end goal is for minority adolescents to feel safe throughout their education, offer tools and awareness of rights and counselling. One could interpret this as empowerment strategies for their audiences.

As previously mentioned, QW also visits reception homes for asylum seekers. At those appearances they offer courses for employers and the like about the experiences of being queer with immigrant backgrounds. These courses are tailored for the specific event they are attending. However, when visiting reception centres, a segment of the courses is dedicated to conversations on “*Kryssdiskriminering*” (crossing forms of discrimination), a term that carries many of the same associations as intersectionality does. This, because participants are encouraged to discuss which experiences and challenges an LGBTQIA+ person could meet if said person is also an immigrant at a reception centre or at an adult education centre. Additionally, they also dedicate time to discuss which methods one could put in motion to create a safe environment for everyone. Consequently, they pair raising awareness with productive coping strategies. Therefore, one could argue that QW allows for reflexivity of

one's own positionality towards borders, while simultaneously providing tools for engaging with the border.

This goes hand in hand with the organization's political aspirations to partake in conversations and lobby for the bettering of the livelihoods of their audience.

“(...) by contributing to competence raising in society at large and to ensure representation in political and bureaucratic decision-making processes. We are increasingly invited to share our experiences and to provide input in processes, suggesting that we are on the right path.”
(About us).

Additionally, with the financial support from The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi), they released the book “I am what I am”, with the intent to depict the experiences of sexuality and gender amongst young people, through short stories, poems and visual art. A book that was later handed to Abid Raja, the current Minister of Culture and Equality. On those grounds, there is reason to believe that QW not only possess political influence, but their work is also supported by key state institutions.

Similarly, The Crown Prince of Norway was a guest at the first public event hosted by Salam. In an interview, they described Salam's work as important and highlighted the importance of difference in society. Furthermore, it was added that their work is, accordingly, a meaningful component of our liberal democracy (Dagbladet 2019).

Another correlation between the two organization's relationship to the state is being invited by state institutions. Salam has on several occasions been welcomed by political figures that represents the state, like Abid Raja (07.02.2020), but also The Minister of Education and Integration, Guri Melby, and The Minister of Children and Families, Kjell Ingolf Ropstad (07.07.2020). Interestingly, the latter occasion related to a bill criminalizing sexual orientation and gender identity change efforts like conversion therapy, where it appears the minister and Salam stood on opposite sides. This event might indicate that despite possible disputes, there is an emphasis on reaching out to Salam due to their position as important representatives for queer Muslims.

As such, Salam and QW cooperate with state actors, that is, actors partaking in border management, to influence the visibility of, and the politics related to queer ethnic minorities and migrants have in society. Actors managing the borders display a willingness to include Salam and QW. However, the data collection also illuminates how state actors suspend queer ethnic minorities. The following discusses how Salam and QW can also contest the state.

5.1.3. Contesting the state

As briefly touched upon in the previous section, Salam and QW also engage with the state in conflictual manners. The statements from the data collections outlines how the borders of the state can eject towards queer ethnic minorities. Salam and QW, through personal experiences and community engagement, illustrate what borders affect their audience. The following section begins with how immigration and asylum policy bound the category of LGBTQIA+refugee that excludes many aspects of what it means to be queer according to Salam and QW. Lastly, foreign politics, where Salam displays a concern for the contradictions in how nation-states use border mechanisms of difference-making to frame themselves as liberal and progressive.

5.1.3.1. Immigration, asylum and refugee policies

Both Salam and QW have opinions on immigration and asylum politics. In a Facebook-video, Salam stated the following:

“Salam urges the government to take in more queer asylum seekers. And consider taking in Eastern European queers. That’s the least of solidarity we can show” (23.06.2020).

The statement above illustrates an interest in changing the current asylum policy, towards what they consider to be more solidaristic. Under the current asylum policy, Eastern European asylum applicants have a high chance of being declined and thus advised to relocate to another place in their home country where it might be “safer” or easier to live with a non-conforming gender expression or sexuality (Akin2015). Furthermore, the statement also describes what they deemed to be the minimal effort Norway can do, that is to accept more asylum seekers from Eastern European countries.

QW, on the other hand, has been more specific with which immigration policy they contest through focusing on family reunification. According to their yearly report from 2019, they

disagree with the current praxis, as same-sex couples do not have the same benefits as other couples. This is due to the requirements immigrants must meet. The critiques presented are directed towards how one must present proof of marriage, partnership or other cohabitation dating back two years. However, they write, these requirements are difficult to meet, as discriminatory legislation towards such relationships in their home countries might prohibit or even punish same-sex cohabitation. Accordingly, they describe this as a discriminatory practice that they believe can and should be dissolved. Yet, despite attempts at articulating this issue to politicians, they describe these efforts as unproductive. Simultaneously, they argue that there has been a tendency towards stricter immigration and border politics, through which the neglect of family reunification for same-sex couples is a piece in the puzzle. As such, there is reason to believe that both organizations extend their grievances to include matters of immigration and physical borders (QW, yearly rapport 2019). Consequently, their contestation with the state relates to what the parameters of asylum and refugee categories should include - both in the direction of a broader delineation.

Hence, one could also argue that they are organizations whose target audience and who they claim to represent are asylum seekers, refugees as well as queer individuals who might not have immigrated to Norway themselves, but ethnic minorities, nonetheless.

To sum up, when immigration and asylum politics intersect with queer identities, a particular knowledge is illuminated. Based on Salam's statement, one could argue that being queer is not good enough grounds for protection. QW, then, observes how definitions of family-reunification says something about the meaning of marriage and couples. That is, as something that can only be real if it coincides with heterosexual forms of cohabitation.

Arguably, these two perspectives are related to matters of the physical border and concern themselves with questions of who is to gain entrance to Norway. Physical borders can also symbolize "who we are" and "who they are". The following statements illustrate how Salam contests government officials and policy on international and foreign politics. These examples bring into question the notion of scale when analysing the bordering of queer ethnic minorities.

5.1.3.2. Foreign politics

“Norway was granted a seat on the UN Security Council recently. I challenge Norway to use our voice actively, and clearly to promote LGBTQIA-rights even in the face of homophobic allies” (Salam, 23.06.2020).

International politics is a topic that is frequently brought up throughout the data collection, and the previous quote summarizes a key aspect of the contestation between Salam and the foreign policy of the current government. In this segment, the thesis aims to highlight how border contestations can also revolve around the role Norway should take as an actor on the global stage. As the quote states, Norway’s allies can carry out homophobic actions, and therefore, Norway should not undergo a passive role in UNs Security Council. Following is another quotation from the same speech:

“In Iraq, queers are killed in an open street. The perpetrators were part of Iraq’s militias, militias with long and dirty records are trained, armed and receive political protection from the west (Salam, 23.06.2020).

Again, one could argue that this organization is discontent with Norwegian foreign politics, especially when it relates to the global anti-homophobic advocacy. What is more, the description of atrocities committed to queer people in Iraq and an army characterized with brutality, shows the nature of this particular border contestation – as highly conflictual. In the same speech, Salam disapproves of Norway’s, as well as other western countries', reluctance to confront the House of Saud, the ruling family of Saudi-Arabia, in regard to its treatment of women and the LGBTQIA+-population.

In other speeches, Salam brought up Kurdistan in manners that aligns with the previous statement (10.03.2021). However, this statement also points out what they regard as a contradiction between what Norway supposedly represents, a country of peace and perhaps also equality, while simultaneously complicit in weapons distribution. Therefore, border disputes here concern the disconnection between actions and rhetoric.

As can be noticed, QW is not mentioned in this segment. Due to the scope of the paper and time restrictions, the data collection relied mostly on Salam and their social media presence as that is where most information could be collected. When collecting data from QW, the paper restricted itself to their homepage and yearly reposts. If this thesis were to have

conducted interviews, it could probably have analysed their stances on foreign politics as well. However, this could also allude to how Salam and QW are organizations that operate differently as they prioritize different topics.

Nevertheless, Salam's statements on foreign policy are still interesting for studying identity-markers of Queer Ethnic Minorities. And the data analysis points to how Salam perceives how Norway frames itself as an actor on the global stage, and its contradictory behaviour concerning LGBTQIA+ populations and Kurdistan. As such, Salam illustrates how the idea of queer can carry scalar sentiments, as international politics concerns their organization. Here, we can observe a political subjectivity emerging, one based on sexuality and gender, as well as international sentiments due to the intersecting borders regulating queer ethnic minorities and migrants. This will be further discussed under International Solidarity.

The next example of border contestation relates to queer movements in Norway. The first segment describes the boundary of gender, while the latter, the boundary of racism.

5.1.2. Gendered borders within queer communities

LLH 2019 is a newly formed trans-exclusionary LGB organization in Norway, meaning they advocate for the rights of lesbian, gay and bisexual persons. During the past year, they have gained some traction and, according to Salam, have spearheaded a debate in the media about trans persons. According to the LLH 2019s Facebook page, they present themselves as an alternative to the established LGBTQIA+ organizations due to their views on gender and gender-based rights. The following analysis is based on a podcast episode by Salam with Ivan, a trans-activist and a representative from The Patient Organization for Gender Incongruence (POGI) (November 2020). This thesis has gathered that Salam and POGI disagree with LLH 2019 on gender and queer liberation. Although these findings were based on a conversation between Salam and POGI, the views upheld by LLH 2019 can be corroborated with their public statements on their social media page, members and spokespersons media presence as well as their published media articles (Engesbak 2020).

“The only thing they want to promote is that “queer” is a slur and that trans people are bad, and they make claims that sex-affirming treatment is conversion therapy of homosexuals, and trans women are in reality men who are just looking to rape and abuse women” (Ivan).

Here, Ivan, is describing the political platform of LLH 2019. They are a newly started organization, which, during the summer of 2020 gained traction due to their criticism of trans-politics in the media. It appears as if Salam shares Ivan’s stance on LLH 2019 when they describe the areas of contestations such as the concept of queer and gender.

One can imagine that the opposition towards the word “queer”, is rooted in the derogatory origin of the word. However, for some including Salam, QW, FRI and other LGBTQIA+-organizations, this term has been reclaimed by the community and widely used in feminist academic circles. Still, this thesis could not find sources on exactly why LLH 2019 are critical of its reclaiming, however, other than its historic negative connotation, one could argue it is because of how it is used to support fluid theorizations of gender.

Paraphrasing Ivan, LLH 2019 is an organization that disagrees with queer ideology. That is, that gender is socially constructed. Even though there is reason to believe that LLH 2019 think that a person could oppose gender norms and traditional gender roles, their theorizations of gender is rooted in the sex binary. Meaning there are only two genders, man and female, and your gender is the one you were assigned with at birth. A description that both Salam and QW disagree with. Moreover, LLH 2019 concludes that sex-affirming treatments such as surgery and hormonal treatments are types of conversion therapy. Previously in the thesis, it was argued that Salam and QW hold a shared take on conversion therapy, that is; it should be illegal to practice. Thus, it seems that there is some tension between LLH 2019 and Salam revolving conversion therapy. While conversion therapy is seen as a social ill in both parties, they disagree on what conversion therapy is.

Furthermore, according to Ivan, LLH 2019 views trans women as predators, while trans men are *“(…) just confused little lesbian girls who don’t know their own best”*. Even though these might not be the exact words of LLH 2019, this statement represents Ivan’s feelings of being belittled by LLH 2019. Perhaps infantilization is a fitting word to describe the grievances of Ivan. Salam disagrees with LLH 2019’s reduction of transgendered women to conspiring men whose sole purpose is to harass women. Therefore, one could argue that there is tension

around feminist analysis; the subjugation of women and LGBTQIA+-population and how liberation should proceed.

Correspondingly, another aspect retrieved from the data collection is how Salam (and subsequently POGI) differ from LLH 2019 in their feminist analysis. It has been touched upon already, that there is a discontent between approaches to gender. As Ivan argues in the podcast:

“I think it is a terribly strange analysis where you go back to a kind of biological explanatory model of what gender is. And think that when you have ovaries, you have to act feminine and dress like a woman, and do certain things in society, such as having children. And then you think that this is feminism. I think this is incredibly reactionary and anti-feminist” (Ivan).

One could therefore summarize their disagreements as such; there are two genders, and these are related to ones assigned sex at birth. Moreover, this is feminist analysis revolving around the gender binary system, which reduces women to victims because of biological differences. As opposed to oppression being rooted in gender identity. When discussing the reasoning behind this, Ivan states the following:

“They understand transness differently in trans women and trans men. Trans women are clearly motivated by a desire to oppress (cis-gender) women, but trans men are trans in response to oppression. They are very concerned about children up until the age of 18. Extremely worried for trans boys, referring to them as confused girls who have been influenced by the trans-lobby. But after you turn 18, then only trans women are a topic of discussion. They never talk about adult trans men, while adult trans women are viewed as an extreme threat to the social order” (Ivan).

Additionally, the dialogues between Salam and POGI also argue that trans men are not discussed as frequently as trans women, but when they are, trans men are framed as “repentant women”, a narrative that is not present on the question of trans women. Consequently, Ivan describes the victimization of women rendering trans men as confused, while trans women a threat, thus one can also observe a dichotomy between the sexes: the threatening man vs. the vulnerable woman. This is a feminist analysis that both Salam and POGI finds worrisome and alludes to how narrow and strict these views on gender are. This

line of reasoning resonates with the gender binary, making it unavoidable to question the ideological underpinnings of LLH 2019. Perhaps this is based on a fear of not being included in mainstream society due to transgender's presence being too much of a threat to the current gender system.

Furthermore, they also disagree on allies, as Ivan accuses LLH 2019 of aligning themselves with what he describes as “strange actors” on “the far right and extremely Christian conservatives to try to get a breakthrough with their politics”. Thereupon, one could argue that they not only disagree on the queer politics but also who the associates should be. In the same podcast, Rumi, a member of Salam remarks that LLH 2019s attitudes are hard to grasp as they are themselves individuals who have “*felt on their body what it is like to be different and not having rights*”. One could, therefore, imagine that Salam views their grievances as similar; that both their organizations have felt some sort of discrimination and social exclusion. However, they differ in which way to address these grievances. While Salam addresses the systemic underpinnings of their lived experiences, LLH 2019 internalizes it within the queer community.

Their disagreement on gender is particularly interesting as it alludes to their differences in gender politics. One could argue that LLH 2019, by not questioning the gender binary system, advocates for an assimilationist strategy. That is a strategy that allows for lesbians, gay and bisexual to assimilate into heteronormative borders. The thesis will later discuss how LLH 2019s meaning of gender allows their sexualities to be submerged into borders of sexuality. While Salam and POGI pose a transformationalist strategy so that new border meanings, practices and knowledge can supersede.

It might be easy to assume that the LGBTQIA+ population is a unified movement with alliances built upon common experiences with narrow views of gender and desire. However, as the data collection exposes, this is a myth. The LGBTQIA+ movement is not a monolithic one, on the contrary, borders (of gender, gender-expression, and sexuality) move within these circles as well. The myth of a unified border conceptualizes the LGBTQIA+ population as homogenous, however, as has been argued for so far, within the movement exists a heterogeneous set of borders.

To summarize the findings so far, it is argued the discrepancy on gender relates to LLH 2019's biologically essentialist statements on gender and rejection of transness. They assume that the categories of "woman" and "man" come from biological sex. From there, LLH 2019 deduces that the roots of women's oppression also come from biological sex. Notably, this is a feminist analysis, hence the focus on female subjugation, Salam and POGI dissent. From the podcast episode, one could also argue that after asserting women's oppression, LLH 2019 maintains that the subjugation of women is grounded in a belief of women being inferior to men. From this, one could deduce that LLH 2019 argues that the belief in the inferiority of women is not rooted in nature and existed before social conditioning. Following, the thesis observed the following binaries abstracted from LLH 2019's belief system: "women/men", "threatening man/vulnerable woman". Additionally, the data analysis also points to "the repentant woman" and "threatening man in women's clothes" as personifications of the gender border upheld by LLH 2019. Salam and POGI provide a different analysis, a structural one. As such, one could argue that LLH 2019 supports an "assimilationist" approach, while Salam and POGI follows a "transformationalist" approach to queer liberation. In other words, when addressing their grievances as members of the LGBTQIA+ community, LLH 2019 and Salam choose different strategies.

Regarding the theoretical framework, the thesis will discuss how inclusion/exclusion can exist in a continuum and the need for an intersectional approach as a means to study the exclusion of persons with multiple identity-markers. It will also discuss the meaning of gender and its conceptual bounding. The podcast has therefore provided the thesis several statements on the boundaries of gender and its underlying grid of knowledge.

5.1.3. Racialised borders within queer communities

Another disharmony observable in the data collection concerns the question of racism. Although other research has discussed the prevalence of sexual racism, a particular kind of racial prejudice is often executed in contemplation of sexual desires and romance. This data analysis, however, illustrates the differences in politics on racism.

From several Facebook-posts written by Salam about racism and islamophobia within queer communities, one could gather a neglect to address racism in the queer community. Thus, it seems as if the knowledge of what it means to be queer is moving ethnic minorities to the

margins of society, consequently, the personification of queer is embodied by “whiteness” (12.04.2019, 15.12.2020, 19.06.2020).

Salam has podcast episodes between members Angela and Rumi from Salam, Audre from QW, and Kathleen, a Black Lives Matter (BLM) activist (July 2020). As such, this section discusses the internal racialised borders within queer communities. This section of the data collection is highly influenced by the debates regarding BLM of 2020. The episode began with an appreciation of the BLM protest that took place last summer. Angela described it as a radical experience of which intersectionality was evident. She noticed diversity amongst the protestors, as well as speeches and posters stating the names of black trans women who were victims of police brutality. Yet, she ponders upon the lack of intersectionality in the queer movement:

“Audre, you have been active in the queer movement in Norway for a while. Why is it so difficult to get white queer people involved in this?” (Angela)

Audre answers Angela’s question by explaining that in marginalized groups, it is inevitable that someone will have the possibility of being assimilated into the majority population. In the case of Norway, this is possible for ethnic Norwegian queers. According to Audre, the goals of ethnic Norwegian queers are, often, marriage and adoption. Without critiquing those goals, she points out that it is not a strategy that will lead to the liberation of all queers:

“For example, parts of the experience of black trans women will not disappear with marriage equality. Today, the only names we remember are those who have been victims of violence and murder. And that is a part of the problem. Because we do not see the fundamental reasons of their problems that make them more vulnerable to suicide, street harassment and murder by strangers and close acquaintances alike” (Audre).

