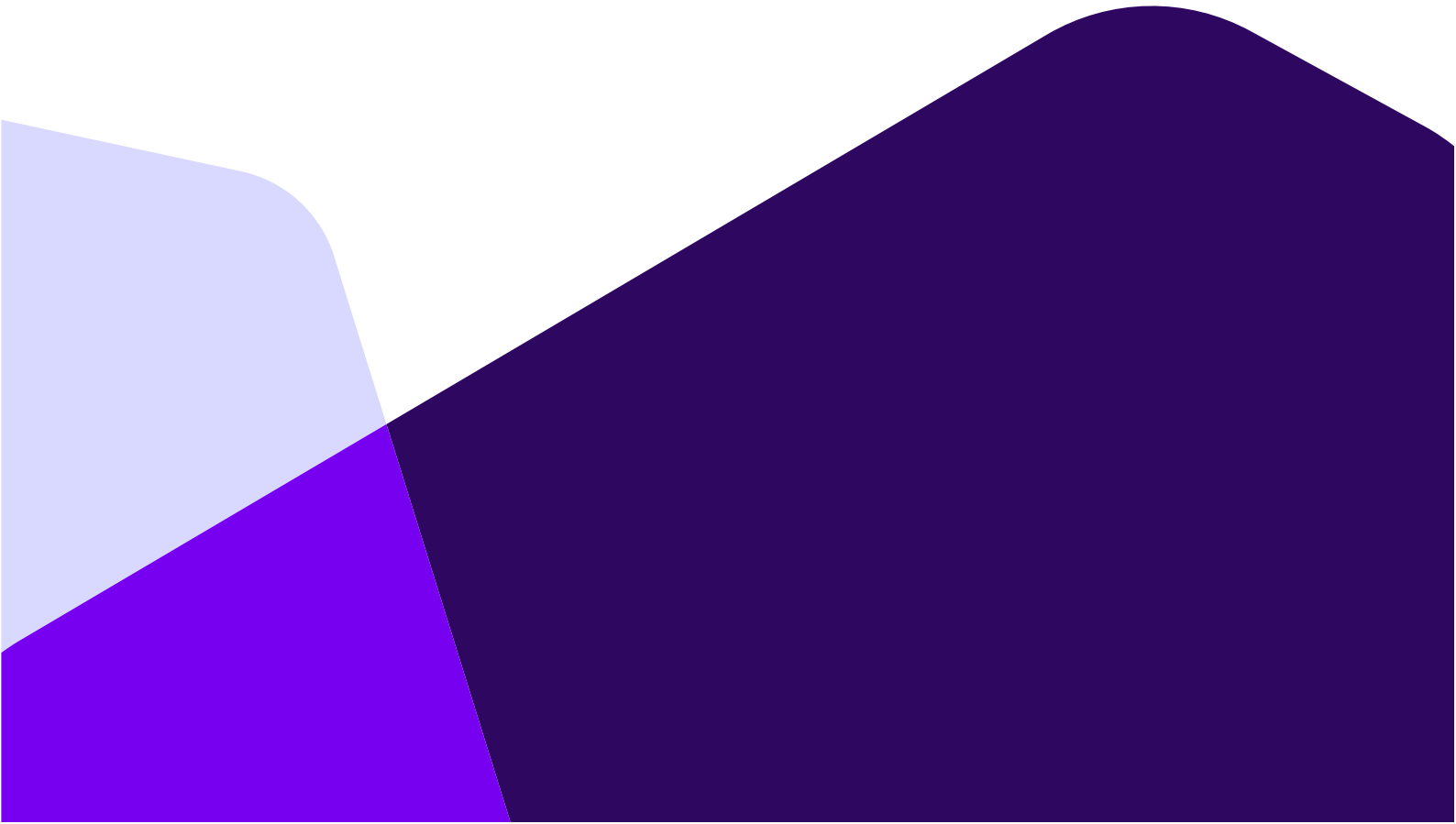**University of South-Eastern Norway**

Jenny Jenhaug Ringlund

Tying the Knot, Crossing Boundaries

A Discourse Analysis of Norwegian Marriage Immigration Documents

Summary

More than one million people with immigrant backgrounds live in Norway, and family immigration has made up about 36 percent of all immigration the last 30 years. The high flow of family immigrants is in public debates portrayed as a threat to social cohesion, national identity, and integration, often on the basis of culture, identity and belonging. Consequently, immigration policies must be analyzed for a comprehensive examination of who is considered a threat. Hence, the main objective of this thesis is to conduct an examination of family immigration policies, particularly, the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. I am providing an analysis of three documents which represent the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse: the marriage immigration questionnaire applicants must fill out; a White paper from the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion regarding the Immigration Act; and a guideline regarding forced marriages from the UDI. The questionnaire works as the main material, with the two guidelines as supporting material. To achieve a comprehensive understanding of the construction of culture, integration and belonging in the discourse represented in the three documents, I applied two theoretical frameworks: "Culturalized citizenship" as introduced by Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016) and "Belonging and politics of belonging" presented by Yuval-Davis (2011). Theories of immigration, integration, evaluation, marriage, boundaries and belonging are used for a meaningful background and discussion that places my findings in an academic context. The results from the discourse analysis and discussion reveals a separative discourse and static understanding of culture, distancing and differentiating between "us" and "them". I argue that the discourse of "Norwegian belonging" represents Norwegian attitudes and centers around adhering to Norwegian norms, and those not adhering are faced with sceptics and in need of special evaluation and legitimation. Furthermore, the static approach to culture constructs strict boundaries, which may hinder cultural diversity, social and cultural integration, and an equal right to family life without interference.

Keywords: Immigration, marriage immigration, integration, belonging, citizenship

Table of contents

Foreword

Completing this thesis has been a long and rewarding process, made more enjoyable because of the people who stood by me through it all. Therefore, this section is dedicated to showing my gratitude to you for guiding me, believing in me, comforting me, motivating me and always keeping my spirits up.

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Jenny Jenhaug Ringlund

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

As the world becomes increasingly interconnected, we face new challenges of migration. The question of what cultures and identities that can rightfully claim a place within the framework of Norwegian identity and belonging has emerged as a recurrent topic of debate (Eggebø, 2012; Eggebø, 2013; Eggebø & Brekke, 2019; Kofman, 2018; Myrdahl, 2010a; Myrdahl, 2010b; Olwig, 2011; Ringlund & Johnsen, 2022; Staver & Eggebø, 2023). Particularly against the backdrop of increased multiculturalism due to contemporary immigration trends. Specifically, cross-border marriages or marriage immigration pose significant challenges to the boundaries of belonging, as they allow foreigners to enter the country and become residents, as well as threatening the image of a normative family (Moret et al., 2021, p. 327). Moreover, several European countries have altered their family migration regulations to protect "national interests" against a flow of foreigners (Rytter, 2010, p. 301). Which migrants threaten the national interests the most or are considered non-favorable immigrants or potential citizens is a prevailing theme within the marriage immigration discourse (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Bonjour & Kraler, 2014; Eggebø & Brekke, 2019). To be recognized as part of society one must not only enjoy legal rights, but also be recognized symbolically and emotionally as a co-citizen through culturalized citizenship (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 1). The question is how this can be done when awareness of differences is intensified owing to the increasing interaction between people of different civilizations or cultures (Huntington, 1993, p. 25). Accordingly, some argue that foreigners understood to be inherently different than "us" are those seen as a problem when it comes to integration (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Charsley et al. 2020; Myrdahl, 2010a).

In 2022, the Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi) reported that more than one million people with immigrant backgrounds from over 200 countries was living in Norway (IMDi, 2022a). By 2023, immigrants, excluding asylum seekers, comprised 16 percent of the Norwegian population (Statistics Norway, n.d.). In compliance with Dzamarija (2019), an immigrant is here defined as anyone who is not born in Norway, with no Norwegian grandparents or parents, that enters the country. Furthermore, to legally reside in Norway for more than 90 days, one must by general rule obtain a residence permit (Immigration Act, 2008, §55). Consequently, nearly 16 percent of the Norwegian population has undergone the

process of obtaining a residence permit. The next step for many is to apply for a permanent residence permit, and later a citizenship. In 2021, over 40 000 foreign citizens were granted Norwegian citizenship (Statistics Norway, n.d.). It is evident that a considerable number of individuals have gone through the assessment process to receive a resident permit in Norway. In essence, a considerable portion of the Norwegian population has been subject to evaluation in order to enjoy legal rights. This poses the question of how cultural and ethnic minorities, which comprises a significant part of the Norwegian population, are perceived and evaluated. Additionally, one might wonder how these individuals are evaluated in order to enjoy symbolical and emotional recognition as co-citizens.

In Norway, family immigration encompassed 36 percent of all immigration from 1990 to 2022 (IMDi, 2022a). Furthermore, family immigration and integration are closely connected concepts, with integration objectives playing a role in shaping policies concerning family immigration (Bonjour & Kraler, 2014). The past and present flow of family migrants in particular has been portrayed as a threat to social cohesion and national identity in both public discourse and political debates (Bonjour & Kraler, 2014, p. 4). This threat or problem of family immigration and integration is in large connected to culture, identity, and belonging. To achieve a comprehensive understanding of integration, it is essential to give attention to also these dimensions of integration (Eggebø & Brekke, 2019, p. 434). According to Norwegian sociologists Helga Eggebø and Jean-Paul Brekke (2019, p. 434), current empirical research on migration and integration tends to concentrate mainly on the structural domain of integration including labor market participation and educational achievement. However, limiting the focus solely to the structural domain fails to capture the complexity of integration. Eggebø and Brekke (2019, p. 434) argue that studies of integration should encompass additional domains, such as the social and cultural domains, which are closely intertwined with the concepts of full citizenship and belonging.

Numerous studies on migration and integration delve into cultural and social domains (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Charsley et al., 2020; Eggebø & Brekke, 2019; Kofman, 2018; Myrdahl, 2010a; Myrdahl, 2010b; Olwig, 2011; Rytter, 2010). Notably, both sociologist Elenore Kofman (2018) and social scientist Eileen Muller Myrdahl (2010b) have conducted research on cultural aspects in Norwegian marriage immigration policies, shedding light on the Norwegian context. However, there remains a gap in research focused directly on the discourses targeted at migrants themselves. Migrants applying for marriage immigration in Norway may not ever encounter documents like, for instance, the Green Paper on a new Immigration Act analyzed by Myrdahl (2010b). Arguably, a comprehensive understanding of

the construction of social and cultural integration and belonging in Norway should also include documents that migrants directly encounter and deal with. Filling this gap can provide insights into a discourse that may shape migrants sense of belonging and full citizenship by serving as a dialogue between the Norwegian state and the migrant.

In the intricate field of migration and integration, especially marriage immigration, discourses monitoring the migration of people are influenced by politics of belonging concerning the boundaries of the political community. Therefore, marriage immigration discourses may be aimed at constructing belonging for specific collectivities and individuals, as described by sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 10). If the aim is comprehensive integration, belonging and full culturalized citizenship, it is essential to analyze how marriage immigration discourses construct Norwegian belonging and chances of full citizenship for successful social and cultural integration. Particularly in the documents encountered by the applicants. This thesis delves into precisely this matter, which impacts numerous residents and citizens in Norway. Specifically, the study will explore the construction of culturalized citizenship and belonging within Norwegian marriage immigration discourses.

1.2 Purpose of study and research question

The purpose of this study is to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the marriage immigration discourse in Norway to identify in what ways belonging and culturalized citizenship is constructed and can shape reality. In doing so, I aim to give attention to the social and cultural dimension of integration, and through that reveal prevailing attitudes in the Norwegian society. Hence, my research question read as follows:

How does the marriage immigration discourse in Norway construct boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship for applicants?

While the research question appears general, its scope is narrowed down by concentrating solely on three key documents within marriage immigration administration in Norway. The main document is a questionnaire every applicant for marriage immigration must answer in their application, which is used to evaluate their application (UDI, n.d.-a) (see appendix). The two other documents are guidelines used for evaluation of forced marriage and marriage of convenience in the immigration administration (Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion, 2007; UDI, 2023). Immigration administration deals with legal immigration and is managed by a number of prosecutors on different levels. However, the applications are mainly handled by

the different police districts and the UDI. These three documents can work as a representation of the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse and can tell us how potential residents of Norway are evaluated and conceived. Through a discourse analysis I aim to highlight how the discourse can contribute to the construction of culturalized citizenship and belonging for immigrants. Additionally, with this research, I seek to reveal potential biases and hierarchies within the marriage immigration discourse which can impede equality, cultural diversity, and inclusion.

By examining the marriage immigration discourse in Norway, the aim is to acquire knowledge of attitudes towards migrants in Norway and explore how the discourses encountered by migrants even before entering the country may influence their chances for belonging. Analyzing the marriage immigration questionnaire alongside two guidelines addresses an important research gap in the field of migration and integration. By analyzing these documents specifically, the study not only reveals attitudes and constructions in a discourse but handles a sort of dialogue between the Norwegian state and the migrant. The questionnaire is completed by the applicants themselves, occasionally with the assistance of relatives or friends. Subsequently, it is submitted alongside the application and identity documents to the Norwegian Police if the applicant is already in Norway or to visa application centers or embassies in their home country. Since the questionnaire is directly used and managed by the migrant, the prevailing attitudes within the discourse are communicated to the migrant and work as their first experience with Norwegian policies, in contrast to other documents most migrants never encounter. This thesis contributes with insights regarding belonging and culturalized citizenship in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse that migrants directly encounter and must take into account when applying for a residence permit. Furthermore, it contributes to the research field of migration, integration, and citizenship.

1.3 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into seven main chapters, including this introductory chapter, with the main objective to discuss how boundaries of belonging and full citizenship is constructed in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. In *Chapter one* I actualized the societal challenge and theme of the thesis by providing a short background, the purpose of the thesis and the research question which will guide the study. *Chapter two* reviews existing literature corresponding to the theme of the thesis. This chapter will illustrate the key perspectives in research on migration and marriage immigration sorted into four sections or themes,

providing an academic context to apply my findings onto. *Chapter three* delves into the theoretical framework substantiating this thesis and which will be further utilized when analyzing the material. I conceptualize belonging and culturalized citizenship by presenting two set of theories: Belonging and politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2011) and culturalized of citizenship (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016). *Chapter four* elucidates the qualitative methodology of the interpretative study employed in this thesis. *Chapter five* comprises the primary analysis, which utilizes discourse analysis to examine the three selected documents. This analysis is conducted within the theoretical framework of belonging and politics of belonging, and culturalized citizenship as presented in Chapter three. This chapter will provide the main findings from the selected material. *Chapter six* applies my findings to the academic context reviewed in Chapter two, offering a discussion that highlights the implications of my findings. The last chapter, *Chapter seven*, summarizes my key points, concludes my study, and provides recommendations for further research.