One could argue that within the borderscape, several constraints are suppressing queer ethnic minorities. Therefore, the specific border-struggle that appears along those lines must be paid attention to. Because, when doing so, one could observe how inclusion is not necessarily all-exhaustive. As is further discussed throughout the podcast, being closer positioned to the oppressor can be rewarding. The dynamic character of bordering argues against a sharp cut-off point as it reveals how it can proliferate in the creation of differences between individuals.

Angela, then, makes an interesting remark:

“Sure, I can get married, but what good is it when I do not have a roof over my head, or when I do not have an asylum, and when I can be deported? The queer battle today is so unbalanced”.

Following, Audre, says:

“For white queer people with Norwegian citizenships, the battle is about what creates discomfort for themselves (..) then it may not be necessary to look at the problems that afflict other people in the queer community”.

From these statements, one could argue that there is a disagreement on which political causes should be prioritized, especially when the prioritized ones are not inclusive enough. In many ways, it is imaginable that Audre and Angela are asking for a more transformational strategy that touches upon more aspects of the queer experience. While marriage and adoption are important for the LGBTQIA+-population, it is not tactics that can account for the other challenges a queer person can meet. From the statements above, one could also derive that the challenges are the results of intersecting systems of oppression. This is due to how Audre hypothesizes that the queer battle is defined by what creates comfort for oneself.

Consequently, there are two detectable themes so far. The first one being “transformation vs. assimilation” and the other “intersectionality and embodied experiences”. These two themes are illustrated in the statements above and are further discussed during the podcast interview. All participants seem to agree that assimilationist strategies are problematic, and according to Audre, this is due to how they do not challenge existing systems. What can be described as the mainstream queer strategy does not critique the current gender norms, instead it allows for the inclusion of queers who adapt to heteronormative understandings of gender. She also argues the following:

“People would rather be included in what already exists than create a world that works for everyone” (Audre).

Therefore, when mobilizing a movement, the occurrence of hijacking is possible. Kathleen describes this as “survival of the fittest” and “piggybacking”. She explains that the Stonewall Riots was started by black and brown trans women, however, those radical voices are often

silenced in the favour of more assimilationist approaches. They were, as she explains, asking for too much. Instead, the path forward had to be working for what is acceptable.

Subsequently, they see similarities between The Stonewall Riots and BLM as two movements that were historically initiated by queer people of colour in the US but are not framed as such today. While the efforts of trans women of colour are not acknowledged in the aftermath of the stonewall riots, the efforts of queer and cis-women are marginalized, rendering the movement to encompass black hetero, cis and male lives.

The other element emerging for the data collection is the discussion of intersectionality and embodied experience. As have been already touched upon, mainstream LGBTQIA+ politics is based on the experiences of people who are not exposed to multiple minority stresses. It is observable throughout the podcast episode, descriptions of how an individual's experience varies depending on how one is situated. There is thus a focus on power structures in their analysis of the queer struggle. With the objective to illustrate the dynamics of different minority stresses, Kathleen recalls an episode where a male, cis-gender, gay friend of hers who performs as a drag artist, compared their experiences:

“I am straight, and If I travel to a homophobic country, I experience privileges that he does not. But this has nothing to do with the experiences I have when I am in a white space with for example when he is de-dragged (...) We must stop comparing struggles, instead, we need to validate and believe others' experiences. Make sure not to hijack someone else's fight. Be a good ally, so we can work together for a better world” (Kathleen).

Here, one can read that Kathleen makes an argument for acknowledging differences in such a manner that does not hinder solidarity, but rather opens up for political mobilization.

Furthermore, this could also be described as applying intersectionality in their activism. In the statement, she analyses how her identity-markers partake in her presence in certain spaces, and thus also how it may differ from others. This, without taking away from her own experiences, but rather as a tactic to achieve a political strategy that is broader than her own experiences. However, practising intersectionality is not an easy task. In the podcast, Angela expresses frustration with how the term has become a buzzword:

“There was an LGBT organization that did not want anti-racism in their bylaws, because they already had intersectionality in it. I experience that intersectionality is used as a way of

not taking responsibility (...) Intersectionality is not a simple matter. It is a difficult fight, and it cannot be battled with just words (...) you have to talk about racism over a long period of time.”.

It is conveyable that Angela critiques the usage of intersectionality as ingenuine. That is, a shallow approach to activism through which intersectionality becomes an empty container. However, as Angela might be alluding to, intersectionality as a tool needs to be coupled with analysis of systems of oppression for it to be productive. Claiming to be intersectional falls short if it does not also aim to address the current power structures, such as racism. Lastly, she also addresses the need to develop a long-term commitment to addressing power structures of racism. Additionally, one could argue that the usage of intersectionality by the LGBTQIA+-organizations was not to address power-knowledge relations that reside within queer spaces, but rather a theory of difference. By not taking responsibility, as Angela states, one could argue that intersectionality is used to express tolerance and acceptance of difference, but not as a tool for dismantling racism.

Likewise, one could argue that the mechanisms of the heterosexual border that Kathleen's friend experience, project an illusion that experiencing one form of discrimination allows one to understand other forms of discrimination. Whereas the LGBT-organization uses intersectionality as a theory of difference to avoid responsibility, Kathleen's example illustrates how intersectionality can be used to highlight one's marginalization to avoid responsibility. Nevertheless, this is not an argument for borders not being comparable, however, that borders are not equal. They contain different rules, meanings, ideas and practices. Border transgressions are treated differently. This is why borderscape is an exquisite concept for analysing the queer ethnic minority bounding, as it does not take for granted the dynamic character of belonging.

As a concluding remark, one could argue that knowledge of borders can observe the power-relations within the LGBTQIA+ community creates knowledge that pressures ethnic minorities to the outskirts of the border. From dislocating racism from queer politics to hijacking queer ethnic minorities movements. Therefore, a need for self-awareness of one position in relation to multiple borders in order to avoid hijacking or misappropriating tools for dismantling oppressive systems. Consequently, Salam and QW demand a queer liberation strategy that tackles the multiple intersecting borders subjugating the LGBTQIA+

community. From the podcast episode, one could argue that the experiences of queer ethnic minorities are characterised by a dynamic borderscape, where inclusion is not in a dichotomous relationship with exclusion. We could therefore observe a distinction between “transformationalist” and “assimilationist” strategies for queer liberation. Similar to the discussion on gender, the statements collected from Salam and QW points to the wish for supplanting borders altogether. Hence, not assimilating into, but transforming them.

However, queer communities are not the only boundaries observed in the data collection. The following segment presents the boundaries within ethnic minority and religious communities.

5.1.4. Boundaries within ethnic minority and religious communities

Within the ethnic minority and religious communities, several boundaries can be observed in the data collection. The first two sections discuss the stratifying borders under the authority of sexuality and gender. The two boundaries observed here were corresponding to queer activism and gender. Following, the third and last section discusses how borders within ethnic minority and religious communities treat border transgressions.

5.1.4.1. Stratifying boundaries within ethnic minority communities

The first example comes from QW’s youth chapter, as they explain the difficulty of being queer and Somali.

“It is not easy to be queer from Somalia. The culture makes people not want to accept you. That’s a big problem with the family if you want to tell the story of yourself and about how you feel. You can have big problems, you may be thrown out, you are a disgrace to your family” (I am what I am, p.26).

As a member of multiple communities, they are subjected to discriminations associated with racism, heteronormativity and misogyny. The discrimination individuals face within minority communities forms a border that excludes non-heterosexuality. Like for example, Somali and queer. In this example, we can observe the material manifestations of a border as individuals experience “being thrown out”. Similar sentiments can be observed in Salam’s podcast episode regarding Islam and queerness. Visited by Edward, a representative from Committee for Palestine, he states (Podcast, October 2020):

“When I was at the Pride parade with you in Salam, pictures of me were posted and I was asked afterwards if I was queer. I perceive this as social control, simply because I held the Palestinian flag along with the queer flag. I was told that I could not represent this here”.

The data collection exposes how there is an explicit focus on the experiences of queer Muslims and ethnic minority and not the general LGBTQIA+ population. There is therefore reason to believe that being queer within for example a religious community, like members of Salam are, experience a specific form of border process. One might claim that this is due to how there is a disconnect between queer inclusion; in other words, one can be queer, if the individual is not Muslim or an ethnic minority. On those grounds, we could argue that a statement considering what it means to belong to the minority community is in contradiction with being queer. Although not a personification of a border, the Palestinian flag can be said to be a symbolism of the border. The attributes of that border, then, excludes queerness.

5.1.4.2. Gender demarcations and queer liberation

Another demarcation line can be observed around gender. The following discussion is based on Salam’s podcast episode where they discussed Islam and queerness (Podcast, October 2020). During the collection of the data, it was noticed how women are differently treated in the public eye, especially when they transgress boundaries. There was an instance where Angela and Rumi published a video on Salam’s Facebook page, wishing their audience a happy Ramadan. Angela then expresses how the negative comments in their Facebook posts were largely directed at her, and not Rumi. The comments consisted of derogatory terms such as calling her a “whore” and commenting on her choice of clothing. The latter was due to her not wearing a hijab or other head garments. When reflecting upon the outrage the video received and the gender relations it revealed, Rumi Said the following:

“Until now, only men have fronted conflicts within the environment, and most religious people are not used to this. Here, patriarchy plays a role because of how we are raised. Men have sexuality; lust and they are weak. They cannot look at women without jumping on them, almost. Women should be protected by being wrapped in cotton”

To which Angela answered:

“We are obviously sugar because if we are exposed to water – we melt”.

Furthermore, Rumi made the following remarks on the situation:

“You must be hidden under the bed where no one can see you. This has something to do with honour”.

Similarly, Rumi explains:

“A common phrase is the chocolate reference. This chocolate must be packed, otherwise it will rot, flies will get on it and everyone will touch it”.

Angela, then, resonates the following:

“very much is about control, then”.

From this, it is possible to abstract an impression of how women should act within these religious communities. One can imagine that the agency of women is somewhat incomplete, as they must be protected and held hidden. When appearing in the video, Angela transgressed these boundaries by asserting her agency as a political subject as well as an active one. Correspondingly, the agency of women was also discussed when deliberating on different interpretations of The Qur’an in the same podcast. A topic that was viewed as interconnected with how Angela was treated during the previously mentioned campaign. When Rumi contemplated the position, women hold in religious interpretations, he observed how gender roles are rendering women as passive subjects, a process which religious leaders are culpable of. He states that women are mentioned in interpretations, however, only indirectly. He then explains the law-making logic in Islam; where similar actions are related to each other, like for example, if it is gay relationships that are illegal, the same goes for lesbian relationships. Following this description, Angela makes some remarks regarding the prioritization and normalization of the male gender:

“The man is thus deemed normal, and if something concerns the man, it will automatically apply to others. Also, you, Rumi, are seen as scary (...) I, on the other hand, have to take up so much space to show that I have a sexuality even though I also do not want children”.

The sexuality of women is a difficult question, according to Salam, and the statement above solidifies these challenges. Based on the statements presented so far, it is possible to correlate the experiences of Angela to processes of objectification. In other words, the data collection exposes social categories active in ordering social and spatial life, the category of women.

Notably, the bounding of “woman” comes secondary to the bounding of “man”, as such, it is through the “man” that the bounding of “woman” comes to be.

Consequently, upon further inspection, one can derive its ideological component: the patriarchy. The border communicates a personification of “woman” with attributes such as modesty, silence and in need of protection. The thesis, therefore, suggests that the bounding of “woman” and the knowledge it carries, is the reason why Angela has trouble with asserting her sexuality. Furthermore, the bounding of “woman” can also be said to carry knowledge concerning the family, and the nuclear family. Therefore, Angela’s sexuality is a difficult topic to manoeuvre, as it does not relate to children or a nuclear family structure.

As a concluding remark, the previous two statements illustrate how borders of sexuality and gender intersect and create a particular experience within the bounding of minority communities.

5.1.4.3. Silencing, Silent Support and Fear of Exclusion

In addition to illuminating the proliferation of borders, the data collection also gives away how border transgressions can be received and thus disciplined.

“It is looked upon with askance to be religious and queer in Norway, says the organization Salam. The leader of the Queer Christian network agrees: - We are not welcomed in the same way” (26.06.2021, Salam).

Salam has on several occasions expressed feelings of being excluded from their religious community, and the statement above is a testament to that. In an interview conducted together with the Queer Christian Network, they describe the tensions within their respective religious communities. They also explain how their religious affiliations also leave them peculiar to the LGBTQIA-community. As such, they experience “falling between two chairs”.

On other occasions, the rejection they face has been described as a “silencing”. Members of their respective religious communities who publicly support LGBTQIA+ rights or appear in public spaces with queer Muslims, face informal sanctions such as ridicule or shame. The data collection also reveals that the sanctions Salam meets as a result of their mobilizations

and presence in media also have a deterring effect. Therefore, Salam states that there are Muslims who are supportive of their organizations, however, they are hesitant to proclaim their support. Thus, the phenomenon of “silencing” occurs as their allies support them in silence. Furthermore, Salam describes this as a result of “Social Control”, as can be illustrated in the following statement:

“We have many allies. When we meet them face-to-face, we are met with praise, but in public – no one dares to speak. And this comes from negative social control. Because they see what we are exposed to, they witness it and are afraid of being exposed to the same thing, and it has happened sometimes. (...) and people do not necessarily manage this. If you risk being exposed, ostracized or losing face because you have stood up for your queer friend, then people quickly think they do not bother to support in public, but support silently” (Rumi).

Sanctions include being ostracized, shamed and critiqued for actions that transgress borders of their community. Additionally, from the same podcast, they discuss how being affiliated with queer Muslims can also bring about said sanctions. Affiliation can thus warrant one’s sexuality being questioned, as Edward expresses how some assume there is a linkage between his sexuality and his support of Salam and queer Muslims rights.

The first example communicates how their presence is perceived within a border; they are accepted to reside, however, not on the same premise. Border transgressions can be said to be more subtle and perhaps based on the idea of tolerance. The second statement illustrates a more direct disciplining of border transgression. The discipline of queer ethnic minorities has a deterring effect on individuals whom themselves do not identify as non-heterosexual. Interestingly, the example is based on Edwards experiences, a heterosexual individual, who experiences how being affiliated with queerness can amount to their own sexuality being questioned.

5.2. Reactionary border contestation

So far, the thesis has uncovered the many power/knowledge relations that arrange the bounding of queer ethnic minorities. The border managers made visible through the data collection of Salam’s social media presence and QW’s homepage and yearly rapports were

religious leaders and minority community members, queer activists and organizations, as well as state actors such as immigration and foreign policymakers. However, the thesis also discussed the existence of a proliferation of borders, meaning there is more than one border influencing the queer experience. This can be understood as the borderscape and captures the dynamic character of the border. Within the borderscape a number of struggles took place; struggles over asylum policy and its neglect of queer refugees to a dissatisfaction with the category bounding of Norway and contradictory behaviour on the world stage. The thesis also discussed the myth of a unified queer movement with gender and race politics marking the difference in the analysis of subjugation and liberation strategy. Likewise, the proliferation of borders is also submerged within minority and religious communities.

When collecting data, another aspect stood out, the mobilization strategies. QW and Salam have gained influence in Norwegian politics, as have been illustrated earlier in the thesis. As they partake in Border-Struggles, one could argue that new political subjectivities emerge. As such, the following segment will analyse the data collection in order to discuss how new borders might arise, supplanting the previous one. Can we observe new meanings, ideas and practices of borders?

Beginning with the most obvious; establishing new organizations, the thesis discusses this contestation strategy in the form of border demarcation. Following, it is discussed how “Safe-Spaces” articulate new personifications of borders, as well as illustrate knowledge about what queer ethnic minorities are. As a social practice, Salam and QW reject the current border premises. The thesis argues that this is a reactive contestation, as it is an answer to the exclusionary practices of borders (as last case scenario/no other choice but). Accordingly, their disapproval of border meanings and ideas is illustrated in their reactive contestation.

Afterwards, the analysis focuses on how the differently situated subjectivities within the Borderscape create political alliances. Here we observe a mode of critique that reworks border both from a scalar perspective and across organizations. Therefore, the thesis analyses how Salam and QW engage in inventive contestation as they subvert narratives, create new border meanings in which a history of queerness exist and increase the visibility of queer ethnic minorities and migrants. Consequently, we continue the discussion of the discursive work a border entails, namely the emergence of new meanings.

Accordingly, we observe how borders function as intersecting systems of oppression. Not as static, but as dynamic. However, they come across as naturalized and fixed, but they are not; they are produced. Furthermore, we also observe how these contestation strategies make up new power/knowledge relations based on the emerging subjectivities. These take part in border processes that perhaps give more wiggle room for other expressions of sexuality and gender. As such, the following segments set the stage for further discussion of the topic question: what borders confronts queer ethnic minorities in Norway, how does borders affect them, and how can social movement actors resist borders?

5.2.1. Establishing New Organizations

The LGBTQIA+-movement in Norway has a long and rich history. “FRI”, previously known as “LLH”, has been an important voice for queer rights in Norway and has been engaged in LGBTQIA+ activism since the 1950s (Foreningen Fri). They are arguably the most established organization to date. Salam and QW could arguably be said to have been created due to a lack of specific perspectives from Queer social movements in Norway, namely the perspectives of persons with multiple identity-markers. Their creation can be said to be a result of differently situated subjectivities in the borderscape, as their organization represents a particular position in the public realm. A position based on their expression of identity leaves them with a different experience of belonging to the Queer Community in Norway. The border processes surrounding Salam and QW renders them with a different quality of, and the possibility to participate in, queer politics as well as social spaces.

Establishing Salam and QW is then a reaction to firstly, their borders applied by the majority-society (heterosexual Norway), and secondly, the minority-society (non-heterosexual Norway). Following, QW and Salam challenge FRI’s claim to represent all LGBTQIA+ subjects in Norway. Consequently, they contest the universality that the bounding of FRI represents.

5.2.2. Establishing safe spaces

One could argue that establishing new organizations illustrates disapproval of norms and meanings of the bounding of queer, creating “safe-spaces” is another reactionary practice QW and Salam apply in their mobilization strategy. However, in this instance, with respects to both queer spaces as well as minority and religious communities. The subsequent

paragraphs analysing their statements of safe-spaces can tell us something about their experiences of exclusion. The thesis further inquires on the knowledge of what it means to be queer and ethnic minority, as well as how its intersection creates a specific experience. This while simultaneously studying how border-struggles can be a form of reactionary contestation. The first quotations belong to QW, while the third and fourth are from Salam.

“QW is a place where you can meet others as your true self and all of yourself. Here you can meet other queers with different backgrounds. We have fun together, share experiences, support each other and work together to make our society a more open and safer place for everyone. Come as you are and get to know new people” (About Us, QW).

A cornerstone of QW’s work revolves around establishing safe spaces for queer people who are also ethnic minority. They frequently stress a need to create alternative gathering spaces for their audience. One could argue that their target audience is experiencing some form of bargaining in their everyday life. As the statement above might be alluding to, their audience is burdened with adjusting parts of themselves in connection to others. Or in some cases, one could imagine that certain parts of themselves, more precisely their identity-markers, are not encouraged. Therefore, safe spaces are efforts to redefine what is acceptable behaviour and identity expressions. Consequently, QW encourages its participants to come as they are. The next quotation also illustrates this condition:

“The young adults we are in contact with, often have complicated relationships with their families. Many have experienced rejection, psychological pressure and indifference from their parents and siblings. Through QW the youth seek safe environments and equals. With us, the youth receive guidance, interlocutors, confirmation, as well as networking and companionship in an arena where the youth can be fully themselves.” (Yearly Rapport 2019: 7).

In this, expressing how their audience may experience some spaces to be hostile to their sexuality. Spaces that traditionally are deemed safe, like their home, company of parents and siblings can for some be quite the opposite. The quote clearly shows that there occurs an effort to limit the approach to sexual identity.

Consequently, safe spaces are, first and foremost, efforts to validate the manifestation of multiple identity-markers. Second, the data collection shows that they simultaneously offer support and guidance. In other words, safe spaces also have an educational goal. Examples of such activities include projects like QW's, "Open and Safe" and "Relationship Counselling", where the former aims to empower participants with tools and a fruitful network for coping with "negative social control". One could argue that the previous quote also describes what "negative social control" constitutes. That is encouraging and discouraging certain behaviour and to confront these mechanisms, they provide participants with tools to encounter sexuality and migratory related challenges that arise in their everyday life. The latter project, however, tailors' conversations towards an intercultural perspective. Self-acceptance, sexuality and religion are applicable words to describe these courses. In sum, the data collection shows that safe spaces are efforts to collectively make meaning of shared experiences of mechanisms of control and subsequently, develop strategies for coping and resistance.

Furthermore, the data analysis also states that safe-spaces is a socio-spatial practice that also includes elements of inventive border contestation. Within the safe-spaces, they create an environment for developing coping mechanisms and strategies for resistance. Basing these on shared meanings and experience of sexuality, gender and the discrimination they meet as a result of their identity-markers. This resembles previous discussions of borders within ethnic minority communities, however, in this relation one could argue that the personification of the border is creating a dichotomy between their identity-markers. The creation of safe-spaces are thus the socio-spatial reaction to how the border institutionalized an identity and leaves other expressions as meaningless.

Many of the same aspects are detectable in Salam's practice of Safe-Spaces. As a guest on Salam's podcast, Edward was asked about what he wanted to say to all those queer Muslims who might be listening to the episode. He answered the following:

"Join Salam. If you are afraid, there are people out there who are sincere, open and accepting to gays as well as trans. If you are afraid of what the environment around you will say, then there are people here who will welcome you. And do not take interpretations from the Qur'an as absolute" (Podcast, October 2020)

Arguably, this statement contains similar sentiments of non-inclusive spaces as previously displayed by QW. Here, Edward first and foremost reveals how identity-markers can be met with social discouragement, however, he also offers comfort by stating that there are alternative spaces for one to roam in. Spaces where the cohabitants are welcoming, open and accepting of queer expressions. Following, their website affirms their organizational goal of actively working towards creating safe spaces for freedom of speech, acceptance, inclusion, belonging and friendship. Therefore, one could deduce the existence of spaces where identity-markers of queer consolidated with ethnic and religious attributes are suspended, nevertheless, organizations like Salam and QW create new spaces where such consolidations are conceivable. This argument can be strengthened with the following statement:

“fronted with the choice between being allowed to keep your safe home, or being yourself, to be true with yourself. To you, I want to say – you are not alone. There are many who have experienced being abandoned in this manner” (Salam, 14.05.2020).

Again, the same thoughts of identity-markers not being validated but regarded as unreal or insincere to the degree of transgressions having costly repercussions. Salam, here, expresses support for those who challenge such established truths about identity and norms.

Lastly, Rumi said the following when addressing their audience:

“All queers with Muslim background; you are valuable, you are created in the image of God - perfect. And we do not become queer, but born with god’s mashallah, alhamdulillah” (Podcast, October 2020).

Similar to QW, Salam’s creation of Safe-Spaces is a reaction to the bargaining and social control their audience meet. It is a part of a relational process of bordering that exists within the borderscape. In other words, it is a *reaction to a reaction* and displays the power-relations over border institutions. The reactionary contestation comes in the form of validation, recognition and affirmation. Therefore, they react to the bounding of ethnic minority and religion, and the knowledge it consists of. That is; ethnic minority/religious ≠ queer. Additionally, we observe how transgressions are met with practices of abandonment. Refusing to bargain identities and compliance of a border institution can result in “losing one’s home”. Consequently, safe-spaces can be understood as the creation of new “homes”.

5.3. Innovative border contestation

In this section, we move towards a more inventive form of border contestation. Meaning we observe how Salam and QW formulate new borders to supplant the existing ones. Within the borderscape, QW and Salam engage in border-struggle. During these struggles over border meanings, ideas and practices, the organizations implement innovative and creative strategies through which new political subjectivities emerge. As such, we can argue that their work partakes in the power/knowledge relations creating a new border institution.

5.3.1. Alliances across borders

The following segments will demonstrate another interesting strategy deployed by Salam and QW; how they deploy innovative contestation strategies when faced with border-struggles.

The two themes discovered in the data collection are first, solidarity across nation-state borders and secondly, alliances with other organizations. The thesis argues that these strategies are blurring out, tacitly opening and closing their outer lines to co-operate or to show solidarity. Furthermore, there is also reason to believe that regarding global solidarity, these organizations are challenging understandings of what LGBTQIA+-interests or politics should be and whom they should represent. Consequently, we observe how the social processes and personal experiences influence political subjectivity and the articulation of new borders. Statements of international solidarity provide a scalar view of their border-struggle, as Salam demonstrates how events at the global scale and across state-lines influences the borderscape in Norway. Additionally, they articulate a foreign political platform that includes a queer perspective. Therefore, Salam articulates a knowledge of queerness that is not contained at the nation-state but entails a global queer politics of resistance. The statements from the data collection discuss anti-LGBTQIA+ legislation in Turkey, pinkwashing of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, mass shooting in Orlando and solidarity with Kurdistan.

5.3.2. Nation-State borders and International Solidarity

“We march in solidarity with queer Muslims who are not allowed to be themselves and who cannot participate in the (Pride) parade. We march for norwegian queer muslims and queer muslims globally. Together we take ownership of our own history and create the future in common” (23.06.2020, Salam).

Regardless of which topic of foreign politics is discussed, the data collection observes three themes. That is solidarity with those experiencing oppression, reconstituting themselves in politics, history and culture and, lastly, collectively creating solutions to their subjugation. When Salam transcends nation-state borders it can be described as creating a connection on a global scale. In doing so, they assert queer politics as central within different aspects of foreign policy and incorporate scalar perspectives in their bonding of queer and queer liberation. Arguably, forms of agency are asserted as well. This topic will be discussed later and relates to the erasure of queer people from history and culture, and a central strategy for combating this is centring queer voiced in history and culture.

Correspondingly, scalar perspectives actively engage in redrawing the geographical borders of political engagement. One could also argue that their application of scale is altering traditional geographical imaginations of what political engagement ought to be. An example from the data collection is their support for the Turkish LGBTQIA+ population during a protest Salam, FRI and QW attended together under this proclamation:

“Never bow your head down, always look at the rainbow! United we are strong!”
(08.02.2021, Salam).

Despite being geographically dispersed, there is a sense of interconnectedness that crosses borders. A connection that is arguably made possible by queer solidarity and their shared symbolical reference to the pride flag. On those grounds, it is imaginable that the pride flag, as has been mentioned before, is a personification of the border. This point is furthered in the following section of the proclamation:

“We proudly observe that despite all the oppressive measures and police brutality, the queer community and their allies continue to organize demonstrations on and off their campus, giving hope and inspiration to the LGBTQIA+ community beyond their borders including the signatories of this statement in Norway. The rights that our community has won have all been fought for in difficult battles and we cannot accept a reversal of them even an inch”
(08.02.2021, Salam).

Again, we can observe an awareness of the need for border transgression in their political work. Their bounding of the queer community is not constrained by physical nation-state borders. Correspondingly, liberation is not a question that should be reserved to each individual nation-state, but rather a matter for the global queer community. Following this line of reasoning, one can also construe that the possibility of reversing rights for the LGBTQIA+ population in any country, is concerning for the LGBTQIA+ population in every country. Looking towards the rainbow is therefore not only a proclamation of hope but also a statement of unity and a global call for action.

Following, the rainbow-flag signifies the historical political and social interventions done in the name of sexuality and gender liberation. Therefore, they make use of already constructed shared meanings of the flag, as the symbol for freedom and equal rights to challenge oppressive heterosexual gender norms. However, in Salam and QW shared statement, they signify that whenever suppressive sexuality and gender policies are introduced, the rainbow flag is a signifier of a shared imagined community.

Turkey is not the only country mentioned in the data collection, Salam has also vocalized opinions on Kurdistan and Palestine:

“I think of those who fight for a free Palestine” (23.06.2020).

“Kurdistan! My beautiful Kurdistan” (10.03.2021).

The way in which Salam comments on these two political issues share many similarities. In both instances, they are arguing for demonstrating solidarity towards occupied nations who are considered indigenous to their respective regions. The nations they identify as responsible for the occupation, are denying their role as occupiers. Similarly, and central to the arguments presented by Salam is how the international community is not acknowledging the occupation, or, according to Salam, are in some cases enabling said occupation. The data collection also displays a level of frustration with the events taking place. In these matters, Salam positions themselves in conflict with the Norwegian state as they encourage the government to not partake in these actions and condemn the occupation when appearing on the global stage.

During International Women’s Day, Angela from Salam held a speech where she stated:

“But genocide doesn’t just come from Arab nationalists or the mullah regime in Iran. It also comes from our NATO-ally Turkey. Norway has been very modest in showing solidarity with Kurds and I am ashamed to live in a country that boasts equality and human rights. Shouting full-throated that “we are the nation of peace”, but the bullets that are hailed by Kurds:

“Made in Norway.” (10.03.2021).

An interesting take from this speech is how they express disappointment with how Norway presents itself as a nation of peace, while contradictorily partaking in the production and distribution of military weapons. Moreover, this parallels their contestation towards Norwegians foreign politics mentioned earlier in the thesis. In other words, there is a contradiction between the façade Norway has been constructed as an actual praxis. A similar argument can be found in their statements on pinkwashing: that there is a constructed veil strategically hiding actual praxis:

“And to my queer siblings in Palestine. I will always fight Israel’s attempts to praise their oppression. I’ll always say no when the Israeli Embassy tries time and time again to entice the queer movement in Norway with glitz and glamour. As a queer, I see Israel’s attempts to use my body, my identity and my struggle as a showcase to portray themselves as progressive, gay-friendly and feminist” (14.01.2020)

In the statement above one can derive how their identity as queer is being utilized against Palestine and their queer Palestinian siblings. This topic will be discussed further later, however, this tactic is often referred to as pinkwashing. Salam, then, understands the events as the weaponization of queerness as a political strategy using gay-friendly activities to appeal to progressives in exchange for distracting from other negative actions. They accuse Israel of hiding regressive politics through activities associated with sexual liberation. In the statement then, they observe their own identity being appropriated and simultaneously communicate a concern for how their queer siblings, that is Palestinian LGBTQIA+ individuals, are being subjected to negative sanctions.

Furthermore, Salam critiques Israel’s nation-branding strategy and accuses the state of pinkwashing. In doing so, they say something about the contradictions of their borders. Interestingly, the symbolic aspects of the Israeli border processes are intrinsically linked to their physical and material border strategy. As such, Salam combines their politico-territorial

with social and economic border processes in their assessments of Israeli usage of gender and sexuality to frame the state as progressive.

Moreover, the statement is also linked to other statements made by Salam regarding islamophobia and LGBTQIA+ politics. Salam observes how border processes present a narrative of the “homo-tolerant westerner” and posits it against the “homophobic other”. A narrative that will be further discussed later, however, in this case, the narrative partakes in an Islamophobic framing of the Palestinian other. In the quote above, Salam deduces a statement of knowledge regarding the Palestinian subject and what is “sayable” in the bounding process. The narrative is based on a dichotomy between Palestine and Israel. Therefore, one could argue that when Salam identifies a framing of Israel as friendly and progressive, they simultaneously identify a framing of Palestine as unfriendly and conservative, if not backwards. A dichotomy that, for Salam, is epitomized at the Israeli border.

One could therefore argue that Salam provides a queer perspective on political matters that previously have not necessarily discussed from a queer point of view. When discussing Kurdistan, they apply a feminist lens when encouraging recognition for the feminist movements:

“They make history and create societies without patriarchy, capitalism and nation-states. Kurdish women show what women in the Middle East are capable of doing. This is big, folks, and we need to support them. Not only with words, but also with action” (10.03.2021).

What Angela recognizes here, is arguably a praxis of intersectionality. The Kurdish women Angela referred to are residing within a borderscape of “patriarchy”, “capitalism” and “nation-state”. Even though what is meant by the latter is unclear, one could still argue that Angela recognized the power relations that intersect in their everyday life. Likewise, one could also deduce from the statement that Angela recognized that these intersections are composing the critical praxis of the Kurdish organized struggle. Angela is, in other words, illustrating how border-struggle creates and shapes political subjectivities, and is, therefore, advocating for recognizing their political labour. Moreover, we also observe the presence of female subjects in what could arguably be described as a “masculine” political context. By this, the thesis refers to both the context of armed conflicts as well as foreign policy.

Consequently, this thesis wishes to point to how Salam's scalar reimagines of queer politics is not simply about crossing nation-state boundaries and configuring an international political platform. They also partake in power-relations bounding the topic of international politics whenever they bring queer and feminist perspectives into these disciplines.

So far, the thesis has analysed how Salam and QW carry out inventive forms of contestations. The inventive nature is derived from how these contestations are elements in a process of supplanting current borders. This is of course an optimistic perspective, nevertheless, they do provide new meanings, ideas and practices of queer and queer politics. Therefore, at the very least they are inventive attempts to supplant borders. The thesis has analysed how these organizations connect the struggle for self-determination to the global scale through displays of solidarity and shared global queer imaginaries. It has also been pointed out how they carry an intersectional lens allowing them to cross-disciplinary borders into international politics that usually exclude queer topics. As was evident in their critique of pinkwashing, the findings so far also illustrated how Salam understands their identity-markers as non-negotiable. This aspect will be further analysed by presenting a speech held by Rumi from Salam in the aftermath of the Orlando mass shooting.

Last year, Rumi from Salam, held a speech addressing the Orlando Nightclub shooting (14.01.2020). In Rumi's speech, we can observe a scalar political philosophy; that their grievances are intrinsically linked to issues with issues differently located than oneself – like for example Orlando. Here, Rumi demonstrates that a seemingly distant political event can have implications for the everyday lives of their audiences. Their interpretation of the queer struggle is, in so doing, intertwined with global islamophobia. Subsequently, Rumi captures the interconnectedness between the global and the local when explaining how a phenomenon on one scale affects other scales. In the speech, Rumi states the following:

“A year later, on almost the same date as the shooting, I woke up to a lot of messages and missed calls. “Allah,” I thought. What happened? “Read Dag & Tid,” it said in a message. In the magazine there were posts about a young queer man, the man is characterized as a ticking bomb. A creature capable of murdering humans. He was so hateful of gays that he planned terror against the pride parade and much more. This young man is me - I was the young man mentioned in this post who appeared in print in a serious newspaper. I was shocked, hurt and sad. How could I be connected to a murderer in this way?” (14.01.2020).

Another possible explanation for their approach is strategic geographical expansion. Here, we can observe how Salam makes linkages from their everyday experiences, and by extension their audience, to the global scale. Rumi is articulating that an event occurring in the US has lasting effects on the imaging of their identity in society.