2 Literature review

This chapter offers an extensive overview of existing literature and research relevant to the central themes addressed in this thesis. It seeks to provide the study with a broader academic landscape encompassing family life, immigration, marriage immigration, integration, citizenship and belonging. By delving into existing scholarship, this literature review serves to elucidate the unique contributions of the findings in my research while also highlighting their alignment with prevailing discourses in the field.

The literature review will firstly address the foundational principles of family immigration, including the right to family life, facts regarding family immigration in Norway, and a brief introduction to how legislative frameworks and attitudes shape this domain. Subsequently, I present various perspectives on immigration and integration, including the notion of an undesirable migrant. Thereafter, the literature review presents research regarding what requirements are used when evaluating the legitimacy of a marriage. This includes discourses surrounding romance-based marriage, liberal and individualistic ideals, cultural hierarchies and public monitoring of marriage and intimate life. Lastly, the review present existing research on the construction of categories and boundaries between "us" and "them" in marriage immigration contexts. It emphasizes how states justify differentiating policies between different groups of migrants based on these constructed boundaries.

2.1 Family immigration, marriage immigration and evaluation

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) specifies that everyone has the inherent right to marry, establish a family, and receive protection from interference in their family (United Nations, 1948, art. 12; United Nations, 1948, art. 16(1)). It declares that "the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State" (United Nations, 1948, art. 16(3)). Similarly, the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) protects the right to family life, emphasizing the importance of respecting family life without interference by public authorities (Council of Europe, 1950, art. 8). Norway incorporates the ECHR into its legal framework through a Human Rights Act aimed at strengthening the status of human rights within Norwegian law (Larsen & Helgesen, 2023).

The right to family reunification and family establishment is essential for upholding individual's rights to marriage and family life. By enabling immigration for family purposes, the Norwegian Immigration Act (2008) chapter 6 on family immigration ensures that families in cross-border marriages and relationships enjoy comparable opportunities as families residing within the same state. Chapter 6 of the Immigration Act outlines the criteria for the reference person residing in Norway, the nature of the relationship between the reference person and the applicant, and the criteria for obtaining a residence permit based on family immigration. Consequently, both international human rights obligations and national jurisdictions form the foundation for marriage immigration policies, like the marriage immigration questionnaire and the two guidelines. Hence, this thesis and its materials are undeniably linked to international human rights obligations.

In 2022, the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) granted over 11 000 individuals their first family immigration permits in Norway (UDI, n.d.-b). Among these, more than 5 500 were attributed to spouses or partners. It is evident that a significant proportion of immigration to Norway is facilitated by the provisions outlined paragraph 40 of the Immigration Act. This section of the Immigration Act regulates marriage immigration, stating, among other things, that both parties must be at least 18 years of age, intend to live together in Norway, and that the main purpose of the marriage cannot be to obtain a residence permit (Immigration Act, 2008, §40). While most of these requirements are straightforward and can easily be assessed by case workers, determining whether a marriage is entered into primarily to obtain a residence permit may require a discretionary assessment. This aspect carries substantial significance during the assessment of applications done by the police and UDI, which underscores the importance of the questionnaire and two guidelines that are used to do this assessment.

British geographer Joe Painter argues that societal effects are not solely the result of laws themselves, but rather stem from the myriad mundane actions of officials, clerks, police officers, inspectors, teachers, social workers, doctors and so on (Painter, 2006, p. 761). This perspective gains particular relevance when considering that case workers must do a discretionary assessment when evaluating whether a marriage is one of convenience. Furthermore, Painter argues that legislations themselves are influenced by the decisions of individuals who possess personal opinions and are subject to the influence of other actors in society. Marriage immigration in Norway does not necessarily rest entirely on legislations but can also be influenced by the individuals responsible for drafting laws, shaping guidelines, managing applications, and potentially shape the life chances of the immigrants (Jasso,

2011, p. 1294; Lipsky, 2010, p. 9). In my research, such a perspective may reveal opinions reflected in the marriage immigration questionnaire and the two guidelines. I will examine if there is an apparent standpoint in the three texts and reflect on how this standpoint may construct boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship.

Given this objective, it is noteworthy that the national integration barometer indicates a clear differentiation among the Norwegian population concerning immigrants based on their national backgrounds (IMDi, 2022b). For instance, while 75 percent of the population believes that immigrants from Sweden contribute to upholding the welfare state, only 26 percent share the same view about immigrants from Somalia. Hence, considering Painter's (2006) theory, it is interesting whether immigration regulations in Norway also differentiate between immigrants based on their backgrounds. I aim to explore if this is the circumstance in my material. Particularly, I will consider whether Norwegian attitudes are evident in the marriage immigration discourse represented by the three documents, and if so, how the users of the questionnaire are perceived. In my research, this can reveal constructed boundaries within the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse.

2.2 Marriage immigration as a threat to integration

The discourse surrounding family reunification and marriage immigration has been extensively explored in both migration research and public discourse, particularly within the realms of politics and media concerning integration. A prevailing theme within this discourse appears to center around the question about what characterizes a "good" immigrant, and the opposite who are unassimilable and considered less likely to contribute positively to society (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Bonjour & Kraler, 2014; Eggebø & Brekke, 2019). A prominent argument is that the relation between family migration and integration contributes to shaping policies, and it is plausible that changes in migration policies often have integration as an ulterior motive. The overall perspective in contemporary research therefore suggests that migration policies are partly constructed to ensure that only suitable migrants enter the country, thus facilitating smooth integration processes. In research regarding integration policies and family migration "selective policies" is a term that often arises (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Eggebø & Brekke, 2019; Goodman, 2015; Kofman, 2018). These policies often aim to control which immigrants enters the state, and that those who do have a certain ability to be integrated and contribute. These can be requirements regarding for example income, age, language, and education, which may impact some groups more.

There is a division within research on immigration policies regarding the effects of specific requirements on integration. However, even though for example an increased income requirement may appear to affect everyone equally, it is argued to have selective effects (Eggebø & Brekke, 2019, p. 432). This is because certain groups may be affected more negatively than others. For instance, ethnic minority groups and women, who typically have a weaker position in the labor market on average, may be less likely to meet these requirements. Therefore, although income requirements may appear neutral, they could be part of an integration strategy aimed at preventing ethnic minority groups and women from entering the country. Through immigration policies, the state in question conveys a conception of who is considered a good immigrant and potential member of society (Bonjour & Kraler, 2014; Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Enchautegui & Menjívar, 2015; Kofman, 2018). In most cases this affects ethnic minorities, women, young people, and those regarded as "non-western". Political scientist Saskia Bonjour and Duyvendak (2018) uses the notion of "people with poor prospects" to describe this phenomenon, often connected with practical requirements like economy, but also with culture. Furthermore, Myrdahl (2010a, p. 115) argues that not all foreigners are seen as a problem, but mainly those understood to be excessively different, inassimilable, or of "different cultures" from "distant countries". In my research, I will consider whether the discourse reflect selective policies, portraying some groups of migrants as undesirable.

Kofman (2018) argues that the implementation of stricter family immigration conditions, particularly concerning income requirements, is often justified on cultural grounds. Using Norway as an example, she presents how concerns about forced marriages were an important area of focus in the Immigration Act Commission of 2004 (Kofman, 2018, p. 36). This suggests that restrictive requirements for marriage migrants may sometimes be based on cultural differences between certain migrants' cultures and traditions and the majority society. Furthermore, integration policies targeting immigrants have shown to reflect who is considered as not belonging in a society, often based on practices such as transnational and arranged marriages (Charsley et al., 2020, p. 262; Olwig, 2011, p. 187; Rytter, 2010, p. 312). By heightening the income requirement, the same migrants that were understood as possibly abusing the family immigration system, were the ones affected the most (Kofman, 2018, pp. 35, 42). Professor of Migration Studies, Katharine Charsley and others (2020, p. 251) conducted interviews revealing that several British Pakistani migrants believed migration requirements targeted them specifically as an ethnic or religious group. This indicates that selective migration policies may not be as discreet to those they affect. Targeted migrants with cultural deviances may be classified as "migrants with poor prospects", as argued by

Bonjour and Duyvendak (2018). In my research, this categorization may include individuals with specific marriage cultures and traditions understood to possible abuse the system. However, by targeting specific cultures, a significant number of legitimate applicants may also be scrutinized.

Bonjor and Duyvendak (2018, p. 893) uses the Netherlands as an example to illustrate who the "migrant with poor prospects" is. In the Netherlands, this is often characterized as someone with a low level of education, believed to contribute less to society on an economic level. Some politicians believe that those with a high level of education will have a more successful integration and participate more in the labor market. The "migrant with poor prospects" is believed to have come to the country with the main purpose of exploiting the welfare system and are associated with concepts like "laziness", "parasitic attitude", "poor work-ethic" and "no interest in the society" (Bonjor & Duyvendak, 2018, p. 894). An individual's work ethic is thus a determining factor for being a cultural fit or misfit in Dutch society. The authors argue that the "migrants with poor prospects" are differentiated or set apart from the idealized Dutch citizen. The opposition is not between the "hardworking" Dutch citizen and the undeserving Dutch on welfare, but between the ideal Dutch and the migrant with poor prospects. So, in reality, the boundaries of belonging in the Dutch context are not about contributing to society but about cultural fittingness.

Furthermore, some politicians in the Netherlands utilize this categorization for migrants with specific geographical, religious, or cultural backgrounds (Bonjor & Duyvendak, 2018, p. 895). For example, Migrants from Marocco have been described as "backwards" in comparison to modern Dutch society, while low-prospect migrants are labeled as "non-western". The non-western migrant is assumed to be less educated, and to possess cultural norms and traditions that are distant from those of Dutch society. Bonjor and Duyvendak (2018) uses the Netherlands as an example of how people within a nation separate themselves from "the others", referring to those who do not align with their conception of what it means to be part of their identity. The discourse on family immigration and integration presented in this chapter is occupied with how policies and jurisdictions impact integration and represent a perspective that some restrictions are culturally motivated. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that migrants are separated into those perceived to fit better into the host country and those who are not, using the label "migrants with poor prospects" (Bonjor & Duyvendak, 2018). Additionally, the low-prospect migrant may be associated with specific geographical, religious, or cultural backgrounds. In this thesis, I identify any connections to "migrants with poor prospects" or unwanted migrants in Norwegian belonging (see Chapter 5 and 6.2).

By doing so, I distinguish who the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse targets as an undesired migrant and which characteristics they are attributed. Furthermore, this distinction discloses who is considered to belong or not in Norwegian society.

2.3 What is a "real" marriage?

Immigration law can be used to combat forced marriages. With an analysis of the 2004 Green Paper on a new Immigration Act in Norway, Myrdahl (2010b, p. 107) argues that this can be understood as a "racial project". The Green Paper in this case is a set of recommendations for a new Immigration Act set by the Government (Myrdahl, 2010b, p. 107). Myrdahl's argumentation gives a clear perception on which migrants seem desired and undesired in entering the state according to the Green Paper. Additionally, according to Myrdahl, changes in immigration regulations represents shifting political climates with a focus on immigrant kinship practices as inherently different from "us" (Myrdahl, 2010b, 107). As a result, the public will often accept immigration regulations with the political aim of targeting transnational family structures. The overall perspective in the Green Paper seems to be that immigration from Asia, Africa and south America are specifically problematic and needs to be handled carefully (Myrdahl, 2010b, p. 108). Myrdahl argues that seemingly only *some* marriages need to "prove" the romantic relation between the parties, and not all family establishments are understood as unacceptable based on the assumption that it is primarily about migration. Pakistan especially is brought up in the discussion about forced marriages. The Green Paper states that forced marriages are not results of migration strategies, but of the kinship practices and cultural beliefs of Pakistan. Myrdahl argues that forced marriages are understood as a symptom of 'Pakistani culture', and that the condemnation of forced marriages often blends in with the condemnation of Pakistani culture constructed as "inherently backward, violent, and oppressive" (Myrdahl, 2010b, p. 110).

Distinguishing between arranged marriages and forced marriages, as well as between injunction and force, can pose significant challenges. Consequently, Myrdahl proposes that greater emphasis be placed on promoting romance-based marriages as the ultimate objective (Myrdahl, 2010b, p. 110). The societal expectation is that individuals raised in Norway are autonomous individuals who value romantic-based marriages and marriages exclusively between two individuals. For instance, when a Norwegian-Pakistani youth accepts an arranged marriage, their Norwegian identity is often questioned. Even if the arranged marriage is voluntary and self-chosen, individuals with Pakistani heritage may be perceived to be overly influenced by family traditions, thereby undermining their capacity of

making an independent and autonomous decision (Myrdahl, 2010b, p. 110). Myrdahl (2010b, p. 112) argues that the language used in the Green Paper reflects a mindset that even people who are born in Norway, have lived their entire life in Norway, and are Norwegian citizens are still not considered fully Norwegian. Pakistani immigrants and culture seem to be considered threatening to Norwegian values and love-based marriages.

Eggebø (2013, p. 774) argues that according to Norwegian regulations, only "real" marriages have the right to marriage migration. A "real" marriage is often understood as opposed to a marriage of convenience or forced marriages and opens up to personal interpretations about what a legitimate and intimate marriage is characterized by. Many describe a pure relationship as "a relationship of sexual and emotional equality" and these qualities are often used in research (Eggebø, 2013, p. 774). Doctor of Social Sciences, Saara Pellander (2019), have also done research showing that when bureaucrats separate between "real" and "fake" relationship, they base their understanding on love-based marriages. Pellander does not argue that applications for marriage immigration are measured and possibly rejected based on a lack of emotions. However, the author argues that the bureaucrat's understandings of a real marriage is based on love, and that "real" couples bases their relationship on mutual feelings (Pellander, 2019, p. 475). Yet, the meaning and significance of romantic love has been a key site of struggle both in discursive practices, social movements, and political projects (Mai & King, 2009, p. 299). In modern times progressive and conservative ideologies and values have competing ideas of romantic love, and the ruling understanding plays a key role in constructing and maintaining hierarchies.

The idea of romantic love that emphasizes individual autonomy, emotional and sexual equality, as well as emotional fulfillment is, according to Nicola Mai and Russell King (2009, p. 300), hegemonic in individualistic and neoliberal models of society. These criteria are seen as key and fixed in North centric civility and play a crucial role in constructing Europe and the West as emotionally and civically superior, as well as enforcing restrictive migration policies (Mai & King, 2009, p. 300). Accordingly, individualistic notions of love dictate what a legitimate marriage should look like and therefore which moral and civic ideologies are superior and not. Furthermore, family migration policies increasingly reflect the dominance of the ideal of romantic love. There is then a clear hierarchical differentiation between cultures, specifically individualistic and collectivistic cultures within a society. Hence, understandings of love are deeply affected by cultural, social, and economic context, and the state in question has the role of determining acceptable forms of marriage (Mai & King, 2009, p. 300, Moret et al., 2021, p. 330) which can be transferred to love-based marriage also being

understood differently. In an application process for marriage immigration in Norway, Eggebø (2013, p. 779) has found that many couples felt their relationship being questioned and the need to prove its realness.

In the immigration interview the power dynamic between interviewer (employee in immigration administration) and interviewee (applicant or reference person) is described as unequal, and that the Norwegian authorities set the standard for what a legitimate marriage is. According to the research presented above, self-determination and individual autonomy is an important part of individualistic ideals in Norwegian society. However, Eggebø (2013, p. 781) found that the immigration administration questioned a reference person's (the spouse already living in Norway) intention to choose an arranged marriage. For many, arranged marriage is not seen as compatible with self-determination. However, for the reference person in question, self-determination encompassed the right to choose to have an arranged marriage. Some also believe that transnational marriage, rather than being associated with 'traditional' gendered inequalities, actually can enhance women's autonomy and domestic power (Charsley et al., 2020, p. 218). Still, it is in the power of the state to determine what marriages are recognized as "good" or not (Moret et al., 2021, p. 330).

Mai and King (2009, p. 300) argue that the criteria of a real relationship, such as individual autonomy, gender equality and emotional fulfilment, are applied differently to those considered as "others" and those considered as "sames". So, whilst the right to choose a partner yourself is regarded as an ideal and a standard in which marriage is judged, it "only" applies when the individual in question chooses a partner the "right way". Through migration and migration regulations, marriage has become an individual responsibility, but simultaneously a matter that requires monitoring by a tutorial state (van Walsum, 2012, p. 6). Consequently, migrants' marriage is monitored and evaluated according to modern values, perhaps more than local citizens' marriage. The migrant family is, according to Kofman (2018, p. 36), represented as harmful to modern values and integration. As presented, marriage has become more liberal and individualistic in the Western world. However, the fixed criteria of how a romantic marriage works is seen as superior and constructs a cultural hierarchy in which marriage immigration in part is regulated.

This framework makes it so that a migrant's relationship requires monitoring by a tutorial state to be evaluated as legitimate. The marriage of migrants is thus a public matter. Some argue that whilst regulations and norms concerning intimate relations are becoming more liberal, regulations for immigrants and public debates on migration concentrate around restriction and control (Eggebø, 2012, pp. 4, 78; Moret et al., 2021, p. 325; Staver & Eggebø,

2023, p. 1033). This control challenges the right to marry a person of one's choosing which seems to essentially be the right of citizens (Eggebø, 2012, p. 50). The right to marriage migration can be understood as a secondary right. There is an increasing tendency to regard marriage and intimate life as a private matter (Giddens, 1992, p. 189; Plummer, 2003, p. 15), however, since marriage immigration is involved with border regulations it becomes a public and political concern (Eggebø, 2012, p. 4; Moret et al., 2021, p. 325). Eggebø (2012, p. 78) argues that the apparent differences in development on regulations of intimate life and on immigration reflects a change in perspective on what groups tend to be regarded as a threat to societal norms and stability. Further, legislative immigration regulations have shown to have the objective to reduce non-western marriage migration (Liversage & Rytter, 2015, p. 148). I will examine if this also is an objective of my material. Essentially, I will consider which ideologies that decide which marriages are legitimate and can belong or not, and what power dynamics or hierarchies this represents.

2.4 The creation of categories and boundaries

Cross-border or transnational marriages challenges the constructed boundaries between "us" and "them" within the borders of the nation by enabling "outsiders" to enter and reside in the national territory (Moret et al., 2021, p. 327). Further, nation-states produce categories to justify their inclusionary and exclusionary mechanisms implemented through laws, policies, and practices (Benhabib, 2004, p. 1; Moret et al., 2021, p. 328; Skrbiš et al., 2007, p. 263). In the construction of categories like "citizen", "foreigner", "imagined national community" and "ethnic or religious others", nation-states draw distinct boundaries between individuals who belong and those who do not. These categories are often presented as dichotomies, where the existence of one relies on the presence of the other. For instance, the designation of someone as a "migrant" presupposes the existence of a counterpart, the "non-migrant" (Moret et al., 2021, p. 328). Then, the dichotomy "us" and "them" are facilitated for, and nation-states can easily differentiate between those permitted to enter the territory and not. In addition, this may justify endowing different rights and levels of membership to individuals from different categories (Moret et al., 2021, 328). These categories not only shape migration, but also how we think, the world and the lives of those affected by the categories. Those categorized as marriage-migrants face these boundaries from the moment they even think about joining their spouse abroad through the prework that has to be done before migrating, such as the marriage immigration questionnaire.

Migration and mobility scientist Joëlle Moret and others (2021, p. 330) argue that the organization of the global population into cultural groups must be seen in relation to the hierarchical categorization of people along the lines of nationality, ethnicity, race, or religion. Furthermore, cross-border marriage challenges the hierarchy by allowing "outsiders" to become kin with citizens by law, and through this become citizens themselves, thus challenging the kin-like national community (Moret et al., 2021, p. 331). In the context of marriage immigration, the state uses a number of categories, such as "marriage of convenience", "forced marriage" and "arranged marriage" to evaluate the quality of the relationship and if it complies with the state's ideals of acceptable marriage (Moret et al., 2021, p. 332). By establishing criteria for what constitutes a legitimate and good marriage, the state implicitly defines what falls outside this category. As evident in the literature presented above, the marriage of "the others", people of "foreign cultures" or "migrants with poor prospects" are often stigmatized (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Bonjour & Kraler, 2014; Eggebø & Brekke, 2019; Goodman, 2015; Kofman, 2018; Myrdahl, 2010a; Myrdahl, 2010b). Moreover, research has highlighted that linking negative versions of marriage to specific national, ethnic, religious, or classed groups can create boundaries and help justify restrictive immigration policies (Charsley et al., 2020, p. 229; Moret et al., 2021, p. 332).

In addition, this way of constructing boundaries can have a negative impact on national identity or sense of belonging (Charsley et al., 2020, p. 229). Charsley and others (2020, p. 232) use the British context to show that identification with the national identity for individuals with immigrant backgrounds is not in conflict with attachment to their "motherland" or with obligations to family members left behind. They report that identification with multiple cultural practices are norms in multicultural Britishness (Charsley et al., 2020, p. 232). Rather, the negative impact on senses of belonging and national identity are compounded by factors such as immigration policy and discrimination (Charsley & Benson, 2012, p. 11; Charsley et al., 2020, p. 255). Consequently, spousal immigration may become part of an exclusionary politics of belonging, as suggested by Charsley and others (2020, p. 252). This exclusionary politics of belonging may emerge when immigrants perceive that the regulations governing spousal immigration target specific groups of people, potentially happening through the utilization of categories within immigration regulations. It is important to recognize that these categories within the immigration regulations are not simply legal descriptions, but are also charged with presumed values, and often laden with negative connotations (Anderson, 2013, p. 4).

For example, the community in which migrants wants to belong is not simply made of people of the same legal status but is by Anderson (2013, p. 4) portrayed as a community of value.

The community of value is composed of people with shared common ideals and shared patterns of behavior expressed through ethnicity, religion, culture, or language (Anderson, 2013, p. 2). The values construct the boundaries of the community, and individuals who are incapable to live up to the common values and liberal ideas of the community may find themselves unable to fully belong. Consequently, the practice of cross-border marriage is not merely viewed as an administrative category, rather it is perceived as fundamentally different from other forms of marriage (Moret et al., 2021, p. 334). Further, this can be transferred to, for instance, arranged marriages, marriages within kin, practical marriages (as opposed to love-marriages) and other cultural practices not part of the shared pattern of behavior in the state in question. The shared values of the community gain legitimacy as they become ingrained as common knowledge. Consequently, legislation and policies targeting couples from "different" cultural backgrounds can be justified based on the perception of inherent differences (Moret et al. 2021, p. 334). The political objectives that decide who can belong or not may also be perceived as discriminatory by some, thereby influencing the process of national identification (Charsley et al., 2020, p. 255).

The boundaries which decide who can become a citizen reveal ideals of citizenship, membership, and statehood in specific states as well as how the nation community is imagined (Anderson, 2013, p. 99). In addition, those who are at risk of not belonging may try to dissociate themselves from "failed citizens" with whom they are often associated (Anderson, 2013, p. 6). Those who are not a stable part of the community of value must endlessly prove that they have the right values and are fitted to belong. Anderson (2013, p. 6) uses the example of the migrant who must distance herself from the illegal immigrant. The two categories carry with them different connotations and values, and the migrant benefits from not being associated with an illegal immigrant. In the same way, when sensing that migrants with certain backgrounds are at higher risk of not belonging or being labeled as "failed citizens" based on for instance their cultural practices, other migrants may distance themselves from such associations. Moreover, in order to demonstrate their suitability for integration into the community of value, some individuals may downplay aspects of their own cultural background if it is deemed to embody the "wrong" values. An individual with a minority background will construct his own identity as separated from negative perceptions, in a more flexible and uniting way than an individual representing the majority (e.g. Ringlund & Johnsen, 2022).

Delineating which marriages are deemed acceptable within the national boundaries of belonging may establish dichotomies that defines certain marriages as "unacceptable", encouraging marriage migrants to abstain from such unions in order to achieve a sense of

belonging. In my research, the categories and identifications represented in the marriage immigration discourse reveal who the targeted migrant is and if there are supposed inherent differences between individuals. Additionally, I will examine if there are presumed valued associated with the categories and identities in the three documents which may impact belonging, and which migrants needs to prove their fittingness in Norwegian society.

2.5 Summary of chapter

Every human has the right to family life without interference (Council of Europe, 1950, art. 8; United Nations, 1948, art. 12; United Nations, 1948, art. 16(1); United Nations, 1948, art. 16(3)). This right is further protected by the right to family immigration (Immigration Act, 2008, §40). However, when it comes to marriage immigration, this right only applies to marriages deemed legitimate through a discretionary assessment made by bureaucrats, often based on legislations and guidelines which is also dependent on the people who write them (Jasso, 2011, p. 1294; Lipsky, 2010, p. 9). Migration policies can be shaped by the relation between family migration and integration with the aim of ensuring that the immigrants that enter the country have a certain ability to become integrated and contribute to society. Immigration policies can reveal which immigrants are most desirable as a potential member of the host society, which is more often those understood to be similar to "us" (Bonjour & Kraler, 2014; Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Kofman, 2018; Myrdahl, 2010a, p. 115). This categorization of the "undesirable immigrant" is in many instances justified on cultural grounds differentiating certain immigrants' cultures and traditions from our own and our ideal national identity, separating "us" from "them".

Further, when assessing which marriages are considered legitimate the focus is often on "real" or "romantic-based" marriages. Additionally, it is emphasized that both parties in the relationship must be autonomous individuals valuing liberal and individualistic practices, and that they have the "right" understanding of love. Former research has found that there is a clear hierarchical differentiation between cultures and their assumed values within a society, and that the host state has the role of determining acceptable forms of marriage based on its cultural, social, and economic context (Mai & King, 2009, p. 300, Moret et al., 2021, p. 330). However, only certain couples actually need to prove the realness of their marriage, as some researchers argue that the criteria of a real relationship are applied differently to those considered as "others" and those considered as "sames". Migrant relationships, and especially those pertaining to "distant" migrants, require monitoring by a tutorial state to be regarded as legitimate, making their marriage a public matter. This challenges the right to

marry a person of one's choosing as well as being contrasted to the norm of regarding marriage and intimate life as a private matter.

Nation-states produce categories to justify the boundaries between "us" and "them" as well as exclusionary mechanisms implemented through laws, policies, and practices (Benhabib, 2004, p. 1; Moret et al., 2021, p. 328). This can be transferred to apply to categories describing marriage, like "marriage of convenience", "forced marriage" and "arranged marriage". These categories are used to evaluate marriages and define what the state considered to not be legitimate and "good" marriages. Moreover, negative versions of marriage are oftentimes linked with specific national, ethnic, religious, or classed groups, and thus creating boundaries and help justify restrictive immigration policies (Charsley et al., 2020, p. 229; Moret et al., 2021, p. 332). This can explain that negative impacts on a given migrant's sense of belonging and national identity can be compounded by the given immigration policy in the host country (Charsley & Benson, 2012, p. 11; Charsley et al., 2020, p. 255). Additionally, communities are constructed through common values and shared patterns of behavior, and those not capable of living up to that may never fully belong. As a consequence, some may distance themselves from categories or practices associated with "outsiders" and failed citizens to "prove" their suitability to belong.

The existing literature outlined in this chapter will serve to elucidate the distinctive aspects of my findings through a discussion of my findings in Chapter 6. This will provide the basis for applying my research to the present academic context and guide the concluding remarks in answering the research question. This literature review assists in underlining the significance of examining which attitudes and ideologies are present, as well as how an applicant for marriage immigration is perceived and attributed values and chances for belonging.

3 Theoretical framework

This chapter is concerned with the theoretical framework that will guide the analysis of the questionnaire and two guidelines. The objective of this thesis is to analyze the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse and explore how boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship are constructed. To accomplish this, I will employ two theories to inform and conceptualize my findings. The selected theories are sociologists Evelien Tonkens and Jan Willem Duyvendak's (2016) theory of culturalized citizenship as well as Yuval-Davis's (2011) presentation of a framework of three analytical facets in which belonging is constructed. The theory of culturalized citizenship offers a valuable framework for understanding how culture is perceived and can facilitate for full citizenship and belonging within the three documents. By conceptualizing different approaches to culture in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse, we can gain insight into the requirements for inclusion in the social community. Yuval-Davis's theory on belonging and politics of belonging provides a framework for analyzing how belonging is constructed and for outlining the boundaries for belonging evident in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. The two theories enable a comprehensive examination of culturalized citizenship and boundaries of belonging within the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. They also facilitate a discussion that goes beyond the juridical and structural domains of integration and belonging, delving into the social, cultural, and emotional dimensions.

3.1 Full citizenship through cultural citizenship

Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016) focus on culturalized citizenship and argue that since citizenship is culturalized, full citizenship does not only include legal rights, but also emotional affiliation. Their theory on the culturalization of citizenship has evolved from the complex relationship between culture and citizenship in the Dutch context (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 9). According to their perspective, individuals must be symbolically and emotionally recognized as co-citizens to attain the status as full citizens, a status often denied even to second- or third-generation immigrants with legal citizenship. Culture, in this framework, encompasses emotions, feelings, norms, values, symbols, traditions, and religion. The authors aim to convey that culture, understood through these terms, has become central to the discourse on what it means to be a citizen (Tonkens & Duyvendak,

2016, p. 3). According to this perspective, the criteria for full citizenship include feelings of belonging or being at home, which can be seen as an alternative or addition to political, judicial, and social (rights) citizenship. In analyzing the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse, I will explore how the discourse's language constructs boundaries for cultural citizenship and the feeling of belonging. By applying Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016) theory of culturalized citizenship, I aim to uncover insights into the interconnectedness of legal and cultural aspects in the residency and citizenship process in Norwegian society, and how this process is intertwined with and construct one's ability to belong.