5.3.3. Community-level borders: solidarity with organizations and activists

In 2020 Salam started a podcast with the intention of remaining in connection with their audience during social distancing and lockdown. During these sessions, they have invited activists and public speakers from different backgrounds, and some of them came as representatives from other organizations. Such as Patient Organization for Gender Incongruence (POGI), The Palestine Committee and QW. The data collection, then, shows how Salam and QW do not restrict their space of engagement to the boundaries of their organization. They have built alliances with an array of organizations and activists: Solidarity with Kurdistan. Fri, Queer Christian Network, Garmeres, football players as well as other activists. The data collection displays a sense of solidarity within the fields of NGOs that these organizations navigate in, fields concerning sexual and gender liberation as well as international politics. Through interactions, they enlarge spaces of engagement for queer politics.

The following sections will describe how these organizations engage with each other. It needs to be clarified that this segment of the data collection relies heavily on the social media content of Salam. The organizations mentioned above provide each other with not only a public statement of support, but they also appear together at protests and in the media to confront mutually concerning issues. Lastly, they provide each other with material support and engage in dialogues on each other's platforms. And based on these findings it is possible to gather that when organizations cooperate, there is an emphasis on supporting each other's work and existence as separate organizations.

During Ramadan 2020 they conducted a social media campaign where activists and artists filmed themselves wishing Salam and queer Muslims in Norway a happy Ramadan:

“Hi, all friends in Salam. We in Queer Christian Network want you to know that we greatly appreciate you. I want you to know that we think you are doing a fantastically important job

and we look forward to working together in the future. But right here and now, above all, from all of us to all of you - a really good Ramadan.” (11.05.2020)

Moreover, this could also be explained as recognition or even an appreciation of difference within the queer social movement community in Norway. In the same manner, they also appear as a united front as organizations for sexual liberty. Therefore, it is also possible to deduce that mass-mobilization is a tactic they rely on and is executed with an appreciation of diversity and differently situated knowledge.

One could therefore argue that the data collection presents a coalition based on differences amongst the partaking organizations. Following, it is assumed that their coalition-building is not based on absorbing, obscuring or erasing differences. Although they are brought together along a single axis of identity – namely sexuality and gender when interacting they actively draw attention to their differences. This, while simultaneously developing shared goals through dialogues, as have been observed in Salam’s podcasts. This type of coalition can be described as establishing an active presence in each other’s grievances, rather than passive observers on the side-lines.

However, as previously stated, not all acts of cooperation are from within the queer community. From the data collection, one can find other activists interested in sexual and gender equality. The following is an excerpt from an interview between Salam and a Norwegian-Sudanese-Somali filmmaker:

“I am a heterosexual, cis, Muslim, black man. In the Norwegian context, I am a minority, but in other contexts’, I am the very definition of the privileged majority. As a result, I have previously been concerned about participating in Pride, in part because of the “unpleasant conversations” I have to bring with me in my circle. (...). But queer rights? That’s when the voice gets lower, and excuses like “this is not my fight” appear! What is it about wanting equality and a life free from discrimination, which is so difficult to support? This is our struggle, but by supporting it we must also look at the privileges that we heterosexuals have benefited from.” (25.06.2020).

The quote above is conceivably an example of intersectionality being exercised. This thesis understands Salam and QW to be coping with differentiated and uneven power-relations.

They have in other instances used intersectionality as a term themselves, consequently, there is reason to argue that through alliances they manoeuvre the strict borders of identities. Conversely, it can be described as obstacles hitting them from different angles, levels, with different velocity and at different times. Cooperation is then a tactic based on the creation of multiple social relations between intersecting borders. Put it differently, they are transgressing the boundaries of sexuality and gender movement into other spaces of activism.

The data analysis so far illustrated how alliances have been built across organizations and activists. The data collection displays alliances within the queer community, like for example between Queer Christian Network and Salam, as well as across movements, as with Palestine Committee and Salam. A commonality detected in the analysis is how organizations can have different causes but shared values and goals serving as grounds for cooperation.

Furthermore, the collected information also points towards a praxis grounded in an intersectional understanding of identity. It appears as if they have identified intersecting systems of oppression through which they collectively resist. In each case, the different organizations provide an analysis of systems of oppression, and when they interact it is possible to observe how different cases re(produce) border logics of dominance such as racism, heteronormativity, islamophobia and patriarchy.

This is especially interesting for this thesis as it shows how borders are not a dichotomy, nor created in a vacuum or as a unique phenomenon. The bounding of a subjectivity (queer and Christian) or political topic (occupation of Palestine) has similarities with other border processes. This line of thinking goes hand in hand with the concept of borderscape and its conceptualizations of borders as a plurality, as opposed to a singularity. Borderscape describes bordering diffused across space, an aspect that these organizations make use of in their collective mobilization. The emerging political subjectivities observable here are predicated on how border elements exist in a relational array, creating a particular experience. Therefore, when Salam and QW exhibit solidarity with other organizations and activists, they are attentive to the diffuseness of borders in order to build bridges between borders.

5.3.2. Being visibly queer

The data collection also observed notions of “visibility”. Therefore, remainder of the data analysis addresses what it means for Salam and QW to be visibly queer. As has been demonstrated earlier, transgressing borders of what it means to be part of an ethnic, religious or even queer community can leave individuals vulnerable to disciplinary forces. For example, when Angela appeared in a Ramadan video, Edward supported Salam during pride, or how QW described the negative social control their audiences can be exposed to.

Visibility, as it appears in the data analysis so far, can be a trap. However, the data collection also indicates that the appearance of non-conforming identity performances can be a form of powerful border disruption. So far, the thesis has illuminated Salam and QWs mobilization strategy for political resistance, the following section analyses their use of visibility as an innovative border contestation.

5.3.2.1. Visibility in history, religion and culture

Another observable innovative form of border contestation is how they centre queer voices in history, religion and culture. The themes disclosed is how Salam and QW contest the neutrality of history and religion, and in doing so, they also contest geographical knowledge, accepted categories and meanings. They illuminate contradictions inherent in ideas that have been accepted as truth. Therefore, they also question underlying knowledge and power relations that lead up to a particular border, this with attention to history. This tactic falls under innovative contestation as they use already existing narratives but utilize them with the intention of re-writing the border principles. As such, one could also describe this as opening borders in order to include queer aspects. Accordingly, the following segment also examines how new border meanings are developing

On one hand, a queering of history and culture is arguably taking place, however, on the other hand, a more precise explanation would be pointing out contradictions and fallacies of how history, religion and culture is told, and then defending their existence within said history, culture and religion. An adequate illustration is how Salam equates transphobia as Haram (a sin):

“Transphobia is haram because it is a sin to carry hatred in one’s heart. It is a shame to have prejudices against other people who are different from you. (...) In the Qur’an, Muslims

learn to respect the rights of individuals. And how to choose to live your life is one of them. It is not a sin to be transgender, but it is a sin to be transphobic.” (16.01.2020)

Here, the question of what is deemed sinful is instrumental. Or more precisely, the statement challenges the narrative of what is considered as living a so-called sinful life and committing sinful actions. The quote inverts the argument of how trans-identity is incompatible with Islam and argues that prejudice is the actions one should sanction instead of trans-persons. Furthermore, they argue that the foundation of their religion is tolerance, understanding and empathy. On those grounds, they make the argument that it is not necessarily non-heterosexuality or non-cisgender identities, but rather prejudiced behaviour, that is incompatible with Islamic teachings. Lastly, the quote displays how despite pushback from religious communities, the Qur'an remains a central source of guidance and support for validating their identity.

Additionally, Salam has a podcast episode dedicated to discussing queerness and Islam. The podcast episode aims to resolve the supposed conflict between religion and queer sexualities. When describing the anti-queer views within their respective religious communities and how it is accepted as authentic narratives, they relate it to three causes: misinterpretation of theological readings the Qur'an, authoritarian figures and community leaders misusing religion, and lastly, western imperialism.

Beginning with how the Qur'an can be misinterpreted, the following quotes demonstrate how Salam is reconstituting interpretations, and consequently, leaving the traditional boundaries of Qur'an truths (readings) less rigid and more inclusive of non-heterosexual lives:

“Homosexuality, as we understand it today, did not exist back then” (Podcast, October 2020)

The queer sexuality is however not explored in depth in the podcast episode. And this thesis encourages one to be cautious of how one translates these sexualities. This is due to the dangers of applying western sexuality and gender binaries to the data collection. Just because something appears to be a blank space, does not mean it is to be filled with another available recognizable knowledge. The thesis, therefore, translates the data collection to display a rather fluid interpretation of sexuality. For that reason, it also allows for the wiggle room Salam requests when they rework boundaries.

Nevertheless, their argument relies on distinguishing fallacies behind the expostulation of queer identities. When exploring the Hadiths, Salam disagrees with the traditional narratives of sexuality. Salam argues that homosexuality is not a topic in the Qur'an. Their reason for this is that the Hadiths are reported sayings of Prophet Muhammad, which also varies in "Isnad" (chain of transmission), thus one could challenge the interpretive authority religious leaders possess towards an acceptance of difference. When the Hadiths are referred to in the condemnation of sexualities, Salam posits that the argument lacks authenticity:

"For example, the Qur'an states that Muslims are obliged to pray, but does not say how long or how often. So, the hadith fills what is missing in the Qur'an. The books complement each other. What does the Quran say about Queerness?" (Angela Podcast, October 2020).

To which Edward, a representative from the Palestine Committee answers:

"To be completely honest, nothing. The interpretation that is often referred to is taken from a story. It's not a Law"

This section of the data collection has, as such, explored how Salam negotiate and navigate through religious borders concerned with queer sexualities. As the quote illustrates, Salam does not reject their religious beliefs. Despite being confronted with religious dogmas from their communities, they contest the criticisms of non-heterosexuality in Islam. Under these circumstances, one could argue that they can reclaim their presence within the boundaries of Muslim identity categories.

Furthermore, in addition to reconstituting themselves theologically, they also use history as a tactic for self-empowerment. The following quote is of Edward and argues that feminist debates are nothing new within Islam nor the global South:

"The philosopher Ibn Rushd was a philosopher, sharia judge in ancient Al-Andalus and a rationalist thinker. He was the father of the renaissance in Europe because he found Aristoteles and Plato. he said, among other things, that women should become caliphs. this was a radical statement at this time it was "shirk". Therefore, they burned his books on a public bonfire. We can learn a lot from the past because one can find these debates and

sparks there as well. but the world has forgotten this and if you bring this up people will not understand how this can be true” (Podcast, October 2020).

Consequently, Edward advocates for learning from past philosophers and activists when discussing feminist questions of the present. One could also describe this as an attempt to place eastern countries in the “feminist timeline”, if you will, or even simply re-focusing feminist lenses towards other perspectives than those of the west. Either way, this is nevertheless an expression of how questions of queer identities and feminist philosophy is not a new concept to religious communities, however, as Rumi then goes on to proclaim, their struggles have simply been erased and forgotten. Here, they challenge historical knowledge as well as geographical ones by questioning the narratives of the global South.

“People do not know this and do not know that Abon Aash was queer. Because his poems are banned in these so-called Arab countries. (...) But these (feminist and queer) topics we are going through today, what we are discussing now is nothing is new in Islam. Even the role of women in prayer has long been discussed. (...) But unfortunately, Islamism and nationalism, dictatorship in many Muslim countries have made people not know this. (...) they actively and systematically use God to strengthen their own arguments” (Rumi).

The expert also points to the erasure of queer and feminist contributions to history. The imagination of time is argued to be dominated by men, due to history writing strategic alignment with a male-dominated narrative. As such, Angela asks the following question:

“Why are scholars silent about the history we have? it is not that they do not know that this was a reality because they have a good knowledge of Muslim history”

From this quote, it is possible to hypothesize a discontent with the way male voices are positioned as actors and architects of history, due to a systematic erasure of female and queer contributions. The gendered and sexuality biased perceptions of time and history are, according to Rumi, attributed to authoritarian governments and leaders' use of and co-optation of religious institutions or perspectives to justify their actions. Therefore, Salam can be said to be contesting geographical knowledge as a piece of neutral and objective knowledge. Similarly, when discussing queer erasure from history, or the tendency to belittle

or diminish queer contributions from historical retellings Salam bring up the Ottoman Empire:

“The Ottoman Empire, for example, decriminalized homosexuals in 1854. We are talking about poems and songs and poetry, but there were also paintings that were very explicit”
(Rumi).

In this regard, they question the intentional tactic to downplay the significance of queer voices or the strategic removal of queer voices from historic imaginations. However, in addition to discussing how religious narratives can be co-opted by political leaders in order to sustain their seat in powerful positions, they also examine how western imperialism have affected gender and sexual understanding in the global south:

“When Britain colonized India and the Middle East, they brought with them their own sodomy laws. Being trans and queer was not illegal in all these countries and places. It was considered sacred. But when the colonial powers came, they criminalized everything that had to do with queerness. Resulting in marginalization and punishment. What is interesting here, is that when Europeans travelled to the Middle East, North Africa and the Indian subcontinent, they saw how liberated Muslims were and became appalled by the sight. (...) This created a backlash among nationalists and conservative Muslims. To change the Europeans' views of Muslims, they began to discriminate against queers by building on the laws created by the Europeans, appropriated and turned it into their own” (Rumi).

Here, Salam presents a different version of history, to argue for their right to exist. Not only in the present, but also in the past. The statement above illustrates how Salam confronts the erasure of queerness from history, and how being made invisible is a strategy for branding a nation-state. Notably, this is done by illuminating how knowledge of what it means to be queer acquired authority. Consequently, in addition to questioning the neutrality of how history is represented, they also question geographical knowledge. Therefore, the knowledge about what it means to be queer - a sexual deviant - has specific geographical and elements to it.

Moreover, we also observe how Salam deems sexuality to be a central place in the symbolic bordering of “India and the Middle East”. When these regions were presented as sodomites

due to a perception of sexuality and gender that is differentially expressed than within the British borders, a form of anxiety occurred leading up to a border-struggle. The result of these Border-Struggles was, as Rumi states in the quote above, the implementation of discriminatory laws. Rumi then, contends that a border process has occurred, firstly as a change in the meaning of being queer, and then secondly, as a strategic erasure of queerness from history.

Consequently, reconstituting themselves in history, religion and culture can be understood as means for demystifying borders. Erasing the existence of queer in religion and history, as a strategic bordering tactic that discriminates against the LGBTQIA+ population and gives authority to the discernment of non-heterosexual and cis-gendered expressions. How Salam and QW outlines a queer past with specific geographical knowledge implicated can in turn increase visibility to non-conforming identity expressions. In doing so they contest the current borders authority through presenting new conceptions of queerness in the present historical moment.

5.3.2.2. Aesthetics of (in)visibility

While the previous segment considered how Salam and QW reconstituted themselves in history, religion and culture as a means for demystifying borders, this segment attempts at analysing the aesthetics of (in)Visibility. By (in)visibility, the thesis refers to the exchange between being visible and invisible - how it fluctuates due to a specific context. Several elements of the data collection concerned themselves with how queer ethnic minorities are erased from mainstream narratives of identity-bounding of queer and ethnic minority. Throughout the chapter, it has been alluded to how Salam and QW experience being “left outside”, without a proper sense of belonging - a result of strict bordering around identities. Hence, connecting with the queer past is an innovative contestation to how borders render ethnic minority or religion incompatible with elements of queerness. Arguably, the borders discipline those whose activities are regulated and organized under the border in many ways; and the most eminent one for this thesis is rendering them invisible. The following sections will attempt to analyse how intersecting identity-markers are central to the discipline Salam and QW face.

*“We are a QW’s Youth Group/Chapter. We are the future.
Maybe you cannot see us but know that we are here.*

Know that we are.” (I am what I am, p.4).

The statement above tells us something about queer representation: the lack of ethnic minority representation within the queer and majority culture. However, the statement also points out that the lack of representation should not be mistaken for non-existence. Ensuring their audience of this seems to be an important tactic for both QW and Salam. Although this particular quote demonstrates hope and encouragement, other parts of the data describe invisibility as a heavy burden for their audience. This feature of the queer identity of ethnic minorities has been referenced in earlier parts of the thesis, as such appears to be a reoccurring theme for both Salam and QW. Salam, for example, stated the following:

“I dream of the day when the majority population no longer consider being “Muslim” and “Feminist” as opposites, but rather see us as strong women who reach for their own standards” (01.02.2021)

Even though the quote does not necessarily mention queerness, it does however allude to a bounding of categories that exclude those with multiple identity markers. As Muslim and feminist are exclusive terms, the same sentiment has been observed in the data collection in regard to queer and Muslim, or queer ethnic minority. Like for example, the following statement from Salam:

“We refuse to be pushed back into the closet because our religion and sexuality are not mutually exclusive” (13.05.2019)

Here, being invisible is related to the concept of “the closet”. One could imagine that at the intersections of two identity-markers, the inhibitor of said identity is not recognized. Their existence is thus met with a response that thus pushes them back into the closet – that is a state of invisibility for the inhibitor of said identities, and non-existence for the majority population. In other words, they experience a state of invisibility and being pushed to the outskirts.

While the previous quote describes the state as being pushed into the closet, Rumi from Salam describes it as paradoxical. His speech on Orlando was previously mentioned in the thesis, where he said he needed to defend his religion. As a Muslim, he was assigned blame

in the aftermath of the Nightclub shooting in Orlando. He explained how he was perceived as inherently violent due to his religious affiliations. However, in the same speech he concluded that being:

“...queer and Muslim in Norway is impossible. Because I am the one who needs to be protected and the one who is feared at the same time. My body was used against me. I needed to be saved from myself.” (14.01.2020)

Similarly, later in the speech, Rumi tells the listeners:

“One day, not so long ago, I visited a friend at Tøyen. On my way I was greeted by SIAN-members carrying posters of young Iranian queer men hanging from cranes. It seems that queer Muslims never get peace. Not even when they die – it was a sad sight. Again, my body was used against me” (14.01.2020)

Again, there is a notion of these identity categories as not being able to be carried by the same individual. Rumi, in this sense, is not taken into account when homophobia and terrorism are discussed. His identity makers being exclusive also makes it possible to pit them against each other, as Islam is characterized as a threat to queer people. Consequently, the bounding of Muslim and Islam is laid with imagery of danger, terrorism and a threat, while queer is by adjacency the identity to be protected. There is therefore a boundary process taking place, where queerness is strategically removed from the border criteria's constituting “A Muslim”, subsequently, the separation of the two variables allows for contestation between them. From Rumi's speech, it is possible to deduce an experience of queer being weaponized against the Muslim other. This is ever more apparent in the following quote:

“I did not have time to mourn, I did not have time to reflect on the tragedy. I had to start defending myself – as a Muslim. I had to reassure people that not all Muslims are terrorists, that terrorists have no religion” (14.01.2020)

Additionally, in the same speech he described the aftermath of the terrorist attack as a lonely period, as he did not have a support system consisting of people like him to talk to. One could therefore argue that a result of the closet, or the paradoxical identities, is being excluded from

both communities – religious as well as queer. This aspect can be illustrated with the following quote:

“When I open my mouth and say queer-Muslim I am greeted with acclamation and support...but as I open my mouth and talk about the discrimination I face in society as a Muslim – Yes, then I am labelled as dangerous identity politics” (14.01.2020).

This was also a reference to how mainstream queer social movements resist Rumi and Salam’s rhetoric as it is labelled as dangerous identity politics. Here, we can observe some dynamics in the bounding process of queer identities. Rumi is encouraged to express his queer identity within strict parameters. As such, he is not necessarily rejected as a Muslim, however, if he were to speak out or criticise the bounding of queer identities, he is met with resistance. Therefore, he can be Muslim, but just as long as it doesn’t threaten the current order of things. In other words, being Muslim is not a danger to an institutionalized border, if it does not contest the border. Therefore, the marker of “Muslim” in Muslim/queer, is a hollow one and without any form of content other than visual representation. As such, it can exist under the border, but only under strict supervision. Following, we can describe this border phenomenon as being (in)visibly queer, as their visibility hinges on strict parameters for expression.

As a concluding remark, one could argue that bordering processes partializes the subject and through regulatory manners, it reduces the individual to fractions of themselves. However, the experience of this partialization has been described as paradoxical, as when these fractions can be pitted against each other. Given this, the thesis argues that the intersection of identity-markers rendered the subject invisible.

5.3.2.3.Subverting narratives

In the paragraphs that follow, the thesis analyses how QW and Salam make use of existing narratives as a form of innovative contestation. In the following section, we continue to analyse how these organizations assign new meanings to borders. However, what stands out in this segment of the data collection is how, through subversion of given truths and symbols, they counter the state of invisibility mentioned earlier. By (re)representing themselves, they

cultivate new forms of identity-formations and political subjectivities. Accordingly, through creative means, they partake in a border-struggle for new demarcations of queer.

“Subhan Allah we are queer” (10.09.2019)

“Ramadan Queer” (07.05.2019)

“Ramadan is here. She’s woman, she’s Muslim, she’s queer and fabulous!” (07.05.2019)

They strategically make use of classical tropes, stereotypes or cliches, but add small changes that either alter or reverse the original meaning. The data collection shows that both organizations draw on common phrases and visualizations and manipulate them in order to give them new symbolizations. These connote a queer identity that is not mutually exclusive with religion and ethnicity. Again, one could argue that this is an attempt at reworking the symbolic boundaries for definitions of “queer” in Norway. The first example is taken from a book written by QW youth chapter; “I am what I am” (front page):



This photo challenges traditional imagery by adding new features. In this translation of a queer person, they challenge the imagery of “pride” and what members of the LGBTQIA+ population can look like. Whereas, the glitter arguably references the rainbow, the headscarf, a traditional garment worn by women of different cultures and religions in the global South, references ethnic minorities in Norway. Together with an androgenous silhouette, the image questions gender binaries and sexuality, as well as cultural identities. Here, they undoubtedly explore the many possibilities of expressions of gender and sexuality.

Similarly, the subversion of narratives is the act of reframing the lenses and strategically positioning them at the intersection of identity-markers that were previously pushed to the outskirts, neglected or “forced into the closet” (Sedgwick 2008). Being visible could then be characterized as having a proper representation of one’s identity markers, and for some, this might also entail providing individuals with role models or sources of inspiration.

Representation, as such, not only challenges current narratives and boundary criteria, it could also combat the loneliness that Rumi spoke about in the previous segment.

Likewise, QW uses visibility as a tool to reach out to both their audiences, as well as society at large. As the following quote will illustrate, “I am what I am” provides a platform for voices that are not often heard:

“The book acts as a link between young queer people and society, and contributes to increased acceptance and tolerance for the minority communities we work for (...) a useful tool for QW, as well as an interesting and attitude-creating reading material for better insight and understanding of what it is like to be young and queer with a minority background” (Yearly rapport, 2019:14).

Moreover, this strategy is also backed up by material practices, such as the introductory programs they hold at asylum reception centres. The data collection also states that QWs visibility within these spaces can be important in face of discrimination, prejudice and invalidation. Arguably, when QW holds a presentation at these centres, they are in part disrupting border criteria’s whilst taking up space in a heteronormative space. This, in turn, validates the existence of intersecting identity-markers. Moreover, as the next statement will illustrate, their visibility creates a narrative of queer ethnic minorities as active agents in society and contributing to social change:

“LGBTIQIA+ people in asylum reception centres, Introductory Programs or Adult Education usually live in hiding and are exposed to discrimination. We often come into contact with new people after holding courses at said places. Many have who have never dared to talk to anyone about their orientation before meeting us. (...) By having such information visible, you show the possibility of LGBTIQIA+ people in your environment that is safe to come to”
(Courses and Workshops, QW).

By the same token, Salam uses visibility to create inclusivity across different borders. As have been previously mentioned, the data collection shows how religion and queer appear to be two mutually exclusive categories.

6. Discussion

So far, the thesis has presented and analysed the findings from the data collection. The previous chapter identified several borders that could affect queer ethnic minorities in Norway, as well as how Salam and QW contest these borders. The contestations were divided into two categories; reactionary and innovative contestation and says something about the nature of the contestations. Reactionary contestations are reactionary activities to the exclusion that queer ethnic minorities experience, while innovative contestations are creative activities that could partake in new border meanings. The following chapter will discuss the analysis in relation to the topic question; *what borders confronts queer ethnic minorities in Norway, does borders affect them, and how can social movement actors resist borders?*

Therefore, the following segment is divided into three parts, beginning with identifying the borders, the thesis will attempt to understand what the borders are and what story they tell. Border management and the demarcation process is therefore discussed. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, Hall's first 4 questions are included here: statement of knowledge, rules, personification and historization of the border. Afterwards, mechanisms of borders are examined; how do they work? As a socio-spatial process they proliferate, discipline transgressions, create a borderscape and intersect in ways that create a specific experience for queer ethnic minorities. Lastly, the thesis discusses Hall's sixth question; the development of new borders, and a deliberation into border-struggles with emerging political subjectivities. Here, performativity, as a method for subverting border meanings is discussed, in order to examine the creation of new borders.

6.1. Identifying the borders

The data collection presented the following as actors who possess the ability to partake in border management: immigration and asylum authorities (and politicians), governmental representatives of Norway on the global stage, religious leaders and members of ethnic minority communities, queer organizations like LLH 2019, and other members of the queer movement in Norway. These can be considered as actors participating in border management. Furthermore, the data collection also observed how Salam and QW also partake in border management, sometimes through contesting the state, and other times by consorting with the state.

Consequently, the border is not an antithesis for Salam and QW. As the data analysis made clear, it is not an either/or question, but rather a question of when. On some occasions, it is fruitful for Salam and QW to consort with state actors, in those situations, one could argue that they, themselves, become an integrated part of the border management. Their work within asylum reception centres and school visits, to name a few examples, can influence the meaning of what it means to be “queer”. Though their integration into border management is as a guest, due to their temporary residence as an actor. Moreover, one could argue that their changing position as a contest to border manager and an upholder/representation of a border, illustrates the fluctuating abilities of borders.

It is therefore interesting to further discuss the how-question of a border. However, before the thesis can do so – one needs to identify the borders. The data analysis outlined the following socio-spatial lines of separation: “queer border”, “ethnic minority and religious border” and the “Norwegian state apparatus border”. As such, one needs to discuss the demarcation of borders, or more precisely, the discursive work of the borders.

6.1.1. Queer borders

Beginning with the Queer Border, one could argue that this border contains racialized and gendered elements. As was made clear in the data collection, Salam and QW both experienced expectations from the queer community related to ethnicity and gender.

6.1.1.1 LGB-Border

By analysing their opposition to LLH 2019’s feminist analysis of queer subjugation, one can observe disagreements in queer liberation. As binaries of “woman/man” are rooted in biological essentialist views on gender, LLH 2019 place the reason for the subjugation of women on “violent men” (Butler 2002). Consequently, this border provides us with *statements of the topic that gives us certain kinds of knowledge* of the LGBTQIA+ population, and the most prominent one excludes non-cis-gendered gender expressions. Therefore, the queer border can be defined as LGB-border due to its trans-exclusionary practices. Arguably, much of the border knowledge revolves around gender, in particular, a binary sex/gender system (Butler 2002). Interestingly, LGB-border does not follow Butlers heterosexual matrix where sex, gender, desire follows naturally from each other, as desire

does not predispose to gender (Butler 2002). Meaning, female gender does not necessitate the desire of the male gender (Butler 2002). Even though gender does not determine one's desire, the border can still be said to contain elements of the matrix because of its emphasis on binary gender roles. Following, one could argue that the truth about sex is what is assigned at birth and is decided based on genitalia, hormones and other biological factors. gender, however, is not culturally constituted but as a direct social construction of sex (Butler 2002).

Therefore, the knowledge constituting the border states that the materiality of biological sex and the oppression of women has a direct link. It is imaginable that from Salam's perspective of the border, feminism and feminist theory is presented as the persecutor of trans persons. On those grounds, one may observe a fallacy behind the border's framing of metaphysics of substance. As was explained in the theoretical chapter, Butler argues against a solid Identity (2002). Understanding one's existence as a "substance" would imply that identities are solid and fixed in nature. The illusion of identity is observable in how the border frames gender as inherently linked to a fixed sex. When the border presents gender as a coherent identity, with fixed qualities and experiences it excludes the elements of gender that result from social reality and culture (Butler 2002). Salam, then, argues for an approach to gender as something one "does", contrary to something one "is". Accordingly, trans persons are *doing* gender in ways that do not conform with the knowledge constituting the LGB-border.

This is not to state that the LGB-border does not present gender as an effect of discursive practice. As a social construct, the border understands that gender can entail gender roles with its affiliated expectations for how people with a certain gender must behave. The data collection does not suggest that the LBG-border necessitates specific behaviour attached to gender, in the same way, it does not necessitate a correlation to desire. It does, however, prescribe a gender identity that is fixed to sex. Accordingly, what is rendered as a "true" gender identity are solely those who confirm the sex/gender correlation. And in turn, it is the trans person who is a construed and made-up identity. One could therefore argue that the LGB-border institutionalized the idea that a true member of the LGBTQIA+ population is cis-gendered, hence, LGB-border.

Rendering something intelligible and unintelligible is an important part of the border as it says something about which certain types of identity are possible. This brings the thesis to *the rules concerning what is "sayable" and "thinkable"* when it comes to gender. Even though it

understands gender as somewhat culturally constituted, it still renders transness as an impossible category. Despite its transgressions towards the heterosexual matrix that Butler presents, it still places limits on identities (2002). And more importantly, it places limits on individual's self-determination and realization. Instead, it upholds a linear understanding of how gender follows from sex. One could argue that from Salam's perspective, the LGB-border governs individuals' ability to perform the gendered language that they chose for themselves.

With its emphasis on bodies, the LGB-border presents rules concerning what is "sayable" and "thinkable" with regards to gender determination in essentialist ways and treats trans women as agents of the subjugation of women. In legitimizing the LGB-borders exclusion of non-cisgender expressions, it represents transness as inherently violent against cis-gendered women. One could therefore argue that the LGB-border interacts with visible physical characteristics and perpetuates ideas of violence directly related to bodies.

The border's essentialist view of gender is a view that has fixed and essentialized the conjunction between sex and gender and naturalizes a view of male socialization through which the female sex is presented as a victim (Butler 2002). Much of the border knowledge relates to violence and especially violence against women. The violence occurs in restrooms and changing rooms, or in relation to the medical trauma that trans men will, according to the border, inevitably experience during their transitioning period. When thinking about "women" the LGB-border prescribes rules making it impossible to connect the male gender to violence.

One could therefore argue that *the personification* of the LGB-border is the "repentant woman" and "the violent man". However, the violent man that the LGB-border is addressing is described as "a predator in female clothing". The LGB-border thus implies that trans persons are liars whose sole purpose is to deceive others. One could imagine that this approach to gender-based violence describes trans women as conniving individuals who conspire to inflict harm upon cis-women. Notably, the LGB-border does not govern "all men" but intends to control a specific experience of gender. Perhaps then "the violent man presenting or hiding as a woman" is a more fitting description of the LGB-border.

Additionally, the personifications create an antithesis between who “we are ” and who “they are “. “They” are the repentant women and violent men, while the personification of “we” is a person of innate inferiority. Either as a victim of gender-based violence or as a woman and closeted lesbian who cannot make proper decisions for themselves, hence they are regretting their transitions. Consequently, the border fixes a dichotomy between women/men to mobilize for the protection of the vulnerable. This dichotomy is particularly interesting because it accuses trans persons of reinforcing gender systems when it allows “men presenting women” to inflict violence upon cis-gendered women. While simultaneously, accusing trans persons of dismantling the gender system when their existence objects to the gender binary.

In order to contextualize the LGB-border, one must examine *How did the knowledge acquire authority?* Notably, the LGB-border was not created in a vacuum. According to Pearce et.al, the knowledge can be traced to the stance of “gender ideology” (2020). This term can be described as both anti-trans and anti-feminist narratives and can be found amongst right-winged Christians who position themselves as protectors of traditionalist values (Pearce et.al. 2020). By proposing that gender equality is a threat to Christian values they use morality to argue against LGBTQIA+- and gender-equality. The LGB-border, however, is an outgrowth from Gender Ideology into what many explain as being “Gender Critical” (Pearce et.al 2020). The term relates to a blog post from 2016, however, researchers argue that it serves as an empty signifier that stands in for “demoralization, abortion, non-normative sexuality and sex-confusion” to name a few (Pearce et.al. 2020: 681).

Some argue that as trans persons and non-binary people became more visible in media and policy arenas, they challenged biological understandings of “womanhood” and what it means to be female. Gender critical opposition grew as a critique to their increased visibility and responded emotionally in attempts to reassert essentialist perspectives on gender. Perspectives that traditionally have been afforded to the far-right, conservative and anti-feminist actors (Pearce et al. 2020: 682). This narrative of the LGB-border echoes how Salam and POGI understand the development of LLH 2019 as a Border Manager within the queer community.

Although it is difficult to gather if these views on gender can be said to represent the majority of the queer community, one could still argue for the border’s existence within the queer

community. We can still discuss the findings, as the data analysis demonstrates a language expressing frustration towards a harmful ideology. This gives certain privileges to cis-gendered people that is not afforded to those identifying as trans or non-binary. As such, the analysis of the border is an attempt to emphasize it from the perspective of those that the border governs.

6.1.1.2. Racialized queer border

The other border identified by the data analysis is one that creates a difference based on ethnicity and queer liberation strategy. These aspects are understood by Salam and QW is intertwined, as they recognize how being included in the community often relates to how one identifies their grievances. Where Salam and QW identify economic and social issues like housing and migration as pressing matters, they also note how marriage is unobtainable or not an urgent issue. Furthermore, in accordance with how members of Salam also declared that they have experienced racism and islamophobia within queer spaces, one could argue that they push for how queer organizations actively address this reality. However, they disclose the difficulties of combating racism within their community, either as a misguided analysis (as Gay being the new black), or with an incomplete struggle against racism.

On those grounds, one could argue that statements about the border that can provide certain kinds of knowledge have been identified and is mostly due to a neglect of the intersections of racism and queerness. Accordingly, the border knowledge says that there is only one way to be LGBTQIA+, and that is arguably related to ethnicity. The knowledge creates a unity subject, and renders others peripheral to the mainstream (Hall 1997) . This border, then, follows a singular framework for identity, thus excluding how other identity-markers can affect the queer experience.

Following, the rules concerning what is “sayable” and “thinkable” constructs queerness as whiteness and being non-religious (Cohen 1997). Being queer is about “love”, or more precisely, the relationship performances that mimic heterosexuality like obtaining institutional marriage. Interestingly, the rules of the border places Salam and QW both inside and outside of its bounding, pressuring QW and Salam to renounce their religion or articulate a queer identity that excludes their ethnic minority experiences.

Moreover, the data analysis also presents A subject personifying the border. According to other research, the personified subject is the middle-class, white homosexual male (Cohen 1997) This echoes Salam and QW, as they speak of queer liberation as a need for dismantling white supremacy, capitalism and imperialism. They do not speak of issues that are related to the working class and precarious classes, but issues of middle-class people; such as marriage.

Lastly, the data analysis described how knowledge about the border acquired authority. There has been a piggy-backing and hijacking of the movement that was started by African- and Latin- trans Americans. One could argue that they experience an adjustment through which those who were positioned closest to the existing border are now included. Furthermore, one could say that The Stonewall Riots have been depolitized by making sexuality politics into a question of love, instead of questioning the normative underpinnings of border criteria (Cohen 1997).

6.1.2.Ethnic minority and religious Border

The data analysis identified two borders within the ethnic minority and religious border, one based on gender, and another based on sexuality.