Tonkens and Duyvendak present two ideal or typical ways to view culture: restorative and constructivist (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 6). These two categories can inform how culture is viewed and constructed, and thus what is expected to belong as a citizen in the cultural sense. The *restorative* culturalization of citizenship perceives culture as static and predetermined, suggesting that one must learn and accept the established culture in order to be a full citizen. According to the restorative perspective, citizenship is achieved once an individual has adopted a predefined cultural identity. According to Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016, p. 6) this is a problematic culturalization of citizenship since this leaves no room for cultural disagreements among and between insiders and outsiders, potentially leading to polarization and radicalization. On the opposing end of the spectrum is the *constructivist* notion of culture, which regards culture as an evolving process shaped by both meeting traditions and the interactions between insiders and outsiders, leading to cultural confrontations and transformations (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 7). According to the constructivist notion, full citizenship is attained through actively participating in the process of mixing cultures. These two ideal notions of culture present culture as something fixed and given, or as something that is constantly changing and produced in cultural exchange. In the upcoming analysis, I will examine whether the discourse constructs cultural citizenship and acceptance as a resident in Norway based on adherence to exciting norms or openness to change and development.

Two ways of mobilizing culture is also presented: the affective and functional dimensions (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 7). The *affective* dimension mobilizes culture through emotional meanings that are attached to culture, and what emotions a citizen is expected to have to attain full citizenship. This includes, for instance, expectations regarding an individual's feelings towards the state or its citizens. Furthermore, the affective mobilization encompasses actions that manifest certain feelings towards the state, such as adapting to its cultural norms by for instance dressing as the majority. On the other side, the *functional* view

of culture adopts a more practical approach to culture. This approach emphasizes actions such as learning and using the country's primary language in public, gaining knowledge about its traditions, history, and politics, and actively participating in society through education and employment (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 7). The two mobilizations of culture underscores that there is either an emotional or a practical side to mobilizing culture. When investigating the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse, this framework enables an examination of whether applicants are evaluated through an affective or functional mobilization of culture – essentially, how their cultural suitability for Norwegian residency is measured.

Based on the two ways to view culture, and the two mobilizations of culture, Tonkens and Duyvendak propose a matrix (see matrix in Tonkens and Duyvendak, 2016, p. 7) comprising four ideal types of culturalization of citizenship: *Functional restorative*, *affective restorative*, *functional constructivist,* and *affective constructivist*. These ideal types offer valuable insights into how culturalized citizenship can either facilitate or impede inclusion and be both liberating and oppressive (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 7-8). The first one, *functional restorative* culturalization of citizenship, builds upon core values that citizens must adapt to and put into practice. It emphasizes that democratic citizenship must be taught, with institutions and norms understood as given. Additionally, the fulfillment of civil duties is a core requirement for smooth interethnic relations. Second is the *affective restorative* culturalization of citizenship, which emphasize loyalty towards the state as a prerequisite for belonging. Residents are required to prove their emotional attachments and feelings towards the state for full citizenship. By this perspective, those who do not manage to feel at home also don't belong, even those who are born and raised in a state. The affective restorative culturalization appears to give little room for emotional attachments to one's someone's home county or culture from outside of Norway.

The third ideal type is *affective constructivist* culturalization of citizenship. This focuses on experiences and feelings, if these are shared between cohabitants, and if shared feelings culminate in social interactions (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 8). Unlike affective restorative culturalization, affective constructivist culturalization does not rely on predetermined and fixed feelings of loyalty towards the state. Instead, it acknowledges that emotional belonging and culturalized citizenship is constructed through interactions and debates between cultures. This perspective recognizes that all citizens, despite their backgrounds, should be able to hold the emotions of belonging and feeling at home. Lastly, the *functional constructivist* culturalization of citizenship views cultural belonging not as

something preexisting that needs to be found, as in the restorative sense, but as something that is actively created. This approach is more practical and focuses on democratic processes and exchanges between citizens. Being constructivist, the functional constructivist culturalization understands culture as changing through cultural clashes with its uniting and diving effects. Cultural mixing and diversity are seen as valuable tools from which citizens can learn to coexist.

Tonkens and Duyvendak utilize these categories to argue which notions of culture are more effective to ease access to full citizenship, and I will employ them to identify notions of culture in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. In Tonkens and Duyvendak's chapter, and other chapters of the same edited book, culturalization of citizenship is used to explore which values individuals are expected to embrace in order to attain the status of full citizen. They argue that the Dutch context presents a differentiating narrative meaning only certain populations are recognized as citizens, particularly those embracing Dutch liberal values (Kešić & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 70; Tonkens and Duyvendak, 2016, p. 9; Van Reekum, 2016, p. 39). My research will delve into similar issues. Consequently, the culturalization of citizenship will inform which measurements that are used to determine someone's suitability to be a Norwegian resident. Moreover, the theory provides a framework to interpret which requirements one is expected to meet to become a full citizen and belong in Norway according to the discourse. Additionally, it will provide insights into which cultural aspects are accepted or utilized as criteria for inclusion in Norwegian society. It is crucial to not only focus on the judicial and political aspects of citizenship and to belonging in a state, but also the cultural which is connected to emotions, feelings, norms, and values. One may possess legal residency or citizenship, yet lack culturalized citizenship or a sense of belonging, knowing that one's culture is not accepted.

3.2 Belonging and politics of belonging

Full citizenship is related to belonging and feeling at home. Yuval-Davis (2011) adopts an intersectional approach in her book *the Politics of Belonging: Intersectional contestations*, to explore the concept of belonging and its implications. She builds upon the question of whether national politics of belonging is still the hegemonic model of belonging in contemporary society (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 1). Yuval-Davis challenges the common assumption that carrying a state's passport automatically result in a sense of belonging among the state's citizens, suggesting that nationality is more determining of someone's identity that other factors such as religion, ethnicity, or culture (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 1).

Moreover, Yuval-Davis argues that individuals perceived as "strangers", or also referred to as "the others", are sometimes regarded as a threat to the political and cultural cohesion of a community. The criteria by which we determine and judge who is seen as a threatening stranger that does not belong is constantly changing along with tensions between cultures, religions, and ethnicities (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 2). This is particularly relevant for individuals applying for marriage immigration who must navigate the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. They may find themselves categorized as outsiders both juridically, culturally, and emotionally.

Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 10) emphasizes the distinction between "belonging" and "the politics of belonging". Belonging encompasses both emotional attachment and the feeling of being at home, aligning with the affective mobilization of culture that values emotional meanings, as described earlier. However, she also describes belonging as a dynamic process that evolves over time, consistent with a constructivist view of culture and in contrast to the restorative (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 12). Belonging is often naturalized as part of everyday life until threatened, at which point it becomes "articulated, formally structured and politicized" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 10). This is where politics of belonging comes into play by creating political projects aimed at constructing belonging. However, the politics of belonging is dependent on and constructed by collectivities with explicit boundaries dictating who can belong to which groups. Given that the objective of the marriage immigration discourse is to evaluate eligibility for residency in Norway, my aim is to identify any constructed boundaries within the discourse. This analysis contributes to a discussion surrounding who is considered to belong or not as a Norwegian resident.

The aim of Yuval-Davises book is to identify and differentiate between major "building blocks" necessary for an analytical framework of belonging and the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 11). She does this by initially presenting a framework of three analytical facets in which belonging is constructed, and then how politics of belonging is related to participatory politics of citizenship, entitlement, and status. The three analytical facets for constructing belonging are *social locations*, *identifications and emotional attachments*, and *ethical and political values* (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 12). *Social locations* describe where people belong in categories like gender, race, class, ethnicity, religion, or culture, and are often marked by different embodied signifiers like color of skin, clothes, or accent. These categories often represent power positionings which change in different historical contexts. Individuals may transition from one social location to another. A serious example is by assimilation into a new collectivity such as an ethnic, cultural, or national group (Yuval-Davis,

2011, p. 13). Yuval-Davis argues that social locations are often distinguished by embodied signifiers like mode of behavior, which may encompass traditions and cultural practices. In my analysis, I will explore identifiable social locations and what embodied signifiers that are connected to them.

Identifications and emotional attachments relate to individual's perception of what being a member of social location groups might mean, in other words, the construction of identities through people's narratives (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 14). In the construction of social locations and the delineation between "self" and "others", boundaries are constructed, and Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 17) emphasizes that these boundaries are constantly shifting and contested. This stands in contrast to the restorative notion of culture presented by Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016, p. 6). Additionally, Yuval-Davis calls attention to the emotional dimension of identities, stating that emotional attachment becomes more central when an individual feels threatened (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 15). When threatened, individuals are more concerned with maintaining the narratives of their identity or social locations. The final analytical facet is *ethical and political values* and concerns how social locations and identities are assessed and given value (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 18). This evaluation may be conducted by individuals with different social locations belonging to the same social group, resulting in varieties between evaluations. Considering people's various social locations and backgrounds, the importance of a social group to someone, and whether it is considered in a positive or negative way can vary. Furthermore, this can shape how inclusive or exclusive the boundaries of social locations and identities are perceived to be, and where they should be drawn. Which is where the politics of belonging comes into play.

It is through politics of belonging boundaries are constructed, and certain people, social categories and groups get included or excluded within the boundaries (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 18). When politics intervenes, this entails the exercise of power, and Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 112) argues that political projects of belonging assume power over political communities of belonging. She defines politics of belonging as "concerned with the boundaries of the political community of belonging, the boundaries which, sometimes physically, but always symbolically, separate the world population into 'us' and 'them'" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 20). The marriage immigration discourse serves as an example where constructed boundaries can contribute to physically separating people into "us" and "them", as it partially determines who receives a residence permit in Norway or not. Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 112) utilizes this framework to argue that more people are aware of nations heterogeneousness. Additionally, states govern who does not "belong" to the traditional and "indigenous" nation (Yuval-Davis,

2011, p. 112). It is essential to examine the criteria for belonging, such as common culture, values, or destiny (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 20). In my analysis in Chapter 5, this framework serves to answer the research question by exploring which requirements for belonging that are constructed within the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. The three facets of belonging will here serve as prerequisites for belonging and will be further utilized for delineating boundaries. I analyze the questionnaire and the two guidelines as political projects of belonging, systematically outlining the presence of each of the three facets of belonging. By doing so, I delineate how boundaries of belonging is constructed in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse.

3.3 Summary of chapter

This chapter outlines the analytical approach that will be employed when analyzing the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. This relies on two theoretical frameworks: Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016) conceptualization of culturalized citizenship and Yuval-Davis's (2011) theory of belonging and politics of belonging. These two theoretical frameworks are intertwined by both encompassing the concept of belonging, and in the context of this research, what it means to belong as a Norwegian resident. Tonkens and Duyvendak argue that citizenship extends beyond legal rights to encompass cultural elements and emotional affiliation. They present ideal types of culturalized citizenship, where culture comprises feelings of belonging. Concurrently, Yuval-Davis' three assets of belonging provide insights into the construction of boundaries of belonging. She argues that that boundaries of belonging are constantly changing and can be understood as a dynamic process (Yuval-Davis, 2011, pp. 2, 12, 17). This resonates with the constructivist notion of culture described by Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016, p. 7), and differ from the restorative notion of culture. Additionally, it constructs a relevant basis for examining how the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse constructs understandings of what it means to be a Norwegian resident, and which boundaries for belonging that exist between those who qualify for culturalized citizenship and belonging in Norway and not. These boundaries will be identified by utilizing Yuval-Davis's three assets of belonging and categorized using Tonkens and Duyvendak's four ideal types of culturalization of citizenship.

4 Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodology employed in this thesis to explore how meaning is constructed and to address the research question: "How does the marriage immigration discourse in Norway construct boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship for applicants?". It is essential to underline, particularly in the context of qualitative methods, that meaning is constructed by individuals and their interactions with others and the world (Merriam, 2002, p. 3). Moreover, multiple constructions and interpretations of reality exist, which evolve and vary across different contexts and time periods. Qualitative analysis provides a valuable insight into these constructions and interpretations of reality. In this study, I aim to identify the discourses represented in the questionnaire and two guidelines, as well as the interpretation of the world they represent and the meaning of belonging they construct.

This section will describe the epistemological foundation of the study and the qualitative research methods applied in analyzing the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. It will explain the reason behind the selected research design, the chosen analytical framework, ethical considerations, positionality, and the challenges and limitations of the study.

4.1 Epistemological foundation and research design

Epistemology is the philosophy of knowledge with a narrative about what is seen as acceptable knowledge in a discipline and how it is obtained (Brinkmann, 2015, p. 55; Bryman, 2016, p. 24; Tjora, 2017, p. 26). Since this is a qualitative study, the emphasis is on words and language rather than quantifications and an understanding of theory being an outcome of research (Bryman, 2016, pp. 21, 375). This study has an interpretivist epistemological foundation with the assumption that social action is a subjective experience shaped by present beliefs, norms, cultures, and values. Interpretivism provides for a method that respects the differences between the natural world and the human one, as it recognizes that reality is socially constructed (Bryman, 2016, p. 26; Merriam, 2002, p. 4). Given that the study aims to interpret how boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship are constructed, and what this tells us, interpretivism is compatible with the nature of this study. With an interpretivist stance, the social researcher engages in a form of double interpretation (Bryman, 2016, p. 28). This entails not only revealing the interpretation of the world

embedded within the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse but also place this interpretation into a social scientific frame. In other words, the interpretations themselves will be subject to interpretation by me.

The research design serves as the framework in which data is collected and analyzed to address certain research questions (Bryman, 2016, p. 40; Marriam, 2002, p. 6). It should align with the study's aim and the dimensions that are prioritized. In this study, the aim is to analyze the marriage immigration discourse in Norway and its construction of reality. Therefore, the most befitting research design is a Basic Interpretive Qualitative Study as described by Sharan Merriam (2002, p. 6), professor of adult education. This research design seeks to understand a particular phenomenon, process, perspective, or worldview, resulting in rich and descriptive findings (Merriam, 2002, pp. 6-7). Specifically, this study focuses on the phenomenon of marriage immigration in Norway and the perception of the specific individuals included in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. While this research design may not provide high external validity, the primary objective of this study is not to produce generalizable findings but rather to gain in-depth knowledge and understanding of the specific case of marriage immigration in Norway. The goal is to effectively generate theory from the findings, a process known as "theoretical generalization" (Bryman, 2016, p. 64). Therefore, it is crucial that the data used in the study supports the theoretical arguments generated from the research.

4.2 Sampling

Qualitative research tends to use purposive sampling (Bryman, 2016, 407; Marriam, 2002, p. 12). Purposive sampling is directed by the aim of the research or the research question, and hence selecting the samples strategically with this purpose. With purposive sampling there are specific reasons for selecting cases, as opposed to a larger and more random sampling. In this study the main sample is a document – the marriage immigration questionnaire – chosen specifically to provide insights into the process of marriage migration in Norway. Additionally, the empirical material includes two guidelines regarding family immigration for spouses, which will serve as supporting material for analyzing the questionnaire. Using a purposive sampling in this study does not allow for generalization of results beyond what can be said about the three documents. However, it enables a deeper understanding of this specific part of the marriage immigration process in Norway and function as an example of how international and national laws and regulations are implemented and construct realities for individuals.

In the preliminary phase of planning this study, during an internship with the immigration administration in the Eastern police district in Norway, I found myself constantly scouting for cases to analyze. Early on, I came across the marriage immigration questionnaire, which immediately caught my attention, especially after experiencing how applicants reacted to and dealt with it. Its accessibility as a public document also made it a practical choice for analysis, especially seeing that many documents in the police are exempt from public disclosure. Upon my initial reading of the questionnaire, I was struck by the themes of the questions, the cultural references, and the depth to which applicants are prompted to describe their relationships and marriages. As I delved deeper into the questionnaire, my interest in the contents grew, and with it, the theme and research question of the thesis became more refined. Consequently, the questionnaire itself has played a significant role in shaping much of the thesis's direction and focus.

The aspect that stood out to me the most was the apparent focus of the questionnaire towards cultures predominantly found outside Europe and the west. Additionally, while I was already aware that the questionnaire is used to assess the likelihood of proforma or forced marriages, this was more apparent when reading the questions for the first time than I anticipated. I also noticed that applicants themselves seemed to share a similar impression regarding cultural references. This observation was reinforced when experiencing individuals from Western countries dismissing certain questions as not relevant to "them", whilst individuals from non-Western countries often answered those questions in much more detail, almost as if attempting to prove someone wrong.

The questionnaire consists of 11 pages of more than 40 questions, so part of the sampling has been to choose what parts of the questionnaire to focus on. There are in total ten categories of questions or information to fill out, with the most comprehensive one having the title "The relationship between you and your spouse". Since the themes of this study are culture, belonging, boundaries, and partly national identity, I will specifically examine the sections of the questionnaire and guidelines that relate to these themes. There is no need to analyze elements such as for instance *why* the applicant is required to fill out their name, as this speaks for itself and does not concern the focus of the thesis. I will sample the parts that relate to the research question.

4.3 Analysis strategy

Language can be a significant part of social research, and it allows us to express how we view the world. Analyzing language facilitates for a deeper appreciation of how the world is understood. Discourse analysis is one of the main approaches when analyzing language, one that can be applied to all forms of speech and text, representing a notion that discourse constructs social life (Anker, 2020, p. 41; Bryman, 2016, p. 526; p. 531; Gill, 2000, p. 173; Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 51). As such, it can be applied to analyze the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse. This thesis will employ a discourse analysis as outlined by Norwegian sociologist Lars Emil Johannessen and others (2018), drawing primarily from the works of Rosalind Gill (2000) and Jan Grue (2014a; 2014b). The aim of discourse analysis is to critically examine and problematize constructions or understandings of how the world should be, questioning taken-for-granted ways of speaking, writing, and thinking (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 51). The chosen approach resonates with how the influential French philosopher, Michael Foucault (1972, p. 49) perceives discourses. He explains discourse as a practice that shapes the objects in which they speak. With this understanding one can assume that the language used in the marriage immigration discourse shapes the reality or understanding of cross-border marriages and immigrants. Foucault has a hypothesis that discourse in every society is regulated, selected, and organized as it is produced in order to reduce the other meanings of what they speak of (Foucault, 2019, p. 143). This process creates a power dynamic where other possible meaning which could challenge the prevailing reality are marginalized or eliminated. The language we use frames the way in which we comprehend that object, effectively constructing a version of reality (Bryman, 2016, p. 531).

Accordingly, the marriage immigration discourse represents a reality that shapes our conceptions of marriage immigration, cross-border marriages, and immigrants in general, since this is what the discourse addresses. The marriage immigration discourse has the power to justify by what criteria a marriage can be judged and what expectations to have towards marriage immigrants. Therefore, it is essential to use a discourse analysis to understand the reality the questionnaire and guidelines represents. When immersing into and coding my material I started as inclusively as possible, recognizing that the relevance of the various aspects of the material may not always be immediately apparent (Gill, 2000, p. 180). Johannessen and others (2018, p. 74) believe that one must first acquaint oneself with the text and genre being analyzed, which I have done through an internship in the police working

with the texts on a daily basis. Furthermore, I considered the formality of the language used, if there are any linguistic means present in the texts, and whom the three texts addresses (Johannessen et at., 2018, p. 75). Furthermore, I will familiarize myself with the contexts of the texts, not only what practices, or legislations they are part of, but how they are used and by whom. For a comprehensive understanding of texts, and to form informed opinions about them, one must recognize the backgrounds and objectives of the individuals using them (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 75).

After familiarizing myself with the material and their contexts, I went on examining what the texts "do" and how they do it (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 76). This involves utilizing one or more of the following questions: "What mindset is being promoted?", "What kind of behavior and manners are promoted?" and "What kind of societal consequences can such a representation have?" [my translations] (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 76). These questions guide my examination of the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse, providing an approach to addressing the research question. Employing these underlying questions as an approach for analyzing the questionnaire and two guidelines assisted in problematizing their contents and, by doing so, offered an alternative to the preconceived, taken-for-granted marriage immigration discourse.

Moreover, a discourse analysis involves constantly using underlying analytical questions to critically examine the contents of the texts in question (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 76; Gill, 2000, p. 181). These questions guide the analysis, illuminating reality constructed by the discourse. Useful questions I have employed in my analysis included *what does the discourse require from us*?, *what are the claims*?, *what identities does the discourse construct*?, *who benefits from this construction and who does not? and what is left out?* (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 85). These analytical questions facilitated for investigating what prior knowledge is required for using the questionnaire and guidelines, the claims of the texts, and helped summarizing the arguments of the texts more easily. Furthermore, it helped enlightening the identities the discourse constructs, which identities there are no room for in the discourse, what types of power relations or relationships between people benefit from the discourses, and generally what is omitted and could make a relevant difference in the texts. Furthermore, discourse analysts must not only be sensitive to what is being said, but also what is not said, "the silences" (Gill, 2000, p. 181). This requires an understanding and awareness of the social, cultural, and political context of what is being studied. Only then is it possible to notice the absence of particular accounts in material, and to recognize alternative version of reality being constructed.

Through the analysis, this analytical approach forms the basis for examining which understandings of reality the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse promotes, and which influences this reality may have. I have used the above-mentioned guidelines as a framework for what to look for during the analysis, and I have not always used them directly with a clear answer to all questions.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations and issues will often arise in social research, and in this section, I wish to elaborate on the ethical considerations that have been prominent in this research project. Recognizing the ethical considerations and challenges in the research is vital for the integrity of the research (Bryman, 2016, p. 120).

An important consideration has been my involvement in the immigration administration as an intern during the master program, providing for the opportunity to meet applicants and process their applications. As an intern, I had access to applicants' opinions regarding the marriage immigration application process, as well as a great number of completed questionnaires. However, it is essential to clarify that much of the insights gained from this experience will not be incorporated into the research due to confidentiality constraints. Instead, I will use only the questionnaire, and the selected guidelines, as these are public documents. Nevertheless, my experience meeting the applicants as well as reading the completed questionnaires has affected me and given me a greater understanding of the problematic sides of the questionnaire and the importance of such research. The general impressions I was given will be a part of the research, although no specifics that in any way could disclose anyone's identity will be used.

Working in the police, I had access to resources most people do not have access to, which has shaped my perspective and provided me with a unique advantage in understanding the marriage immigration application process. The internship placed me in a position of power by providing me with information and by teaching me to evaluate applications using completed questionnaires. I am mindful of the fact that my background and insights from working in the police's immigration administration is influencing my perspective. It thus constitutes my pre-understanding and underpin the research. Recognizing my potential biases, I am determined to conduct this research with integrity and objectivity.

4.5 Positionality

When researching immigration, it is important acknowledge my status as an outsider. My role as an outsider is a significant consideration to take in evaluating my approach to the research (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 55). My positionality may influence both the data collection and analysis and is an unavoidable part of how the research will be conducted (Merriam, 2002, p. 5). I do not have an immigrant background and have never personally experienced any immigration administration processes. Additionally, I have not undergone significant integration procedures or had the legitimacy of my relationship scrutinized by foreign authorities as a precondition for immigration. Therefore, I must acknowledge that I lack direct experience and understandings of facing such processes. However, it is important to recognize that categories such as "insider" or "outsider" are not static or homogeneous. My own identity, and the identities of those applying for marriage immigration, are unique combinations of multiple factors.

By being an outsider to the studied group, I am not able to attain the same depth when understanding the questions in the questionnaire and their possible effects. I am only capable of *imagining* how it is facing these questions and discourses in the applicants' situations. Even though I can read and answer all the questions by myself, I can never get the insight to the experiences of pressure from being evaluated, not knowing what expectations I am facing, or having my relationship or culture scrutinized. I might, however, have the advantage of perhaps having a more objective approach to the marriage immigration process considering I am not applying it to myself and my lack of preexisting experiences with immigration. Having worked with marriage immigration in the police I believe I have the advantage of also understanding the need to evaluate applicants. Perhaps it gives me the ability to also consider the practical aspects behind the questionnaire and guidelines whilst being critical to the contents.

4.6 Trustworthiness and relevance of the study

Validity and reliability are, according to Bryman (2016, pp. 43, 391), often considered inappropriate concepts to apply to qualitative research (Bryman, 2016, pp. 43, 391). Instead, Bryman proposes four alternative criteria of evaluating the trustworthiness and relevance of social research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Bryman, 2016,

pp. 44, 384). These quality criteria open for the possibility of multiple accounts of social reality and is thus more fitting for qualitative research (Bryman, 2016, p. 384).

The first criterion, *credibility,* emphasizes that there can be multiple accounts of social reality. Since there can be multiple accounts of social reality, the feasibility or credibility of the researcher's findings determines its trustworthiness. This can be achieved by ensuring that the research is carried out according to the principles of good practice and by quality assurance from other researchers (Bryman, 2016, p. 384; Kvale, 1995). Throughout my research, I have developed my approach, material, methods, and results through close supervision. This strengthens the credibility of my study by ensuring that my account of social reality is accepted by others.

Transferability is concerned with the contextual uniqueness and significance of the studied aspects of the social world (Bryman, 2016, p. 384). By providing a detailed and rich description of the contexts of a study, others can make judgements about the possible transferability of the findings, thus making them generalizable across social settings (Bryman, 2016, p. 384). The sampling in qualitative research is often composed of a small selection of cases for a more in-depth analysis, and therefore cannot always be generalized to a larger context. However, since I provide thorough explanation of my material, methods, and contexts, my results may be applicable to other contexts.

Dependability refers to adopting an "auditing" approach, keeping an "audit trail" during the research process (Bryman, 2016, p. 384). This involves keeping complete records of all phases of the research like problem formulations, fieldwork notes, or data analysis decisions in an accessible manner for peers to assess. In my study, I do not have any records of my process since I am analyzing documents. However, by working closely with my supervisor, it has been established that I follow proper procedures. Additionally, since my material consist of public documents, the "raw material" of my material is accessible to all.

Confirmability recognizes that complete objectivity is impossible, but that the researcher can still be shown to act in good faith (Bryman, 2016, p. 386). It should be apparent that the researcher is not overly influenced by personal values or theoretical inclinations that shape the research and its findings. I have focused on being as neutral as possible during the research process, whilst still being aware that my positionality may shape my interpretations of the marriage immigration discourse.

4.7 Challenges and limitations

One of the main challenges and limitations I faced during the beginning stage of my research was the amount of material I had access to through the immigration administration which could not use. Ideally, I would use several completed questionnaires, as well as interviewing applicants about their experience with the marriage immigration process for a fuller understanding of the impact it can have and how it is experienced. Undertaking such a project would have been too ambitious for a master's thesis conducted over the course of one and a half semesters. Additionally, gaining access to confidential material of that nature would have posed significant challenges. Obtaining consent from applicants would be challenging as well and would involve ethical issues. For this reason, I limited my material to consist of three public documents, to allow for a thorough analysis of their contents. The three documents, the questionnaire and the two guidelines, are important documents regarding marriage immigration in Norway. This selection enables a satisfying examination of the marriage immigration discourse and can be a starting point for further research by calling attention to how the discourse constructs belonging.

Furthermore, challenges arise by employing discourse analysis as a method. For one, discourse analysis can be subjective since there is no definite framework for interpretation, and it therefore depends on the perspective of the person analyzing. The researcher must therefore remain cognizant of their own positionality and biases during the analytical process. Discussing the findings and analysis with other experts, researchers or practitioners is one way to diminish this issue. In this study, however the results mainly rest upon my perspectives. The interpretation of the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse will be affected by my understanding of the cultural, social, and historical context, and I have to be as informed as possible to avoid misinterpretations.

Another challenge is to balance the understanding of the discourse as an outsider and my knowledge about it attained working in the police, with the aim of perceiving how it constructs belonging for immigrants. Given that applicants, and the general public respectively, have limited insights into the marriage immigration process in Norway beyond their own experiences, I aim to minimize the influence of the police's perspectives in my analysis. When working in the police I learned that this questionnaire is used to analyze peoples' intentions when applying for family immigration, and what the different questions are set out to reveal about the applicants. When going into the analysis my intent is to not prioritize the

need for these different questions, but rather to analyze the discourses they reveal from a cultural and social perspective.

5 Analysis

This chapter embarks on an in-depth analysis of the Norwegian marriage immigration questionnaire and two related guidelines, building on an interpretivist epistemological framework and employing discourse analysis as the chosen research method. The two guidelines are specifically a white paper from the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion (2007) regarding the Immigration Act, and a guideline regarding forced marriages from the UDI (2023). The aim of analyzing these the two guidelines in the same study as the questionnaire is to obtain a more comprehensive background of how the questionnaire is constructed and its objectives. By using a discourse analysis, the aim is to unravel how the formulations in the guidelines and questionnaire contribute to create boundaries, construct belonging and generate expectations regarding the criteria for attaining full citizenship or residency.

To achieve this aim, the analysis draws upon two theoretical frameworks: Yuval-Davis's (2011) theory on belonging and the politics of belonging, and Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016) theory on culturalized citizenship. Yuval-Davis provides a framework with building block for analyzing belonging by presenting three analytical facets in which belonging is constructed. My analysis will use these facets to identify how belonging and the boundaries for belonging are constructed in the three texts. Additionally, Tonkens and Duyvendak provide a conceptualization of the contribution of culture in attaining full citizenship and the status of belonging. They present four ways through which citizenship can be culturalized, illuminating the expectations towards an "outsider" seeking to belong. I will utilize these four conceptualizations to categorize and comprehend the construction of belonging identified by the three analytical facets.