6.1.2.1. Gender-border

Starting with the Gender-border, the data collection provided several statements of the subject giving us certain kinds of knowledge about the Gender-border. When discussing Angela's presence in the public eye, they referred to a so-called chocolate reference. The reference alluded to how wearing a veil, like for example a hijab, will protect women from being contaminated and tainted. Following the chocolate reference, wearing a veil is protection from male attention and particularly sexual attention. Hence, one could argue that the reference also contains elements of the sexualization of women.

Moreover, one could argue that sexualization positions women as individuals *in need of* protection. This border-truth is exemplified by how Rumi explains the need for hiding women. And as Rumi explained - this relates to the patriarchal attitudes that positioning men as active, albeit weak, agents, filled with lust, while women are passive agents that need to "be wrapped in cotton", as Rumi stated. Consequently, Salam describes the gender-border

within ethnic minority and religious communities as a patriarchal one. In other words, the power/knowledge they deduce are inherently patriarchal and create ramifications for gender roles (Hall 1997). Noticeably, they understand their experiences as a result of social structures, rather than a consequence of the actions of certain individuals.

Arguably, this perspective can be traced to Butler's theory of performativity (2002). Similar to the discussion on LGB-border, one could argue that under a patriarchal border, the male identity is a result of social rituals that render the true masculine performance with active sexuality. Furthermore, the reception of Angela in the public eye can also be explained because of how true masculine performances are rendered as logical, allowing them to be political beings. One could therefore argue that similar to the LGB-border, there is an observable sex/gender binary between the male sex and masculine gender and the female sex feminine gender (Butler 2002).

However, Salam is not an organization that is against veils, such as the hijab. It is choice that is the determining factor in their experience with the border. Like how the LGB-border deprives individuals of the opportunity to choose their gendered lives, the gender-border deprived individuals the choice to articulate their own religious lives. The choice is taken away as the border constructs a rigid image of what it means to be a Muslim Woman. In that effect, the veil becomes a constructed entity of the gender-border to employ control.

This brings us to the next aspect of the border; the subject personifying the border. Here, the data analysis observed two personifications; “the honourable woman” residing within, and “the tainted woman” positioned outside the border. Within the border, characterizations like honourable, modest, pure and perhaps de-politicized are attributed to the bounding of gender. Those who transgress the gender-border are characterised as dirty, contaminated, and perhaps even loud. Furthermore, one could argue that the personifications this section discovers can be understood as signifiers of the borders. The story and narrative a border presents have a “bad guy” whom they use give non-desirable attributes, and a “good guy” they give the opposite attributes. One could imagine that this is how border processes tell a story and uses attributes to naturalize the narrative.

Rules about what is and isn't sayable about the subject can be imagined as related to a perceived natural difference between men and women. The differences are related to

biological factors such as reproduction. Even though these are differences that could be found in nature, if one looks away from the fact that not all women can give birth, there is a constructionist process that links reproduction to the attributes of the border. As previously argued, attributes of sexuality are something that can tempt men, and on those grounds should be hidden unless it is spoken about in relation to a nuclear family. The process through which women's sexuality and as political beings are rendered unthinkable, creates an illusion of a core identity that all women share. Hence, the idea of women as modest does not exist before it is given meaning and performed.

6.1.3.2. Sexuality-border.

The other border found within ethnic minority and religious communities was based on heterosexuality. About the statements of the subject giving us certain kinds of knowledge about sexuality-border, the data collection illustrates how non-heterosexuality is not compatible with the bounding of ethnic minority and religious borders. When referring to this truth, the story of the people of Lot or Sodom and Gomorrah and interpretations of Hadith is used to frame non-heterosexuality as deviant. Although the data collection cannot provide the thesis with specific interpretations that provide said knowledge, the interesting aspect of the data is how it divides between the Qur'an as immutable, and the theological work done by individuals as mutable. Accordingly, Salam illustrates how the non-heterosexuality, and by extension transness, is fixed as the opposite of Islam. QW, however, illustrates how borders of ethnic communities would exclude queerness in similar ways; by essentializing ethnicity with heterosexuality.

In other words, the border states a need for separating religion and sexual identities. Arguably, this could be understood as rules about what is and isn't sayable about the subject. This separation is based on making non-heterosexuality a deviant idea and being associated with such a deviance can foster repercussions. The governing of queer subjects involves prescribing behaviour towards those close to the subjects as well.

Interestingly, the data analysis also demonstrates how a subject personifying the border can be an entity like the pride flag. Being symbols of community and belonging, the pride flag personifies non-conforming sexualities and genders. However, in meeting this border, the pride flag becomes a personification of deviance, something that is un-Palestinian and un-Muslim. One might therefore make connection between the symbolic elements of flags when

stating that placing the flag in relation to the Palestinian flag, was, therefore, an unthinkable pairing.

Lastly, how did knowledge acquire authority? When discussing the misogynist and homophobic attitudes they have observed, Salam associates it with colonial wars, the development of nation-states and tribalism. By illuminating how homoerotic themes in literature and poetry have existed in the global south, and feminist discussions within theology and philosophy outside the global north, they argue that there has been a process of deliberate erasure from historical records. An erasure they understand was done to give authority to misogynistic and homophobic translation of religion or as a tool for acquiring political power. They have therefore analysed what role states and religious leaders play in the development of gender roles and perspectives on sexuality, hence, against a truth that leaves gender and sexuality as a fixed entity. Notably, it acquired authority to be able to censor queerness and femininity from history.

One could therefore argue that Salam themselves have identified the interconnectedness of power/knowledge of gender and sexuality that excludes them, and even the history of this development. This is one of the more interesting parts of the data collection; how border processes contain a power/knowledge relation that construct what is accepted as truth (Newman 2006, Hall 1997). Arguably, Salam's discussion of the Hadiths illustrates that it is not what the literature actually says that has an effect on the border, but rather the importance of who is in power. Who has the power to decide the knowledge, and how does the knowledge assist power? Further conversations and in-depth interviews could provide a better analysis of their perspective on gender and religious social control.

6.1.3. Norwegian state apparatus border

The thesis has also observed how the Norwegian state apparatus presents obstacles for queer ethnic minorities. Salam and QW's social media presence identified two borders: immigration-border and foreign politics-border.

6.1.3.1. Immigration-border

Beginning with matters of immigration, one could argue that this border most relates to physical or traditional approaches to borders, as it deals with entrance to the nation-state. The

data analysis provided statements of the subject give us certain kinds of knowledge about its entrance-criteria.

1. Eastern European countries are “safe” enough for LGBTQIA+ individuals
2. Family Reunification can only be done if the couple can provide proof of marriage or cohabitation.

Upon further inspection, one could argue that the statements are providing the truth about refugee categories; and the performances it deems as true. Queer theory has a lengthy history in interrogating the discursive developments of a genuine LGBTQIA+ Refugee, and according to Akin, universal rights are often created on the premise of the existence of a universal subject (2018). The genuine LGBTQIA+refugee possess characteristics that are inherent in the asylum seeker, as such, this is also reminiscent of Butler's theory of performativity. As she explains, gender and sexuality identity is not a fixed category, nor an innate or neutral aspect of a person (2002). Gender and sexuality identity is the result of the normalization of repetitive performances and is governed by regulatory structures of meaning (Butler 2002, Akin 2018). When outlining a universal right, the juridical system produces a Unitary Subject consisting of specific performances (Butler 2002).

This thesis argues that the same logic can be extended to the meaning of a refugee. Caseworkers are basing their decisions on a unitary subject with a substance or a core identity that can be found in all non-heterosexual and non-cis-gendered asylum claimants. Accordingly, the Norwegian construction of an LGBTQIA+-refugee creates an illusion of an ahistorical, context-free and predetermined individual that can be discovered at the border (Akin 2018), when the substance of the category is the result of the governance of the repetitive acts (Butler 2002). Thus, being in risk of persecution does not include, the albeit broad category, being Eastern European.

There are thus some rules about what is and isn't sayable about the subject inherent in their articulation of the border. When Salam points to the dangers queer people face in some eastern European countries, they are in fact pointing to how the border has constructed “refugeeness” in such a way that renders them disposable. They cannot become refugees if their performance is labelled unrecognized according to the border. One could argue that when Salam says that their asylum claimants must be validated, they argue against the

borders labelling them as unworthy of protection. Or when QW criticizes how the state approaches family reunification, the first and foremost comment is on its lack of nuance and understanding for how marriage and cohabitation is not an option for many queer people across the world. In so doing, they criticize how the policy based on heteronormative cohabitation renders unintelligible other kinds of family and intimate formations. Consequently, queer articulations of kinship are rendered unintelligible in relation to the border.

The question remains, what does this tell us about the subject personifying the border? If one follows the discussion so far, what personifications are rendered unintelligible? To some degree, it is possible to read between the lines that the sexual orientations and gendered identities included in refugee status carry cis-heteronormative assumptions of family. Furthermore, one could also argue that the refugee status contains a distinction between acceptable forms of harms. Consequently, the data collection provides a personification characterized as a “cis-heteronormative, vulnerable LGBTQIA+-asylum seeker”. In so doing, the border also personifies a subject who is not welcome; “non-normative, ingenuine asylum-seeker”.

The personification of the border can be corroborated with other research on the constructions of LGBTQIA+ refugees. Previous research has argued that law, social, and political history fix the frame of recognizability of a refugee in Norway based on factors such as vulnerability, victimization and specific narratives of sexuality and gender (Akin 2018). When demonstrating a well-founded fear of persecution, intelligible refugee-performances display a sense of victimization and shame as a result of repressing their sexuality. They also present as vulnerable in a manner that presents as without agency, this in order to fulfil the state’s role as a protectorate of refugees (Akin 2018). One could therefore argue that the way the border understands Easter European countries cannot include elements of refugeeness. In other words, they might be vulnerable, but they are not vulnerable enough.

Moreover, the personification presents a frame of performances that have been criticized for being cis-heteronormative where claimants present a “coming out story”, dress and behave in a certain way (Akin 2018). Consequently, the asylum seeker who does not conform to the border is characterized as threatening and even as lying about their sexuality and gender identity. This has been critiqued to be based on a heterosexual perspective of what it means to

be queer. Accordingly, one could draw connection to the difficulties of being granted family reunification due to kinships being understood in narrow ways. There are thus, many obstacles that are impending the queer asylum seeker at the immigration border.

Queer theorists have therefore argued that the “conceptualization of refugees is to be constructed prior to the distribution of the right to refugee status” (Akin 2018: 27). This brings us to the question of how did the knowledge acquire authority? As have been mentioned previously, the construction is done through political and social processes throughout history (Akin 2018). However, the data collection did not provide enough data to properly comment on this.

6.1.3.2. Foreign Policy-Border

Moving on, the foreign policy-border contains many of the same elements of knowledge as the immigration-border. Statements of the subject give us certain kinds of knowledge about this border relating to the nation-state framing of Norway. Meaning, how Norway appears on the global stage can symbolize the nation-state border. This is because it says something about who they are; their values and ideas (Hall 1997, Houtum & Naerssen 2001). In the data analysis so far, it has been argued that Salam connects Norway’s peace engagement to the very identity of Norway as a nation-state. Thereupon, Norway is a nation of peace and is inclusive towards non-cis-hetero identities. The rules about what is about the border describe the nation-state as a responsible actor in peace reconciliation processes and a promoter of equality. Correspondingly, what isn’t sayable about the border: a nation that is engaged in weapons distribution and has allies taking homophobic positions.

One could therefore argue that their statement also includes a denaturalization of the symbolic border of Norway through examining their actions on the global stage. In so doing, they bring to light a double standard: as a peace nation, while simultaneously refusing to denounce actions of homophobic allies and partake in weapons distribution. Arguably, Salam demystifies the imagined bounding of a peace nation. Consequently, one could arguably observe a subject personifying the border: the peaceful and responsible nation.

The question that remains is: how did the knowledge acquire authority? However, this aspect could not be retrieved from the data collection. But this does not discredit the work of Salam

and QW, as their articulations are fruitful for interpreting their own experiences. This brings the thesis to the next segment of the discussion - the mechanisms of borders.

6.2. Border mechanisms

The previous sections presented the border managers and discussed how the borders present a specific story to legitimize its bounding. Borders based on essentialized gender, sexuality and ethnicity were discussed, with different attributes and under different circumstances; at community-level organizing, the scale of the nation-state border as well as the global scale. The following section will further discuss these sentiments by deliberating on the mechanisms of border; how do they work? This segment begins with the proliferation of borders to illustrate the abundance of borders QW and Salam navigate. Thereafter, Hall's question no. 5; "wow is border transgressions treated", will be examined in order to understand the inner workings of border processes. Afterwards, the borderscape will be investigated in relation to how the proliferated borders spread throughout society. The multiplicity of borders has peculiar effects on belonging. Then, intersectionality is examined and how borders create a specific mode of difference characterized by invisibility, as well as how intersectionality can be a critical praxis for social movements.

6.2.1. Border as method and the proliferation of borders

One could argue that by shifting the gaze from place and pattern, as the traditional border studies do, to borders as a set of processes, it is possible to uncover the complex relations a border constitutes (Newman 2006b, Hall 1997). If one considers the many border managers that are active in the social-spatial organization that QW and Salam engage in, it is also possible to argue that borders create a special social phenomenon. A phenomenon where individuals, depending on their identity-markers, experience different sovereignty, or power/knowledge relations, within the same territory. Accordingly, borders proliferate and create a condition where QW and Salam navigate a multiplicity of borders (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013).

Moreover, one could therefore present the current findings as follows.

Border	Sub-borders	Personifications
Queer border	LGB - border	Predatory men/vulnerable Women
	Racialized - border	Queer and ethnic minority/white, atheist/non-white + non-religious
Ethnic/religious community	Gendered - border	Tainted woman/honourable woman
	Sexuality - border	Non-heterosexuality/heterosexuality
Norwegian state apparatus	Immigration - border	Lying and corrupt migrant/Vulnerable heteronormative gay refugee
	Foreign Politics - border	/Peaceful nation

Together borders proliferate and converge as they encourage specific performances (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013). Understanding belonging through border studies as such illuminates how physical demarcation lines around nation-states are not comprehensive. However, this thesis could argue that border mechanisms create little wiggle room for QW and Salam as upholders of multiple identity-markers. The following section will therefore discuss how borders discipline border transgressions.

6.2.2. Disciplining border transgressions

Together, borders bring about a form of social cohesion between its subjects through discursive practices. The discursive practices are carried out by individuals residing within or members of the community the borders represent. Considering that the borders in question for this thesis are not necessarily a formal entity and belong to the nation-state, many of the mechanisms for disciplining its subjects can be said to be informal. Through informal sanctions, they maintain the “meaning” and “idea” of the border and make sure that the subjects speak the same language (Hall 1997). It is therefore of utmost importance to pay attention to the personifications that the border presents because it is a symbolic practice that does the groundwork for the ordering within its territory. The symbols for the border are then institutionalized through repetitive acts that allow for the internalization of meaning and idea. In order to maintain the language within a border, that is the agreed-upon meaning and idea

of the border, subjects can confront those who transgress it (Newman 2006b, Hall 1997). Confrontations like posing demeaning questions, name-calling, shaming, ridicule and rejection from one's community, home and family. Accordingly, border processes can be said to have the ability to reject individuals from their bounding, as well as ideas and meanings that do not attune to their naturalized framing of community. These actions make up for the border mechanism's ability to maintain its social cohesion and shared meaning (Hall 1997).

In some instances, the mechanisms bestowed a strong enough influence to discourage other members to support those who transgress borders. As Salam pointed out, there were Muslims who support queer liberation but were too frightened to do so out loud after witnessing the sanctions placed upon members of Salam. This resulted in what Salam described as “silencing”; an event where subjects who do not agree with the institutionalized border, still remain quiet about their disagreement. Some are fearful of having their personal sexuality questioned, and others anxious about receiving negative judgement from their peers. Continuing the argument above, that a border can reject an individual as well as an idea, one could follow that the idea of queer is silenced within the community. The idea remains within the bounding, however in a state of invisibility. Perhaps one could even extend the metaphor of being “closeted” or “in the closet” where an individual hesitates with disclosing their gender/sexual identity due to social pressure, which can be questioned here (Sedgwick 2008). Although borders attempt to reject the idea of “queerness” as a whole, the idea remains within its bounds. However, as an invisible entity that does not threaten the current institutionalization of the border and discourages individuals to confront the essentialized meaning of identity.

Consequently, the ways in which borders treat transgressions cannot be conceptualized as a strict rejection or a sharp ordering because there are ambiguities to the phenomenon of belonging. When subjects contest and negotiate the meaning of borders and how they institutionalized an identity, they subsequently blur the lines of inclusion and exclusion. As the reification of identity is done by individuals it also leaves room for hesitation, a power/knowledge relation can therefore be observed within the meaning of a border. To put it differently, there is a naturalization of a meaning that has taken place, consequently, it creates an illusion of social cohesion and a shared approach towards sexuality and gender.

6.2.3. The borderscape

The discussion so far has illustrated how inclusion and exclusion is not in a binary relationship. By uncovering how borders treat transgressions, one can observe how complete exclusion is not always the case (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013). Perhaps not even the motive, as the illusion of a border is still enough for encouraging and discouraging behaviour. This brings the thesis to the next aspect of borders - the borderscape.

A common theme throughout the thesis has been to reject the notion of binaries when researching borders, especially in relation to difference-making. The existence of both QW and Salam can be argued to be a testament to that fact. Under those circumstances, one could claim that binaries, especially as the notion of duality between “inclusion/exclusion” or “here/there” are incompatible when studying the demarcation of borders. Following the line of reasoning behind the proliferation of borders, more nuanced analysis is therefore demanded. One that does not hinge upon inquiring upon the place and pattern of the border alone, but rather on querying how borders exist as multi-sited material manifestations that can carry many forms of institutionalised meanings. For this purpose, one should therefore ask “when” questions of border processes (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013).