The chapter starts with a brief introduction of the questionnaire, providing an overview of its contents. Then, it provides an introduction and analysis of the two chosen guidelines concerning marriage of convenience and forced marriage, supporting the following analysis of the questionnaire. Following this, the structure systematically addresses each analytical facet individually in relation to the questionnaire. It begins with an examination of social locations, followed by identifications and emotional attachments, and lastly ethical and political values. This organized approach ensures a focused investigation into distinct aspects of belonging in the questionnaire. Throughout these four sections there will be a concurrent integration of Tonkens and Duyvendak's culturalization of citizenship, as well as

having its own subchapter devoted to the findings of culturalized citizenship. This approach will both achieve a nuanced comprehension of how the boundaries of belonging are constructed in the guidelines and questionnaire, and how it constructs culturalized citizenship. The chapter will be concluded with an analysis of the politics of belonging, meaning the boundaries of the political community of belonging and if it contributes to separating people into "us" and "them".

5.1 Brief introduction to the questionnaire

The marriage immigration questionnaire consists of questions about the relationship between the spouses who apply for marriage immigration and is designed for the applicant abroad to answer as part of their application. The completed questionnaire is a required document for evaluating an application for marriage immigration, and it is stated in the introduction of the questionnaire that the answers are used when processing the application. It is also explained that comprehensive answers to all the questions can contribute to a quicker evaluation of the application as well as lessening the chance of needing to do an interview. In addition, if there are unanswered questions, the processing may extend and can affect the outcome of the application. Therefore, the applicants are expected and prompted to answer the questions as comprehensively as possible.

The questionnaire consists of more than 40 questions divided into ten categories or headlines. These are:

1. Personal data about the applicant
2. Personal data about the spouse in Norway
3. Information about religious and ethnic background
4. If the spouses are related
5. The relationship between the spouses
6. The formalities concerning the marriage
7. Ceremonies and celebrations
8. The time as newlyweds
9. Family history
10. The signature of the applicant.

Each question has a box underneath for the applicant to write his or her answer, also indicating the proposed length of the answer. Some of the questions are yes-or-no questions

where the applicant checks a box, with some of them having a box underneath to further elaborate on the given answer. There are also a couple of questions that ask the applicant to attach pictures along with the answer. An example of this is when asked if the couple celebrated their engagement, and if they did, they are encouraged to attach pictures of the celebration. One last remark about the questionnaire is from the last category right above where the applicant signs the questionnaire. The applicant has to check three boxes stating that all the answers are true, and that they are aware that incorrect answers constitute a punishable offence and can lead to the UDI revoking their residence permit.

In the first three categories the applicant is to fill out basic information like name, date of birth, citizenship and so on about him- or herself and the spouse as well as if the couple has the same religion and ethnicity. Category four is about whether or not the couple is related, or if anyone else in their families have married someone they are related to. Category five asks for details about their relationship before getting married. This includes how they got to know each other, how much time they have spent together, the engagement and if they could refuse to marry each other. Categories six and seven concern the marriage itself as well as how it was celebrated. They include the formalities about the wedding, for example whether they signed a contract, when and where they married, if they received gifts and what ceremonies they had. Category eight is about the time after the marriage, e.g. if they moved in together, went on a honeymoon, or are expecting children. Category nine is about the couple's former life, where applicants must inform whether they have been married or had kids before. Lastly, category ten is for signing the questionnaire. This also includes a question concerning if the applicant got help filling out the questionnaire and if so, the person's full name.

As one can sense by the many categories, the questionnaire is comprehensive, and the applicant has to disclose their relationship with their spouse in great detail.

5.2 Guidelines for evaluating marriage immigration

In the following section I will analyze the two guidelines on the subject of marriage of convenience and forced marriage. In Chapter, 5.2.1, I will start by addressing marriage of convenience by analyzing prework to the Immigration Act in the form of a white paper made by the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion (2007). The focus from this document will be on elements proposed by the Immigration Law Committee and the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion to be used in assessing whether a marriage is one of convenience. Next, in

Chapter 5.2.2, I will address forced marriage using a guideline provided by the UDI (2023). Specifically, the emphasis will be on a list of elements constructed by the UDI that may have significance in the overall assessment of whether it is likely that a marriage was entered into against the will of one of the parties. Both of these guidelines represent how the questionnaire is expected to be evaluated. This will provide a comprehensive analysis of how foreigners marriages are expected to be assessed and which elements in a marriage is valued and which is not.

5.2.1 Marriage of convenience

Paragraph 40 in the Immigration Act (2008) regulates residence permits for spouses in Norway. The most pertinent section of paragraph 40 is section four, which states that a residence permit *can* be refused if it is found most likely that the main purpose for entering into the marriage is for the applicant to receive residence in the realm. Prevention of marriage of convenience by law was proposed by the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion (2007) in a white paper with prework of the Immigration Act in 2006-2007. The analyzed date in this section is this white paper (Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion, 2007). An important point to make is the use of the word "*can*" in the legal text. This means that even when the main motivation for the marriage is to get a residence permit, the application is not necessarily or automatically rejected. In addition, the use of the phrasing "it is found most likely" facilitates for that in some cases, a discretionary assessment must be made to decide if a marriage of convenience is likely. Additionally, the Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2010) gives special attention to preventing marriage of convenience by discretionary assessments from the UDI. However, the white paper with prework of the Immigration Act, composed by the Immigration Law Committee, proposes some objective elements the decision should rest on. They are listed as such: (Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion, 2007, chap. 9.6.2.3).

- The contact between the spouses before getting married, considering duration, nature, and scope.
- The partis' knowledge of each other.
- Whether the spouses give corresponding descriptions of how they met and their contact.
- If they can communicate with a common language.
- Their age difference.

- If there is payment made for the marriage to happen that cannot be explained in dowry traditions.
- If the reference person has a history with marriages that can create suspicion of marriage of convenience.
- If one of the parties' former life companions is to live in the same household as them.

This list is repeated in a directive about marriage of convenience by the Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2010). All of these elements are clearly incorporated into the marriage immigration questionnaire. For instance, in category five about the relationship between the spouses a number of questions are asked about how they met, their time together and contact before getting married. In the sections about personal data, applicants must inform about both parties' age and language, and in category five it is asked "which language or languages do you speak together?" (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 4). It is also asked if anyone paid dowry, "Mahr/Meher" or bride price, and if that was the case what was paid and how much (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 7). Lastly, category nine concerning family history covers the parties' former marriages.

Further, in the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion's assessment of the Committee's propositions they list some additional objective elements they believe are relevant when assessing the likability of marriage of convenience: (Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion, 2007, chap. 9.6.2.5).

- If the marriage is clearly atypical considering the common marriage traditions is the applicants home country.
- Whether there are elements that indicate that the marriage is entered into by force or exploitation, for instance by the parties having a clear difference in mental development.
- If the applicant has formerly applied for a residence permit on different grounds, and whether the marriage is entered into shortly after the rejection.

Only the first of these elements are present in the questionnaire, in particular through the examination of the formalities of the marriage in category six, and the ceremonies and celebrations in category seven. It also indicates that it is required that those assessing the answers of the questionnaire have knowledge of marriage traditions from the countries of all the applicants.

It is apparent that at least some of the questions in the questionnaire are constructed to work as tools for assessing the likeability of a marriage being a marriage of convenience. However, it is emphasized that in each assessment of marriage of convenience there is a need to consider the cultural background of certain nationality groups, and whether this can explain for instance the couples lack of contact before marriage (Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion, 2007, chap. 9.6.2.3). Hence, in certain scenarios, it is deemed appropriate to conduct a discretionary assessment grounded in the applicant's cultural context. The discourse promotes an understanding that individuals of diverse cultures may have different practices concerning relationships and marriage, and cultural diversities may construct separations between cultures. Simultaneously, it appears from the white paper by the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion that such differences are only deemed acceptable when accompanied by a cultural explanation, and particularly a cultural explanation typical for the applicants' contexts. Hence, cultural contexts are incorporated into the evaluation of marriage immigration in Norway. This produces a need for considering or evaluating which cultures are deemed acceptable or not for receiving a residence permit, resulting in the possibility of some individuals or cultures not being accepted.

Judging from the guidelines outlined in the circular for assessing the likeability of a marriage being one of convenience, and thus being applicable for rejection of a residence permit, the objective elements mentioned predominantly rely on Norwegian cultural customs. In Norway, the prevailing understanding is that the customary approach to marriage involves primarily romantic motives, typically following a long-term relationship and often cohabitation. The guidelines provided by the Immigration Law Committee and the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion give the impression that marriages formed under different circumstances needs additional scrutiny and evaluation, particularly in consideration of cultural context. Marriages formed in a manner consistent with Norwegian norms, however, does not need this type of cultural assessment. The discourse represented in the circular thus distinguishes between social locations based on wedding traditions. Furthermore, it constructs two types of identities: those following marriage traditions consistent with Norwegian norms, and those who do not. A distinction between "us" and "them" are constructed, where one can argue that the beneficiaries are those following Norwegian customs since their wedding culture do not need further assessment. Consequently, one can argue that this is the culture that is promoted through the discourse in the circular. Accordingly, the Norwegian culture is seen as the norm which does not need any explanation or assessment, whereas other cultures are deviant and needs to be explained and scrutinized. This promotes and produces an

understanding of participating in Norwegian norms and culture constructs better suitability for belonging.

The discourse represented in the Immigration Act §40 and the white paper constructs two identities. However, through a discretionary assessment grounded in the applicant's cultural context the marriage culture of "the others" can be given value and be assessed as appropriate for receiving a residence permit in Norway. Still, the groups who follow Norwegian marriage cultures have the advantage of more easily being incorporated into Norwegian belonging considering they do not need to legitimate their traditions based on typical cultural norms from their context. Also, even after undergoing a cultural assessment and obtaining a residence permit, the boundaries between those who do and do not need additional cultural assessment remains. As argued by Yuval-Davis, the social locations in which people belong, meaning categories like gender, class, or culture, give them certain power positions (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 13). In the construction of the two identities "us" and "them" boundaries are created, and by constructing those identities it is decided who belongs to which group (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 17).

Furthermore, the discourse exhibits characteristics of a restorative approach to culture as presented by Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016, p. 6), meaning culture is viewed as something fixed and given. The questions used as measurements to evaluate the legitimacy of marriage indicates a static approach to culture. Ultimately, this differs from Yuval-Davis' (2011) theory that belonging is dynamic, as the "objective elements" used for assessing whether a marriage is one of convenience is the same for all applicants. She argues that belonging is a dynamic process, whilst using Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016, p. 7) framework on the white paper has shown that culture is understood as restorative and not constructivist. Additionally, according to the white paper, the circumstances of the applicants' marriage should follow norms applied in the cultural context they come from. Which also indicates that marriage culture is something fixed and given in each context. It is apparent that the discourse in the white paper regarding marriage of convenience represents a view that the measurable characteristics of marriage are fixed, and one needs to fit into this framework one way or another in order to belong.

Further, the discourse reflects Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016) concept of affective mobilization of culture with emotional expectations for belonging. As outlined in the theoretical framework, the affective mobilization of culture includes actions that represent certain feeling towards the state. This is exemplified, for instance, through adherence to cultural norms, in this thesis particularly those associated with cultural marriage norms. By

conforming to these cultural norms, individuals express distinct emotions toward a community, thereby signifying a sense of belonging. This way of mobilizing culture is closely connected to Yuval-Davis's second analytical facet for constructing belonging: identifications and emotional attachments. The power of the discourse constructs identities and the boundaries of what being a member of a social location might mean. One can argue that the discourse represented in the Immigration Act §40 and the guidelines in the circular represents an affective restorative culturalization of belonging (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 7). This means that newcomers need to prove their loyalty and feelings towards the state in order to belong. As argued above, there is a construction of boundaries between "us" and "them" which differentiates between who belongs and not.

5.2.2 Forced marriage

Forced marriages are forbidden in Norway through a large selection of international and national conventions and laws, and the Norwegian state have worked to fight forced marriages for years (Childrens Act, 1981, §30a; Immigration Act, 2008, §51(2); Marriage Act, 1991, §1b; Penal Code, 2005, §222(2); United Nations, 1948, Art. 16(2); United Nations, 1962; United Nations, 1966, Art. 23(3); United Nations, 1979, Art. 16(1b); United Nations, 1989). Accordingly, a crucial aspect in evaluating the validity of a marriage within the context of marriage immigration is to promote the protection of human rights. Implementing strict immigration policies prohibiting forced marriages may also cause decreased numbers of forced marriages in the future and provide support for victims.

The UDI (2023) provides guidelines regarding forced marriages including a list of elements that "*may*" hold significance in the overall assessment of whether it is likely that a marriage was entered into against the will of one of the parties. This section will deal with one specific guideline from the UDI regarding how to handle information about forced marriages (UDI, 2023). It is worth noting the employment of the word "may" in UDI's guideline, signaling that none of the presented elements independently imply a forced marriage. Instead, they can be considered collectively to form a more comprehensive understanding of the marital situation. The elements aiming at revealing forced marriages are sectioned into four categories: Prior to marriage, in connection with marriage, after marriage, and other elements.

Prior to marriage:

- The spouses are related or belong to the same clan/caste.
- The marriage is arranged, and relatives have been active in the choice of spouse.

- The marriage was decided in childhood or before the parties turned 18.
- They got engaged, married, or religiously married before turning 18.
- They had not met physically before the marriage.
- The spouses did not participate much in the wedding preparations.

In connection with marriage:

- The reference person was unaware of the marriage before traveling to the home country.
- The reference person was tricked to go home on false premises like a deceased relative.
- Little contact before and after the engagement and marriage.
- The reference person interrupted his or her education to get married.
- Short amount of time between divorce and remarriage.
- Getting married at the same time as relatives.
- Two or more siblings of one family are married off to two or more siblings in another family.
- It is most likely that the main motivation for the marriage was a residence permit for the applicant.
- The applicant has applied for a residence permit under other circumstances before.

After marriage:

- The spouses have not lived together.
- Little contact and visits.
- The spouses lack of knowledge or interest of each other.
- Sabotage of the application.
- Sabotage of the maintenance requirement.
- Fictitious employment to meet the maintenance requirement.
- The parties provide information that indicate a forced marriage which is later withdrawn.

Other elements:

- Honor/caste is of great importance to the family.
- The applicant and/or the reference person are exposed to negative social control.
- There is reason to believe the reference person, or closely related family, has been subjected to forced marriages.

- The spouses have a clearly uneven mental development.
- The applicant is unaware of the reference person's health situation.
- There are contradictions between the spouses' explanations.
- Temporary relocation to another EU/EEA country.
- There are other circumstances which suggest the marriage was entered into using pressure, coercion, or exploitation.

(My translations) (UDI, 2023, chap. 7.1).

Several of these elements overlap with those used to evaluate the likelihood of a marriage being one of convenience. Furthermore, certain elements call for a comparative evaluation of the narratives provided by both parties, making them applicable only in situations where both the applicant and the reference person are interviewed—occurrences limited to interview-based assessments. However, there are some new elements introduced, and several are incorporated into the questionnaire. Particularly interesting are those connected to clan, caste, relation, honor and traveling to the home county.

Firstly, there are some identifiable social locations. The social locations that are of interest in these guidelines are kinship, clan, caste and family traditions or culture. The evaluation of marriage immigration applications, according to the guidelines provided by the UDI, relies to some degree on considerations related to these categories. Typically, social locations like clan and caste, as well as focus on family honor, tend to be more prevalent among people originating from regions located in the area stretching from North Africa through the Middle East to Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent (Yourstone et al., 2015, p. 12). Thus, there is reason to believe that some of the indicators set by the UDI aimed at uncovering forced marriages are targeting people belonging to certain social locations and identities. The discourse connects forced marriage to cultures that values family honor and marriages based on clan and caste, resulting in identities being constructed based on these indicators. Thus, a picture is painted of "the other" with little room for flexibility and cultural diversity within social locations. Since all the elements in the guideline are to be considered collectively for a comprehensive understanding of the spouses' marital situation, the construction of an identity connected to forced marriage also considers all the indicators collectively. An individual who belongs to just one of the recognizable cultural aspects in the guideline will thus be considered part of the deviant group whose culture needs to be explained and scrutinized.

Through the discourse in the guideline provided by the UDI it is claimed that forced marriages are more likely when the spouses, inter alia, are related or belong to the same

clan or caste, are married young, or have little contact. Further, the discourse indicates, since all elements should be considered collectively, that if a couple fits one of the elements, they belong to an identity connected to the other elements as well. Two sides are created between those who fit the indicators of forced marriages, and those who do not. Given that these social locations and identities serve as indicators of forced marriage, which is illegal in Norway, it is conceivable that individuals who can relate to any of these elements may already lack the necessary qualifications to fully belong as Norwegian residents. This guideline outlining elements for evaluating the probability of forced marriage can be seen as a list of cultural elements to be suspicious of when encountering foreigners seeking to settle in Norway. These cultural elements will then represent the boundaries that decides which people, social categories and groups that gets excluded or not from the Norwegian identity (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 18). These boundaries can further separate the population into "us" and "them" both symbolically, but also physically through for instance denying someone residence permit in Norway (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 20).

As in the analysis of guidelines related to marriage of convenience, there is a restorative and affective approach to culture regarding forced marriage (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, pp. 6-7). The restorative understanding of culture perceives culture as static and predetermined, and the affective approach mobilizes culture through emotional meaning (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, pp. 6-7). This can be deduced from the premise that full belonging is unattainable if any of the indicators of forced marriage are applicable to an individual. Therefore, the analysis of the guideline indicates that to become a full member of Norwegian society, one must leave behind cultural norms from their home country if they do not align with Norwegian norms. With the affective restorative notion of culture, one must learn and accept the fixed and given culture and prove one's emotions towards the state to attain culturalized citizenship (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, pp. 6-7). This does not leave much room for merging of cultures or development of boundaries between cultures, contrasted with Yuval-Davis' (2011, p. 2) theory that boundaries are constantly shifting. This does not imply that a family immigration application will be rejected because the applicant meets one or a few of the indicators. Nonetheless, the discourse represented in the guideline, serving as a representation of Norwegian values, indicate that an individual in such circumstances should be met with suspicion. This reflects a restorative approach to cultural citizenship where culture is static, and a social location or identity has a set culture with distinct boundaries. Also, there is an affective mobilization of culture through an indirect expectation of an individual to adapt Norwegian cultural norms in order to fully belong. This can result of boundaries being constructed based on the discourse in the guideline, preventing an

individual from belonging as a Norwegian resident until they relinquish certain cultural norms and conform to Norwegian standards.

5.3 The questionnaire

5.3.1 Social locations

Moving on to the questionnaire, the analysis begins with identifying social locations, as presented by Yuval-Davis (2011). Social locations is one of three analytical facets in which belonging is constructed and describes which categories people belong to (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 12). The analysis will encompass both direct and indirect references. Direct references involve instances where the questionnaire explicitly requests information about social locations, such as the applicant's citizenship. Indirect references occur for instance through an open question aimed at retrieving details about the applicant's cultural background, as both culture and religion are considered categories one belongs to (social locations).

The most distinguishable occurrence of social locations in the questionnaire is found in category one, two and three asking for personal data about both the applicant and their spouse as well as information about religious and ethnic background. Here, the applicant is asked to provide information about both parties' family names, citizenships, clan or caste, ethnicities, and religions. Already in the first category the discourse requires that the applicant is familiar with the terms clan and caste, promoting a mindset that the questionnaire is designed for someone belonging to a culture where those social locations are customary. Contrasting the other questions regarding personal data in categories one and two, such as citizenship, which is something that nearly every individual possesses, clan or caste is not a universal social location. By asking for the applicant's clan or caste, instead of *whether* they belong to a clan or caste, and if so which one, the discourse constructs an understanding that the applicants the questionnaire is applicable to is someone belonging to these social locations. Consequently, one could argue that the applicant's social locations or backgrounds may impact the assessment of the application and chances of belonging, particularly for those belonging to non-universal categories like clan and caste.

Furthermore, when asking about the applicant's religion and ethnicity the questions are formulated like this: "Do you and your spouse have different religious backgrounds?" and "Do you and your spouse have different ethnic backgrounds?" (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 2). Followed by this

the applicant has to check either "yes" or "no", and are then asked, "If you checked yes, please elaborate" (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 2). This indicates that it is not the applicant's or the spouse's religion or ethnicity individually that are of interest, but rather the unification of the two parties. By having to elaborate only if the spouses are of different religion or ethnicity the discourse promotes a manner where being of the same religion and ethnicity seems to be the norm. This further suggests that being of the same social location is preferable in a marriage, emphasizing an understanding that different social locations entail distinct traditions, cultural practices and values which may sometimes conflict. And as a result, the boundaries between different social locations are emphasized. Moreover, by asking the applicant to elaborate if they are of different ethnic or religious background as their spouse, the discourse requires the applicant to reflect on this aspect of their relationship. It promotes a mindset that one should think twice before entering a marriage with someone from a different religious or ethnic background.

Moreover, this indicates a restorative understanding of culture in the sense that the focus is on the differences between the parties. If the spouses are of the same ethnic or religious background, there is no need to elaborate since they then already have a correlation. If they are not, however, they need to prove their unity. This opens for a chance to reflect on a constructivist notion of culture, meaning seeing culture as an evolving process, but still this type of culture has to be constructed by the applicant, and not by the discourse. One can imagine that cross-border couples with different ethnic, religious, or cultural background may be scrutinized further than couples with correlating backgrounds, indicating that ethnicity, culture, or religion differentiates people from each other, and potentially determines who belongs or not.

The next identification of social location in the questionnaire that will be discussed is from category six concerning the formalities of the marriage. The particular question at hand is: "Did anyone pay dowry, "Mahr / Meher" or bride price when you married?" (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 7). This question is also followed by having to check either "yes" or "no", and then "If you checked yes, we would like to know what was paid and how much" (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 7). As with the concept of caste and clan, the practice of paying dowry, Mahr, Meher and bride price is also closely connected to certain cultures from certain areas of the world. It is not a widespread practice in Norway or the west in general. This question can then be used to identify which area of the world the applicant is from, as well as their traditions and cultural practices. To answer this question the applicant is first and foremost required to know what dowry, Mahr, Meher and bride price is. It is not given that every person is familiar with these

concepts, as for those who are not the distance between them and "the others" are likely to extend, and the impression that the questionnaire is intended for non-westerns is reinforced. This may serve as an indicator of boundaries between two groups of people, or different social locations, and can alienate those who took part in these traditions from the preferred Norwegian group.

Moving onto indirect references to social locations, a question to consider is: "Describe all the ceremonies and celebrations of your marriage. You must describe when, where, and how ceremonies and celebrations took place" (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 8). This question represents social locations through the emphasis on ceremonies and celebrations, which is often closely connected to culture, traditions, religion and even class. Since this is an open question, cultural preferences are not identifiable in the discourse. However, it can serve to identify some of a person's social locations. Moreover, it allows for a comparison of responses to previous questions related to social locations, enabling an assessment of their consistency. With this remark, a connection emerges to one of the elements presented in Chapter 5.2.1, as established by the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion – particularly, whether a marriage is clearly atypical considering the common marriage traditions in the applicant's home country. The discourse represented in the questionnaire extends beyond mere identification of social locations; it also involves linking various social locations together. Further, there appears to be a preconceived notion within the discourse about which social locations typically align with one another and the social locations' expected mode of behavior. For instance, if an applicant is from Pakistan, one would also expect him or her to be Islamic, and further to have participated in wedding traditions typical for Pakistani culture (like the Nikkah and Walima, the two main events of a typical Pakistani wedding). On the other side, one would most likely be surprised if a traditional Pakistani couple for instance lived together before getting married. Questions about ceremonies and celebrations, as well as other open questions, serve to evaluate whether the marriage is clearly atypical.

Once more, a restorative and affectionate culturalization is recognizable, although there are also indications of a functional mobilization. The discourse appears to lack flexibility and openness to cultural change produced when outsiders and insiders meet. Instead, it treats the cultures of various social locations as static and evaluates their legitimacy based on their adherence to established norms. One is considered to belong to a social location when adhering to cultural norms, which can be transferred to having to adhere to Norwegian norms in order to belong in Norway. Consequently, if the boundaries to belong and attain culturalized citizenship is based on static Norwegian norms, who is considered to belong or

not cannot be constantly shifting as stated by Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 12). Further, both the affective and the functional ways of mobilizing culture are present, in this case mixed together. Since the focus is on discovering the cultural and traditional practices of the applicant, and evaluating whether or not they are typical for their social locations, both emotional and practical indicators are recognizable. An affective dimension of culture is recognized through emotions and loyalty towards his or her culture. This is represented when evaluating whether or not a person adheres to cultural norms of the individual's social location since this is a way of showing affection for the culture. The functional view is about, for instance, gaining knowledge about traditions and taking a practical part in society. To belong one must adapt to certain core values and also put them into practice (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 7-8).

When asking about the applicant's ceremonies and celebrations of their wedding, the discourse emphasizes the importance of adhering to both the emotional and practical dimension of your social location's culture. By adhering to cultural norms, the applicant demonstrates typicality and thereby belonging. Overall, this underscores the significance of social locations in the assessment of marriage immigration applications, suggesting that it could potentially influence the outcomes of such applications. Moreover, the discourse within the questionnaire not only addresses the applicants' social locations but also prescribes fixed norms for belonging to these social locations. This restorative approach to social locations may reinforce the boundaries of belonging, thereby further distinguishing between outsiders and insiders. The discourse constructs two static identities based on who the questionnaire targets or not, indicating that the targeted groups are the challenge regarding belonging and culturalized citizenship.

5.3.2 Identifications and emotional attachments

Social locations serve as a means to categorize individuals who use the questionnaire and the relationship with their spouse. In the previous section I identified the social locations that the discourse focuses on, along with the cultural and traditional aspects expected to be adhered to within specific social locations. In the following section the analysis delves into examining what being a member of those social locations might mean. This section will concentrate on the construction of identities through the narrative presented in the discourse and will be closely intertwined with the social locations identified in chapter 5.3. As discussed, the questionnaire's inquiry into caste and clan in the personal data section, along with its emphasis on dowry, Mahr or Meher, and bride price, suggests a design tailored to

individuals from specific regions or cultural backgrounds. Dowry is the payment such as property or money a bride brings into a marriage, Mahr or Meher is the amount the groom pays the bride at their wedding to ensure some economic independence for the bride, bride price is when the groom pays the bride or the bride's family for the right to marry her. Furthermore, these social locations are interconnected with other aspects of the questionnaire merely existing within the same discourse. Through this coexistence, the identities, and boundaries, are constructed within the questionnaire. In the fourth category of the questionnaire, regarding if the spouses are related, one of the questions reads: "were you related to your spouse before you married?" (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 3). The applicant is required to select either "yes" or "no" and provide an explanation if the answer is affirmative. This question, in relation to the identified social locations, upholds a discourse that those with non-western backgrounds have a tradition of marrying within the family.

This presupposition is not necessarily negative or untrue, nor is it illegal (for the time being, except with close relatives like parents and siblings). However, given the questionnaire's purpose of assessing whether a marriage is one of convenience or coercion, the practice of marrying within the family is also scrutinized. Further, the discourse constructs a perception of who the individuals that should be evaluated and scrutinized using the questionnaire. These individuals are prescribed characteristics like being non-western and often marrying within the family, which may affect their own identities and how others perceive them. This constructed identity is restricted further by introducing more cultural aspects in the discourse. One can find multiple examples of this in category five regarding the relationship between the applicant and their spouse. Some questions to consider in the questionnaire is "When and where was it decided that you should get married?", "What did your families think of you getting married?" and "Is the marriage arranged?" (UDI, n.d.-a, p. 5). The first of these questions promotes a mindset that for the people using the questionnaire, getting married is a decision. The question is formulated by asking how it was decided that the applicant should get married, and not how the applicant themself decided they wanted to get married. Especially the use of the word "should" open for an interpretation that the marriage of the applicant is more of a collective decision, or a decision made by someone else for the applicant. This phrasing also promotes an understanding that a marriage is more of a duty than a choice based on love, which contrasts from the romanticized Norwegian idea of a marriage.

Moreover, the second question regarding the spouses' families' opinions of the marriage reinforces the notion that marriage is a collective or family matter. The discourse represented in the questionnaire implies that being a member of the social location that utilizes the

questionnaire entails placing valuing on the family's opinion regarding your marriage. By emphasizing that the family's opinion of the marriage is of importance, the discourse implies that the family might have the power to influence the applicant's marriage, which suggests that family involvement may be a sign of forced marriage or marriage of convenience. As presented in chapter 5.2.2, when assessing a marriage, family honor or caste is something to be aware of, as well as negative social control. This is further emphasized by the next question inquiring whether the marriage was arranged. Arranged marriages is a practice most common in Arabic countries and in India, where the marriage is arranged by parents or other relatives. These questions as representations of the discourse contribute to the construction of who those targeted in the questionnaire are, and boundaries appear that separates "them" from "us". By targeting specific cultural practices with certain questions, the discourse promotes a mindset that the questionnaire is intended for evaluating individuals who adhere to these cultural norms. It is worth noting that none of these elements, like valuing the family's opinions, are considered "bad" by the immigration administration, or alone negatively impacts the chances of obtaining a residence permit. However, they can be considered collectively as elements indicating marriage of convenience or force and is thus portrayed in a negative manner.