In the case of queer borders, both borders pivoted upon Salam and QW experiencing how some could be easier assimilated into the mainstream (what do they understand as mainstream: middle-class, ethnic Norwegian, citizenship, cis-gender, gay man), while others remained marginalized in the outskirts of the bounding. What was referred to as a clash between the “transformationalist vs. assimilationist” approach to queer liberation epitomizes how borders can expand to include some identity-formations, while still excluding others. By doing so, one could argue that the institutionalized borders stay the same, the meaning of the border remains unchanged for persons with multiple identity-markers. Under other conditions, the inclusion of different identity expressions was done in a fragile manner, for example when Salam are invited to talk about their experiences as both Muslim and queer, but not about their experiences with islamophobia. Or how they state that if they are invited to religious institutions, they are “differently” invited.

In the light of the foregoing examples, it is imaginable to claim that the inclusion is contingent on matters of “when” and perhaps even “for how long”. The bounding of their

inclusion is done with a strict parameter that creates differently situated subjectivities along borderlines. Furthermore, one could perhaps even argue that the data analysis observes a form of social hierarchy contingent on power systems of sexuality, race and gender, that leaves some subjects closer to the status quo. To put it differently, when borders include, some are more included than others. By the same token, some performances of sexuality and gender are more excluded than others.

Namely, because the data collection demonstrates an array of obstacles for QW and Salam in their quest for inclusion and belonging, it cannot go unsaid that there is an existence of a borderscape. From the data collection for Salam and QWs social media presence, one could argue that they observe a multifold social system that generates a stratified arrangement of borders. Consequently, the institutionalized border inhabits an ability for saturation. By institutionalization, this thesis does not imply a fixed phenomenon, but rather a naturalized one. At first glance, the border bears a fixed demeanour, however, as the process of regulating sexuality is a fluid one, and always in motion and spread throughout society.

6.2.4. Intersectionality

If it can be said that borders create an illusion of a fixed bounding around an identity, it begs the question; what happens when identities converge? In accordance with the concept of intersectionality, one could argue that the existence of multiple power/knowledge relations creates a specific experience of borders (Collins 2015). This is a line of reasoning that might support the analysis of Salam and QWs experiences.

The institutionalization of borders presented in the thesis can be said to frame identity-markers as mutually exclusive. For example, the meaning of queer and the meaning of ethnic minority are posited as very different from each other. The personification of these borders is postulated as dichotomies, making their convergence unthinkable. Being disjointed from each other is thus a result of how a naturalization of an identity freezes attributes. The border does not allow for flexibility, and leaves individuals without options for customizing their self-hood and results in a state of invisibility.

However, as have been stated previously, border processes constitute a performance of knowledge; border meanings are a social practice, socially legitimized and reproduced.

Respectively, what is of interest is not whether a definition or approach to gender, ethnicity and sexuality is *real*, but rather dissecting how processes legitimize its bounding and its following consequences. In this case, the assumption of the existence of a universal metaphysical substance - a core identity rooted in materiality - cancels out diverging performances of identity. For queer ethnic minorities, they experience this cancellation from multiple angles because they are positioned between multiple borders. When these borders intersect into “queer ethnic minority”, the intersection invisibilizes their existence. Consequently, in the same manner Crenshaw utilized intersectionality to critique feminist movements and human rights organizations inability to include women of colour in their analysis (Collins 2015). By arguing that women of colour are positioned under multiple forms of oppressions, their grievances cannot be accounted for in universal theorizations of patriarchy and racism.

Likewise, Salam and QW display how multiple layers of borders results in an intricate form of exclusion. Borders move in a messy fashion, obscuring identity performances that do not conform with its underlying grid of knowledge. One could argue that this also sets the stage for the paradoxical experiences of queer ethnic minorities; namely a weaponization of their different identity-markers. As with the example of pinkwashing of Israel and the nightclub shooting in Orlando, because queer and Muslim are mutually exclusive categories, queerness can be integrated into Islamophobic rhetoric. It is perhaps therefore, Rumi states that his existence is a paradox. Consequently, identity-markers need to be understood in relation to each other, not in isolation (Collins 2015, Crenshaw 1990).

On the other hand, the concept of intersectionality could be critiqued to not have been applied properly. Intersectionality could be used to analyse systems of oppressions (Collins 2015), however, in this thesis the emphasis was placed on the intersections of identity-markers. There are numerous contributions to the how queer ethnic minorities experience their social world. Perhaps, identifying the systems beforehand, by for example including theories of heteronormativity, homonationalism, racism and patriarchy in the theoretical chapter could illuminate better how border knowledge operates. This could also strengthen the discussions on the borderscape, by concretely identifying the overarching borders.

Nevertheless, intersectionality can also be a critical praxis when social actors use the tool for achieving social justice (Collins 2015). If the previous paragraph concerns itself with

intersectionality as an analytical strategy for viewing multiple borders, critical praxis applies intersectionality to inform choices (Collins 2015). Salam and QW refer to embodied knowledge as fundamental for articulating queer liberation strategy. In particular, how having personally experienced discrimination shapes their understanding of their social world. On those grounds, one could argue that the experiences of intersectionality shape their political engagement.

As such, their experiences of social inequality and how they make sense of their border location reflects intersectionality in praxis. In other words, being differently placed along border lines provides them with views of the world around them. Then again, intersectionality requires an analysis of power-relations of knowledge formation that is actively put in use for dealing with border practices. According to the findings, intersectionality can also be applied as a buzzword because of not implying a critique of forms of subordination.

7. The emergence of new borders

While the previous section discussed the mechanisms of borders; how and even, “when” they work. Considering the proliferation of borders, how transgressing the meaning of a border is disciplined, and lastly, the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion in relation to the borderscape and intersectionality. The succeeding segment will address Hall’s last question; The development of different border institutions, with new conceptions of meanings, ideas, practices and power/knowledge relations (1997). In order to do so, it questions the productivity of the arising border meanings - are they potentially productive, or simply disruptive? The theories aiding in this inquiry are border-struggles and the emergence of differently situated subjectivities, and performativity the subversion of identity performances.

The theoretical framework laid forward by the theory chapter suggests that border processes also include the possibility of the development of a new border institution (Hall 1997). This goes hand in hand with how power, and thereby power-relations are understood; as relational (1997). Power and knowledge is not purely in the hands of the ruling class or a given society’s elite, but a mobile concept infused in narratives (Hall 1997). Given the diffuse attribute of power means that it is embodied in knowledge, instead of wielded in concentrated episodes (Hall 1997). On those grounds, Power could be said to be everywhere and comes from everywhere (Hall 1997).

If one follows that approach to power, as something that is embodied in knowledge, one could argue that it exists in our everyday lives (Hall 1997). Consequently, the bordering processes constituting the queer ethnic minorities are dispersed into the social fabric of society in ways that transcends the nation-state borders. A borderscape is therefore identified, and actors work creatively to conform its subjects. However, within the borderscape also lies possibilities for contestation because power/knowledge is not one-sided nor is it an event. It is everywhere, utilized by everyone, hence, power/knowledge also has productive attributes (Hall 1997). Consequently, borders are more than constraints, they are active processes that create knowledge.

7.2. Border-struggle

Within the borderscape, subjects engage with borders in a myriad of ways, for example by subtracting themselves or conforming to them (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013). Through these

engagements with borders, the possibility of new political subjectivities emerge that is characterized by how experiences within a system of power create a particular political subjectivity (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013). It is here this thesis argues that the productive nature of power/knowledge resides - with the ability to engage with borders that produces new border meanings. By discussing Salam and QW social media presence the thesis has discussed how the borders can be outlined, what knowledge they convey through their symbolic abilities and their mechanisms for control and differentiation. In an attempt to view the border from the perspective of these queer social organizations, the thesis has analysed their strategies for contestation and divided them into two main camps: reactionary and innovative forms of contestation. These contests could be understood as border-struggles, through which one can observe emergence of new political subjectivities - because of how they rely on embodied knowledge in formulating their politics.

7.2.1. Reactionary and innovative border contestation

Both forms of contestation are attempts at demystifying current institutionalized borders, however, one cannot help but ask, can the new emerging political subjectivities lead to Salam and QW institutionalizing borders? In other words, can Salam and QW's engagement in border-struggles of power/knowledge, lead to the development of new borders? In order to examine this, one needs to ask if the emerging political subjectivities are productive, or merely disruptive. One could answer this question by analysing the reactionary and innovative border strategies, where the first can be characterised as disruptive, while the latter can be understood as productive in the direction of formulating new borders.

7.2.1.1. Reactionary contestation

Beginning with the Reactionary contestation, the analysis argues that creating safe-spaces and establishing new alternative organizations are attempts at validating their identity as individuals with multiple identity-markers. The creation of safe-spaces is arguably a reaction to the bargaining between identities that queer ethnic minorities experience, as well as a reaction to the "social control" mentioned previously, as borders' ability to discipline subjects into compliance. Because borders are processes set in motion by actors, as such, one could argue that safe-spaces is a relational phenomenon, a reaction to the rules of the border. Where

the borders prescribe rules implying that “queer” and “ethnic minority” are mutually exclusive.

Furthermore, defying the notions of having to negotiate between their identity-markers and resisting the framings of mutual exclusivity, they contest the binaries presented by borders. Validating their identity and legitimizing alternative bounding of queer, ethnic minority and religious is performed by the creation of nurturing spaces. As such they are actively partaking in border delineation through contesting power/knowledge relations, with ambitions of providing borders with new meanings, ideas and practices of being queer. The meanings and ideas underlying their bounding have been presented previously in the thesis and can be characterized as fluid approaches to gender without binaries and making it “thinkable” and “sayable” to be both ethnic minority, religious and queer.

7.2.1.2. Innovative contestation

The innovative contestation attests to the same sentiments. Being visibly queer in history, religion and culture continued the refusal of negotiation between their identity-markers. Finding empowerment by locating themselves in the past in order to legitimize their existence today could be argued to be a highly disruptive activity. When they unsettle the given truth about history-telling and the narratives presented by borders, they contest the rules of what is “thinkable” and “sayable”. Using Islamic texts as well as contesting how translation of religion came to be, they creatively challenge the authority of borders, thus claiming ascendancy to construe intelligible performances of religion.

Furthermore, this also demonstrates the fluctuating ability of borders. By subverting narratives and assigning new meanings to concepts and ideas, QW and Salam attests to how borders of identity are not essentialized phenomenon. This de-essentialization of identity is therefore an innovative contestation to institutionalized borders as they have a demystifying effect. Our understandings of concepts such as sexuality, gender and desire hinge on relations of power/knowledge in a given historical moment. The presentation of a border is the result of constructed ideas of things. Interestingly, this form of contestation also goes hand in hand with performativity and how identity expressions are not natural, but rather a product of social rituals, and will be further discussed later.

7.2.1.2.1. Performativity

Consequently, their ability to demystify borders is also exemplified by their subversion of narratives. In making use of classical tropes rooted in queer symbolism, religion and ethnic minority cultures they alter or reverse the original meaning. In so doing, they also point out the fragility of institutionalized borders. This tactic goes hand in hand with performativity, and the ability to make use of border processes to develop new borders. Arguably, the bounding of an identity is made real through social rituals, as such, they can also be subverted (Butler 2002). Not necessarily through ridicule or irony, but creatively inserting themselves in the mainframe of current performances. Our understanding of an identity is therefore highly contextualized with specific roots in history and can therefore be altered.

Borders contain meanings of things and dictate acceptable social norms of things. The thesis has repeatedly attempted to illustrate the border meanings of gender and sexuality and its consequences within an intersectional context. Consequences such as invisibility, experiences of being a paradox, discrimination, and various forms, and degrees, of exclusion. Their work is arguably an attempt at subverting these norms. Moreover, in relation to queerness or in relation to ethnic minority subversion of tropes, they are combining two elements that are often presented as separate things, and thus cannot be approached together. Consequently, performativity can illustrate contestation towards partialization of individuals (Butler 2002).

7.2.1.2.2. Transformationalist Queer Liberation Strategy

In the same vein, one could argue that their attention to what the analysis have identified as a transformationalist queer liberation strategy, is highly productive for the development of new borders and is integral to the emergence of new political subjectivities. This definition was not articulated in one analysis segment, but throughout the chapter and could belong to the innovative contestation. If one were to summarize its attributes, one could make the following assumptions of their queer liberation strategy: multiscale conceptualization of politics, fluid approaches to gender and sexuality, alliance building across movements.

Firstly, they articulate a multiscale conceptualization of queer politics by highlighting how events at the global scale can have effects at the local scale and expressing global solidarity. Hence, a strategy that defies the demarcation lines of the nation-state. This while simultaneously providing a queer perspective on topics of foreign politics that is usually not regarded as such. One could argue that they propose a global queer liberation strategy, and

this by reason of how they connect different sites of struggle. Hence, using the rainbow-flag to argue that a setback of LGBTQIA+ rights in Turkey would be a global defeat. In the same vein, they articulate how the aftermath of the nightclub shooting in Orlando reflects how the bordering around “Queer” and “Muslim” are constructed as incompatible.

Thereby, they observe how borders take on different symbolic forms at different scales. For example, the state has a multiscale function, from constructing refugees through immigration policies, and nationhood framing. In other words, their borders transcend nation-state demarcation in the same manner as the queer struggle transcends localities. They are blurring the bordering of “us/them” and “here/there”, in their formulation of queer liberation, which is a central theme within queer theory (Luibheid 2008). Moreover, as queer theory aims to deconstruct binaries of sexuality, they also challenge other borders that construct dichotomies, like for example the tolerant Israel vs the barbaric other. Their attentiveness towards dualistic essentialism are not solely related to sexuality, as their interest in Kurdistan can affirm. Their attention to Kurdistan can be a result of their ambitions to challenge understandings of state-formation; as something that can be done without patriarchy and capitalism.

Secondly, they highlight the many possibilities of queer expression. Through asserting a fluid conceptualization of gender, and inclusive performances of sexuality, they disrupt the heterosexual matrix (2002). Borders tells a story where sex, gender and desire follows naturally from each other, however, this is an illusion. However, these organizations posit that the assumptions that a person is a sex, by virtue of their gender expression is false as the ontology of substance is superficial and superfluous (Butler 2002). Besides, the borders attach other attributes such as whiteness and non-religiousness, but organizations contest these sentiments as well. Hence, borders merely appear as substances, as physical matters and as self-identical beings.

Thirdly, one could argue that solidarity is a fundamental element to their queer liberation strategy, and this is expressed in their alliance building across organizations and movements. Through the analysis of how they understand mobilization, solidarity can navigate the complex bordering or reality. Border processes are messy and never clear-cut, leaving individuals situated on the inside and outside in their differentiation making. Alliances across borders could be argued to challenge the intricacies of differentiation. As have been argued

for previously, the borderscape has a stratifying ability creating a hierarchy, and in this instance, one could argue that the stratification produces differently situated subjectivities. Perhaps as a result of the logic of intersectionality as a political praxis, these organizations attempt to understand the struggles of those situated differently than themselves.

7.3. Shortcomings and contradictions

Through their innovative contestation, they set forth queer ethnic minority as compatible categories. The border is not organized as separate boxes of entities that cancel each other out or formulated in ways that the existence of both is contradictory, but rather in fluid circles. Through their border-struggle, new political subjectivities emerge that do not partialize the subject into fragments of themselves, however, exist conjointly. Hence, one might state that Salam and QW are engaging in power/knowledge relations through which new borders can arise. Having said that, it is difficult to articulate the new border formation any further. In the same vein, there are some observable shortcomings in the articulations of existing borders. The following segments discuss the shortcomings and its contradictions.

Analysing personifications of the border was not always an easy task, as was mentioned, the binary of a peaceful nation in foreign politics-border was not identified. Perhaps it is too early in their organizing or maybe the fault lies with the thesis data collection, but a number of central aspects of border institutions have not been outlined. They could also have better articulations of their own borders. Conceivably, new border-imaginaries could be retained through in-depth interviews with organizations. Questions like how they understand the bounding of their identity, what attributes they provide to who “we” are, and subsequently “they” are could prove itself fruitful for the outlining for competing borders. Perhaps then, their productive abilities are rendered disruptive towards current borders, and not necessarily in relation to the development of new borders.

In order to be more productive they must articulate their own borders more clearly. One could argue that the analysis did not provide a strong historization of the current institutionalized borders, as was clear with foreign policy-border. Understanding how the knowledge achieved authority requires one to dive into the historical context (Hall 1997). Because history leaves traces in our present, meaning, they provide authority to the regulatory frames of borders. As such, we are not provided an illustration about how the knowledge about the border acquired

authority. In the same vein, the development of new borders needs to have historical elements as well, perhaps this is not obtainable with the data collection strategy. Either way, one needs to historicize the knowledge in order to prove legitimacy.

On the other hand, do they need borders at all? Is it not contradictory to erase borders through establishing new ones? Cannot identity, gender and sexuality be conceptualized as fluid, unfixed and disappearing? In the same vein that discourses of a borderless world are impractical for studying migration, anticipating the relapse of identity categories are useless for analysing social movements and identity formation. Hence, one could argue that as a means for political organization, borders are advantageous for mobilization through strategically essentializing an identity. Based on arguments by feminist scholars like Spivak, one could argue that downplaying differences can facilitate unity. Thereby a movement can create shared imaginaries of their future and grievance in order to build alliances and achieve political goals (Jegersedt 2017).

Furthermore, assuming power/knowledge is a constant process, presenting alternative borders is crucial if one wants to topple current institutionalized borders (Hall 1997, Newman 2006). Awaiting its disappearance states that there is an objective truth available about identity. Not only are borders inevitable in the view of this, but a narrative is necessary for a social movement. On that account, discussing whether or not one form of identity is real, while the other one is imagined is an unproductive conversation to have. Considering that borders are modern, socially constructive frames of regulations. One's attention should therefore be on the embedded uneven power relations that produce difference (Houtum & Naerssen 2001). This is why the emphasis of the thesis is not on the category per se, but rather on the process of bounding (Jones 2009). Borders are here, they already affect individuals lives, as such, we should rather pay attention to whom it benefits, and what knowledge is upheld.

Moreover, the thesis completely neglected class relations, an important component of any intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1991). Although alliances across borders of organizations and nation-states allude to a universalist approach, nothing is as universal as class. As a concluding remark, intersectionality cannot be complete without a theorization of class, and how class-relations create a specific mode of difference. They do, however, touch upon it when they discuss queer liberation and what should be prioritized. As they mention, who needs marriage when you can be deported or do not have a roof over your head. Some would

argue that this relates to how capitalist mode of production leaves some individuals as precarious. This state of precariousness can be described as being disposable and constitutes a lot of the migratory experiences (Ferguson & McNally 2015). Consequently, articulations of class could be fruitful for capturing the bordering queer ethnic minorities.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, the thesis attempted to answer the following questions:

1. What borders confronts queer ethnic minorities in Norway?
2. How does borders affect queer ethnic minorities,
3. How can social movement actors resist borders?

The first two question the thesis were answered by identifying the borders and its mechanisms, while the latter by discussing the emergence of new borders. This chapter will summarize those findings.

8.1. What borders confronts queer ethnic minorities in Norway, and how does borders affect them?

Beginning with the identification of the borders, it discussed border managers and its demarcation by applying Hall's first four questions. The border managers were religious leaders, members of ethnic minority communities, members and organizations within the LGBTQIA+ community, as well as the Norwegian state apparatus with actors partaking in the immigration border and representatives on the global stage. Salam and QW can also be identified as border managers due to their position as important organizations for queer ethnic minorities, both in the eyes of the state, as well as in society as a whole.

The first section of the discussion also examined how the LGB-border fixes and essentializes a binary between woman/man, consequently excluding non-cispersons. Binaries like the violent man vs. the vulnerable woman, where women are stripped of their agency and characterized as inherently inferior personifies the border in ways that present trans women as sexual predators and trans men as insecure and confused women. This is a signifier of the border, and an element in how bordering naturalizes a fictive story of who gets to belong and who does not. Within the same community, the findings make an argument for the existence of a racialized border, revolving around embodied knowledge paving the way for how liberation should be achieved. Neglecting the effects of racism diminished its relevance as a discriminatory power for people within the LGBTQIA+ community. According to the border,

having more than one identity-marker is incomprehensible. This was connected to the event of hijacking The Stonewall Riots radical potential for disrupting normative understandings of gender and sexuality, as related to wider economic and social processes. The border then, constructs its queerness around whiteness and non-religiousness with a personification of a middle-class person aspiring for heterosexual normative behaviours such as marriage. In so doing, one can observe a rejection of organizations like Salam and QW.

When traversing the world as a queer ethnic minority, the queer community is not the only border one may meet. The findings also argued for a gendered border within ethnic minority communities. Within this one, however, the physical behaviour of women could be said to have been essentialized. Being publicly political or not dressing a certain way would according to this border account for transgression. Breaching with the personification of the honourable woman, renders one as the dichotomy - the tainted woman whose modesty has been polluted. In regard to sexuality, non-heterosexuality borders might also appear. Following the discussions of the thesis, non-heterosexuality is all together cancelled out, in other instances, it is intelligible when combined with ethnic minority or religious attributes. Either way, strategically erasing queerness from culture, history and religious interpretations legitimizes their invisibility and personifications like the Palestinian flag and the pride flag are in dichotomous positions to each other, thus, leaving queer ethnic minorities with the choice of deciding where to belong.

The last segment of identifying the borders discussed the Norwegian state apparatus and represents perhaps the most limited discussion thus far. Two borders could be identified: immigration- and foreign policy border. In regard to the immigration-border, the bordering process created a narrative of refugees as inherently vulnerable, victimized and with specific understandings of sexuality and gender. Being at risk of persecution is framed in ways the excluded, the very broad category of, Eastern European queers. Their persecution is deemed unintelligible or not severe enough. One could imagine that this border reduces thus the meanings of queer to specific variables that does not reflect how Salam and QW makes sense of their own reality. However, the data collection could not historize the development of the border, although other sources would point towards global political changes of refugee and asylum goes hand in hand with how queer refugees are bounded.

Additionally, the foreign policy border discussed how representatives on the global stage frame Norway as a peaceful nation, without willing to condemn homophobic actions of allies and simultaneously partaking in weapons distributions. They critique how representatives strategically partake in border processes to create a narrative that does not necessarily reflect their actions. These critiques show that foreign policy and international relations also hinder the queer ethnic minorities, as they concern themselves with topics that transcend the nation-state. Even though the organizations touch upon how bordering can be used to create a narrative of “who we are”, the personification did not formulate how policy makers distance themselves from “who they are”. Nor could the discussion provide a presentation of how the border acquired authority. Further research with other methods for data collection could be fruitful for studying the queer organizations and transnational mobilization.

In addition to identifying the borders, the mechanisms of borders discussed how the borders queer ethnic minorities roam through work. It did so by applying concepts such as proliferation, borderscape, intersectionality and Hall’s question **no.5**, and analysed how they multiply, shift, and voyage in a complex web of borders. By examining how border transgressions were treated, one might understand its inner workings. Discipline can be done through informal sanctions such as exclusion, name-calling and confrontations. Borders could uphold their institutionalized narrative by excluding both individuals and ideas. The meaning of exclusion was also put into question, as disciplining into silence could deter, but not necessarily reject an idea entirely. Border discipline is therefore not a strict ordering, but an ambiguous activity done to create an illusion of social cohesion.

The borderscape, then, illuminated the activities of difference-making of bordering. Here, it was fruitful to discuss the transformationalist vs. assimilationist approach to queer liberation. The borderscape discussed how border processes can adapt when confronted in order to avoid or calm down contestations. One could perhaps say that the current order of things remains the same by creating an illusion of being progressive. Exclusion is therefore highly contextual and exists on the continuum of inclusion through which hierarchies can be created. As such, borders can include some sexualities and gender performances more than others.

Lastly, when borders converge, they intersect and create a specific mode of difference. Queer and ethnic minority can be presented as mutually exclusive categories, or even dichotomies making their convergence unthinkable. When the intersection occurs, their existence becomes

invisible. Thereby, multiple layers of borders can result in intricate forms of exclusion, where being invisible can set the stage for the weaponization of queerness in the form of Islamophobic rhetoric. However, utilizing intersectionality and observing one's position towards the border could also be a critical praxis for achieving social justice.

In order to discuss how social movements contest borders, the thesis examined the development of new borders. Considering how power/knowledge relations can be everywhere, the development of new borders is inevitable. Characterizing borders as a process through which actors can partake in allows the thesis to discuss the possibilities of contestation. When doing so, one should be attentive to the productiveness of said contestation; are they disruptive or do they develop new borders? Within the borderscape, numerous border-struggles were detected and through engagement with borders, new political subjectivities emerged. Can these emerging political subjectivities of Salam and QW be institutionalizing new borders?

8.2. How do social movements contest borders?

The final segment of the discussion chapter examined how new border meanings evolve, by dividing their strategies into two themes: reactionary and innovative. While reactionary can be characterised as disruptive, the innovative contestation depicts activities partaking in the development of new borders. The reactionary contestation was understood as a reaction to border mechanisms and revolved around creating safe-spaces and new organizations. Together, these activities validate the occurrence of multiple identity-markers, consequently both contesting the idea of, and rejecting to negotiate between, binaries. Thus, making it thinkable to be both an ethnic minority and queer.

Innovative contestation, then, was understood as creatively resisting borders. Asserting their visibility in history, religion and culture challenged the authority of borders that have erased queerness from the past. Using Islamic texts to relocate themselves theologically demystified the borders and laid the foundation for new borders to develop. Salam and QW enact new border meanings in ways that illustrate how borders are nothing more than a story told to us and given the illusion of being objectively true. Another observable innovative strategy was

subversion. Making use of classical tropes of queer, religious and ethnic minority culture and symbolism, to alter its original meaning. Hence, illustrating the fragility of borders. It should be noted that subversion could also be viewed as disruptive, more than productive as they simply add meaning to existing categories.

In accordance with the discussion, one could argue that the new border being developed by Salam and QW state being queer and an ethnic minority is not inconceivable, as they are not mutually exclusive categories. Through their border-struggles, political subjectivities emerge that provide a different narrative. One where Salam and QW engage in power/knowledge relations through which fluid performances of gender and sexuality are rendered intelligible. However, the discussion also argued that their contestations knowledge acquired authority and personifications of existing borders as well as a deeper understanding of the emerging ones. In other words, further research on the topic should be conducted.

Nevertheless, another innovative element was discussed: the transformationalist liberation strategy and was brought up throughout the data analysis. The strategy entailed multiscale conceptualization of politics, fluid approaches to gender and sexuality, and alliance building across movements. Through a multiscaled lens, they show how events at the global scale can have effects on the local. There is therefore a need for global solidarity, as such this strategy goes beyond the borders of the nation-state. Moreover, they provide a queer perspective on topics that might often not be regarded as such. Because they connect different sites of struggle, one might observe how borders take on different symbolic forms and travel across nation-states. For example, the nightclub shooting in Orlando, conceptualization of refugees and nation-hood framing. Their attentiveness to binaries is not only related to sexuality, but also challenge narratives of state-formation, like in the case of Kurdistan. Consequently, Salam and QW blur the ordering of us/them and here/there.

They also highlight the many possibilities of queer liberation and renounce the heteronormative matrix. Sex, gender and desire do not naturally follow from each other. In the same vein, being a part of the queer community does not necessitate whiteness, middle-class and non-religiousness. Lastly, they build alliances across organizations and movements. Arguably, solidarity is fundamental in the border contestation and these alliances could be challenging the intricacies of differentiation. When borderscapes create differently situated subjectivities, their alliances could build bridges between them.

As such, one could conclude that their reactionary and innovative border contestation can be described as both disruptive, in the sense that they demystify current border-meanings and their authority, as well as productive due to their ability to partake in developments of new border meanings. Being organizations who represent individuals with multiple identity-markers they navigate a world of hazy borders, where it might not be easy to state where one begins and the other ends. For how long an inclusion will last, and on which premise. These organizations creatively manoeuvre these obstacles and make sense of their social reality in ways that could perhaps even inform human geographic thought and conceptualizations. Understanding borders as processes, and as performances, could open up for even more research on belonging.

Approaching borders as processes and performances illuminates the experiences of inclusion and exclusion for individuals who refuse to conform to assumptions of identity. Salam and QW resistance to conformity, and refusal to negotiate, or accept the bare minimum, can also provide insights to how mobilization could cross borders, both within and outside a nation-state. Although their resistance has flaws and limitations, such as lacking a class perspective within their mobilization strategies, one could still argue that their strategies are undoubtedly innovative. Connecting the grievances of someone who is situated “far away”, articulating it in ways that makes it central to one's own liberation, shows how queer politics can be more than simply disruptive.

Hence, borders are not simply an outcome of ordering, nor only physical walls, and spectacular fences, instead, they are social mechanisms of differentiation. In which a myriad of actors partakes and engage in. As this thesis shows, identity-markers are subjected to regulation in ways that transcends the physical lines of the nation-states. Borders might convey images of binaries, Salam and QW on the other hand, illuminate how essentialization of identities can be demystified through social movement contestation.

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Attachment

Data Collection

Salem's Internet Presence

Podcast Episodes:

- Juli, 2020. Queerentine, Episode 1: Black Lives Matter. Attending: Angela and Rumi from Salam. Kathleen (Activist). Audre (Queer World). Duration: 57 min. [24.02.2021].
- October, 2020. Queerentine, Episode 2: Queerness and Islam. Attending: Edward, Rumi and Angela. Duration: One hour. [02.03.2021].
- November, 2020. Queerentine, Episode 3: Trans-mess. Attending: Angela, Rumi and Ivan. Duration: 54 min. [09.03.2021].

Home Page: [22.03.2021].

About us: <https://www.salamnorge.no/om-oss>

12.04.2019. No Pride in Racism.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/no-pride-in-racism>

07.05.2019. A very queer Ramadan.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/a-very-queer-ramadan>

13.05.2019. #NoOneIsBornHaram.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/hashtag-ingen-er-f%C3%B8dt-haram>

27.05.2019. Pride Parade; Walk With Queer Solidarity.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/pride-parade-g%C3%A5-med-queer-solidarity>

29.05.2019. Omg, Its PrEid. Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/omg-it-s-preid>

29.09.2019. The Crown Prince Visits Salam.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/kronprinsen-bes%C3%B8kte-salam-norge>

17.10.2019. Queer Solidaritet og Rojava.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/queer-solidaritet-med-rojava>

02.04.2020. A Different Pride and a Queer Ramadan.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/annerledes-pride-og-skeiv-ramadan>

23.04.2020. Ramadan Queer. Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/ramadan-queer>

29.06.2020. Alternative Pride Parade.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/altarnativ-pride-parade>

10.09.2020. Subhanallah we are queer!

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/subhanallah-vi-er-skeive>

01.31.2020. To Minority Kids, Girls & Women.

Available at: <https://www.salamnorge.no/post/til-minoritetskids-minoritetsjenter-minoritetskvinner>

25.02.2021. Salam offers dialogists (samtalepartner). Available at:

<https://www.salamnorge.no/post/samtalepartner>

Facebook: [22.03.2021].

10.03.2021. Angela's speech at International women's day. Duration: 5 min. [Link to video.](#)

08.02.2021. Look towards the rainbow. [Link to post.](#)

06.02.2021. Sami people's day and a tribute to Garmeres. [Link to post.](#)

03.02.2021. Etab, first female singer and Afro-Arab. [Link to post.](#)

01.02.2021. World Hijab Day and Black History Month. [Link to post.](#)

27.02.2021. POGI borrows equipments from Salam. [Link to post.](#)

26.02.2021. Benjamin Hermansen Memorial. [Link to post.](#)

18.01.2021. Kunstverket i Rosenkrantzgate, Angela on Kurdistan. [Link to post.](#)

16.01.2021. Transphobia is Haram. Duration: 0.41 min. [Link to post.](#)

15.12.2020. Will prioritize black trans women. [Link to post.](#)

10.12.2020. Hate towards people with disabilities. [Link to post.](#)

07.12.2020. Invited to a meeting with Minister of Education. [Link to post.](#)

20.11.2020. Homonationalism is dangerous. [Link to post.](#)

03.11.2020. Football player Kastrati Flamur contacting Salam. [Link to post.](#)

30.10.2020. Flamur regrets his actions. Imagine if everyone did the same! [Link to post.](#)

28.10.2020. Flamur Kastrati. [Link to post.](#)

16.10.2020. Salam invited to talk about intersectionality. [Link to post.](#)

08.10.2020. Visiting allies. [Link to post.](#)

16.09.2020. Supporting Queer Christian Network Skeivt Kristent Nettverk. [Link to post.](#)

07.07.2020. Meeting Minister of Children and Equality. [Link to post.](#)

26.06.2020. Queer Christian Network and Salam, being religious and Queer [Link to post.](#)

25.06.2020. Interview with norwegian-somali-sudanese filmmaker. [Link to post.](#)

23.06.2020. Confronting the government on asylum and foreign politics. Duration: 9.53 min. [Link to video](#)

19.06.2020. Fri and racism. [Link to post.](#)

05.06.2020. Preparation for today's demonstration, BLM [Link to post.](#)

17.05.2020. International day against transphobia, homophobia and biphobia. [Link to post.](#)

14.05.2020. Activist wishing salam happy ramadan. Duration: 2.34 min. [Link to post.](#)

12.05.2020. Palestine committee wishes happy ramadan. [Link to post.](#)

11.05.2020. Queer Christian Network, Ramadan. [Link to post.](#)

10.05.2020. Garmeres, Ramadan [Link to post.](#)

09.05.2020. Fri, Ramadan.[Link to post.](#)

07.02.2020. Salam and politician Abid Raja.[Link to post.](#)

14.01.2020. Rumi speech.. [Duration:](#) 8.36 min. [Link to post](#)

07.01.2020. Mental Health.[Link to post](#)

Queer World's Internet Presence

Home Page:

About Us: <https://www.skeivverden.no/om-oss> [25.03.2021].

Our Projects: <https://www.skeivverden.no/prosjekter> [25.03.2021].

- Sexual Health
- Sexual Competence
- Let's talk about narcotics
- Relationship Counseling
- Prevention of violence in close relationships.
- ABC of Love
- Network Project
- Open and Safe

Yearly Rapports: <https://www.skeivverden.no/styrendedokumenter> [25.03.2021].

- Skeiv verden. 2018. *Årsrapport 2018*. Skeiv verden, available at: [SkV.Årsrapport+2018-.pdf \(squarespace.com\)](#) [15.03.2021].
- Skeiv verden. 2019. *Årsrapport 2019*. Skeiv verden, available at: [Årsrapport+2019.pdf \(squarespace.com\)](#) [15.03.2021].

Counseling: <https://www.skeivverden.no/veiledning> [25.03.2021].

Meetups: <https://www.skeivverden.no/meetups> [16.03.2021].

- Overview of their meetups
- Queer Cafe
- People: Meet ups for Queer Women, trans persons and non-binary persons.
- Youth Group:

Other Activities: <https://www.skeivverden.no/andre-aktiviteter> [16.03.2021].

- DiMe. Counseling if been subjected to discrimination (Diskriminerings Hjelpen og Meglings Benken)

Courses and Workshops for employers/employees who are in contact with queer persons as a part of their workday: <https://www.skeivverden.no/veiledningogkurs> [16.03.2021].

- Introductory program
- Course for asylum reception homes.
- Schools or others.

“I am what I am”, a book written by their youth group: “I am what I am”.

<https://www.skeivverden.no/nyheter/promotering-av-boken-i-am-what-i-am-digitalt>

[17.03.2021].