Furthermore, those applying for family immigration but who are not aligning with this identity may benefit from this framing. By recognizing that a number of the questions do not concern your social location or the identity you associate with, you can distance yourself from the group that needs to be assessed in order to get a residence permit in Norway. This can probably shape the narratives or perceptions of the users of the questionnaire regarding what being a member of social location groups might mean. When the discourse in the questionnaire prescribes characteristics to the social locations that are targeted, boundaries are constructed for who the targeted applicant is, and for Norwegian belonging. The discourse in the questionnaire seems to effectively segregate individuals into two groups: those to whom it appears applicable, and those to whom it does not. So, the individuals with backgrounds from for instance regions or cultures where caste and clan hold significance may be perceived as encompassing practices such as arranged marriages, marriages within the family, or even forced marriages. Accordingly, the individuals who identify with some of the cultural elements of the questionnaire, may experience a sense of their identity being scrutinized or threatened. As Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 15) argues, emotional attachment becomes more central when an individual feels threatened, and some can become more concerned with maintaining their own narrative of their identity. So, there is a possibility of those being targeted and scrutinized in the questionnaire being concerned with maintaining

their narrative of their identity from their home country more intensely, even after becoming Norwegian residents.

Through the construction of identities, a division is created between "us" and "them", or those the questionnaire is applicable to and not. Furthermore, when individuals are attributed cultural practices and identity traits based on their social locations, some might feel threatened and become more concerned with maintaining their own narrative of their identity. This emotional dynamic may also apply to individuals who do not identify themselves with the cultural aspects presented in the questionnaire. In order to avoid scrutiny, they may feel compelled to distance themselves from the identities reflected in the questionnaire. This phenomenon can reinforce a restorative notion of culture. Since the identities constructed in the questionnaire are tied to specific interrelated cultural practices, engaging in even some of these practices automatically aligns individuals with a particular identity. Consequently, there is no room for mixing cultures to foster a sense of belonging. In order to belong, individuals must give up on those cultural practices that diverge from the Norwegian identity or converge to the targeted identity in the questionnaire. According to Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016, p. 6) this culturalization of citizenship or belonging can be quite problematic as it prevents outsiders and insiders from agreeing on common cultural traits and can thus create polarization and radicalization. Furthermore, it appears that an affective mobilization of culture is in order. As argued, an emotional aspect to an individual's narrative of their identity may occur causing a strengthened separation between insiders and outsiders. As a result, a feeling of loyalty towards the identity of the social location one wishes to belong to is essential to fully belong.

5.3.3 Ethical and political values

The discourse in the questionnaire constructs a narrative of what it means or includes being a member of a social location, and essentially shapes the relationship between those the questionnaire is applicable to and not. In addition, some may experience a strengthened emotional attachment to their identity when the boundaries are contested and threatened by the restorative approach of the discourse. Next, the analysis will identify how social locations and identities are assessed and given value by the discourse in the questionnaire. This entails examining the underlying value systems, both the ethical and political, against which individuals belonging is assessed (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 18). It is well-established that immigration based on marriages of convenience and forced marriages are ethically condemned and legally prohibited in Norway. Conversely, marriages entered into voluntarily,

driven by genuine emotional connection and mutual desire to build a life together, are regarded as ethical and political ideals. The investigation for practices incompatible with these values is apparent in questions like: "Could you have refused to marry your spouse?", "Describe how you think your family would have reacted if you did not want to marry your spouse" and "Did you marry your spouse mainly because you wanted a residence permit in Norway?" (UDI, n.d.-a, pp. 6-7). These questions represent the exact practices and values condemned in Norway.

Additionally, apart from referring to practices condemned in Norway, the phrasing of the three questions listed above also carries negative connotations. The questionnaire already contains several questions that require a comprehensive explanation of nearly all aspects of the applicant's relationship to their spouse. It can be argued that the applicant has ample opportunities to disclose information about coercion or reasons for entering into the marriage if they wish. Moreover, the questions have a very direct approach and can be characterized as almost aggressive, casting suspicion on the applicant. This reflects how the identity of the applicant targeted in the questionnaire is evaluated by the UDI. The UDI is responsible for managing applications for visas, residence permits, and citizenships, and implementing the Government's immigration and refugee policies. Therefore, the UDI represents Norwegian values and politics. How the UDI, as a representation of Norwegian society, in the questionnaire assesses and gives value to the social locations and identities of the applicants is influenced by the UDI's own contexts. Accordingly, the phrasing of the questions, as well as the connection between certain social locations and cultures to practices condemned in Norway, indicates that the discourse in the questionnaire conveys a negative perception of the cultures represented in the questionnaire. This can further indicate a promotion of Norwegian behavior and manners and can claim a superior Norwegian identity and culture. As a result, the applicants who already have a culture and identity similar to Norway enjoy an advantage in the application process and when taking part in Norwegian society.

It is apparent that the discourse in the questionnaire represents Norwegian values and is written from a Norwegian standpoint in which social locations and identities are given value. This complies with Yuval-Davis's (2011, p. 18) theory that value is given in a variety of ways based on the persons own social location and identity. Furthermore, when assuming that the questionnaire represents Norwegian values, the discourse gives insights into Norwegian standpoints regarding which social locations and characteristics are fitted to belong in Norway (cf. Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 18). In other words, the boundaries for belonging are

determined based on Norwegian values. Since the discourse constructs an identity of the person using the questionnaire based on cultural aspects, and the questionnaire is constructed to uncover if a marriage is one of coercion or convenience, certain social locations and cultures are then associated with marriage of convenience and forced marriage. Further, since immigration based on marriage of convenience and forced marriage are ethically and politically condemned in Norway, the identities and social locations associated with the questionnaire can also be understood as ethically and politically condemned. Accordingly, the boundaries of Norwegian belonging, which exclude forced marriages and marriages of convenience, conceivably also excludes those identities, social locations, and cultures. In addition, when evaluating the legitimacy of a marriage as a basis for obtaining a residence permit in Norway, the focus is often on non-western or non-Norwegian attributes. Ultimately, from a Norwegian point of view, those targeted in the questionnaire may not belong as Norwegian residents before detaching themselves from their former culture and fully act according to Norwegian values and practices.

My analysis above corresponds with the restorative notion of culture, as presented by Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016, p. 6). As found in previous parts of the analysis, culture is perceived to be something fixed and static one needs to learn and adapt to in order to belong. Seeing that identities, cultures, and practices not conforming to Norwegian norms are understood as connected to illegitimate marriages in the discourse in the questionnaire, gives no room for "other" cultures within Norwegian boundaries of belonging. In other words, the discourse not only portrays cultures in general as restorative or static, but also suggests that only Norwegian restorative culture is accepted. Accordingly, Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 112) argued that states govern those considered as deviant from the traditional or "indigenous" nation, and thus assume power over those communities. Other cultures are viewed as deviant and require skepticism and justification. The analysis conducted in this section provides valuable insights into Norwegian ethical and political values. This revealed that the social locations and identities aligned with Norwegian cultural norms are the ones deemed valuable in the discourse. Thus, constructing boundaries excluding other cultures, separate between "us" and "them". The societal consequences of this can be the reinforcement of power dynamics in the Norwegian society when some social locations and identities are clearly privileged. This can marginalize individuals who do not fit into the Norwegian ideal cultural identity promoted by the discourse in the questionnaire. Further, the emphasis on conforming to Norwegian cultural norms as a prerequisite for belonging may discourage cultural diversity favoring a culturally homogeneous society.

5.4 Culturalization of belonging

Thus far, the analysis of the guidelines and the questionnaire has provided evidence supporting Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016, p. 6) theory of a restorative notion of culture. All previous parts of the analysis have shown that the discourse regarding marriage immigration in Norway seem to consider culture as something fixed or static, without room for flexibility when insiders and outsiders meet. Additionally, the three texts convey an understanding that only two cultural identities exist: the Norwegian norm and "the others," which both are perceived as preexisting and unchangeable. Hence, cultural citizenship is both fixed and static, and is not impressionable to change since it is grounded on set norms and traditions. Therefore, in my findings, the boundaries of belonging do not seem as flexible and changing based on tensions between cultures, religions and ethnicities as described by Yuval-Davis (2011, pp. 2, 12, 17). This notion of culture, whereby one can only belong after learning and accepting a set culture, can pose significant challenges (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 6), especially when the set culture appears to be the only acceptable one, not only for achieving a sense of belonging, but in the broader Norwegian society. These observations are similar to those found by Tonkens and Duyvendak, and others (Kešić & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 70; Tonkens and Duyvendak, 2016, p. 9; Van Reekum, 2016, p. 39). Strengthening my findings, they argued that the Dutch context outlines the criteria for who can be recognized as citizens in a differentiating matter, with those predominately embracing Dutch liberal values being qualified for full cultural citizenship.

Such an approach leaves little space for cultural differences between insiders and outsiders and, as suggested by Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016, p. 6), can foster polarization and even radicalization. When promoting a restorative notion of culture, there is limited flexibility to incorporate other social locations, values, practices, and traditions other than traditional Norwegian ones into the Norwegian culture and belonging. It appears that what is left out of the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse is the diversity and complexity within different social locations and cultures. The process of belonging to the Norwegian identity, as illustrated in the discourse in the guidelines and the questionnaire, distances the ideal identity from the social locations and practices outlined in the questionnaire. This separative discourse excludes a significant number of applicants, residents, and even citizens in Norway from the ability to fully belong in Norway and constructs the boundaries of belonging as static.

Furthermore, the discourse ignores the idea of belonging as a dynamic process that changes over time, and an individual's ability to, for instance, belong to two cultures, social locations, or identities at the same time. As outlined in the theoretical framework, Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016) argue that culturalized citizenship, or belonging in this context, is not only legally constructed, but also culturally. Further, to achieve full citizenship one needs emotional affiliation. In order to attain the status as a full citizen, or as fully belonging, one must be recognized symbolically and emotionally as co-citizens. However, the separational discourse evident in the guidelines and questionnaire, characterized by a restorative notion of culture, may impede this process for certain groups of people. The approach reflected in the discourse represented in the guidelines and questionnaire may effectively prevent individuals involved in marriages of cohesion and convenience from obtaining a residence permit in Norway. However, it is conceivable that this approach may also hinder the opportunity for those who do receive a residence permit and are associated with the social locations, practices, and cultural aspects mentioned in the discourse to fully achieve a sense of belonging.

5.5 Summary: The boundaries of the political community of belonging

Analyzing the two guidelines and the questionnaire through the theoretical framework of culturalized citizenship by Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016) and belonging by Yuval-Davis (2011) reveals what I chose to call a separative discourse. The measurements of legitimate marriages when assessing applications for marriage immigration in Norway are in large designed to detect non-Norwegian forms of relationships. This corresponds with the findings in both the theory of culturalized citizenship and politics of belonging, which both argue that one must embrace the nation's own values to belong and attain cultural citizenship. The restorative notion of culture does, however, contradict Yuval-Davis presentation of boundaries of belonging as constantly shifting and contested.

Firstly, in Chapter 5.2.1 I found that cultural contexts and explanations are starting points when assessing the legitimacy of a marriage. Therefore, marriage and culture are interconnected, as well as culture and immigration. The need for a cultural explanation seems however to only apply to marriages that are formed under other circumstances than Norwegian norms. This tendency in the discourse is present in all parts of the analyzed material. In Chapter 5.2.2, non-universal social locations are found to be used as indicators

when trying to uncover forced marriage, and the same was found when examining the questionnaire in Chapter 5.3. There were references to social locations like cast and clan, but also practices or traditions connected to certain social locations like paying dowry, Mahr, Meher and bride price which are all mostly common in non-western parts of the world. Through referencing to social locations normal in only some parts of the world, it is indicated that the assessment of illegitimate marriages is designed for individuals of specific cultural backgrounds, specifically non-Norwegian or non-western backgrounds. Further, this constructs an identity of "the other" as part of a deviant group.

Since the two guidelines and the questionnaire are designed to reveal the illegal practices of marriage of convenience and coercion, the cultural aspects in the questionnaire are automatically connected to this. In Chapter 5.4, I revealed that the identity of the targeted user of the questionnaire is constructed by referencing specific cultural aspects or practices. The discourse highlights practices like marrying within family, marriage as a duty, marriage as a family matter and arranged marriage, which is further connected together and to the social locations. These practices also often contrast from Norwegian norms. Those not aligning with the constructed identity can distance themselves from needing assessment and two groups are constructed: those the questionnaire is applicable to and not. To avoid scrutiny, one may benefit from distancing oneself from all the cultural aspects and social locations in the guidelines and questionnaire, which can impede the mixing of cultures and reveals a restorative static understanding of culture. In order to belong as Norwegian, one must give up on the cultural aspects present in the discourse.

The analysis in Chapter 5.5 also demonstrated a separation of "us" and "them". Additionally, the constructed identity of the "other" are connected to, and thus associated with, illegal, ethically, and politically condemned practices. Norwegian cultural norms are thus understood as superior and ethical ideals, and social locations and cultures targeted in the guidelines and questionnaire gets excluded from Norwegian belonging. Only Norwegian restorative culture is accepted, which can reinforce power dynamics in the Norwegian society. Further, when assuming that the questionnaire represents Norwegian values, the discourse tells us how inclusive or exclusive the boundaries of social locations and identities are perceived to be from a Norwegian standpoint. When some social locations and identities are clearly privileged, others can get marginalized. The social locations and cultures targeted in the guidelines and questionnaire works as indicators of the boundaries of Norwegian belonging and can affect even those receiving a residence permit.

6 Discussion

In the previous chapter I analyzed the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse using three documents: A white paper regarding marriage of convenience, a guideline from the UDI regarding forced marriage, and the marriage immigration questionnaire. The analysis revealed a discourse separating between outsiders and insiders, designed to detect non-Norwegian forms of relationships as a deviant "other" that needs further evaluation. Relationships are given value from a Norwegian standpoint. Furthermore, by connecting certain social locations, practices, and forms of relationships to ethically and legally condemned practices (marriage of convenience and forced marriage) also those can be considered condemned and unable to belong. In this chapter, I will discuss the implications of my findings connected to the existing research outlined in Chapter 2, thereby placing my research in a broader academic framework. I will follow the structure of the literature review in Chapter 2, handling the themes from each section separately before combining the main points of discussion in the following concluding chapter.

6.1 Shaping life chances

As presented in Chapter 2.1, societal effects and decisions do not solely rest on legislations, but also on the individuals responsible of drafting and implementing them and can potentially shape the life chances of immigrants (Jasso, 2011, p. 1294; Lipsky, 2010, p. 9; Painter, 2006, p. 761). According to Painter (2006, p. 761), legislative frameworks may be dependent on the personal opinions, perspectives, and societal norms of those involved. This observation seems to comply with my findings, as the analyzed documents reflect a Norwegian standpoint which idealizes Norwegian values and cultural norms. Accordingly, the analysis has revealed a tendency to differentiate between the idealized Norwegian norm, and those adhering to it, and the non-western deviant "other". An argument reinforced by how the authors has used the theories of culturalized citizenship and politics of belonging (Kešić & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 70; Tonkens and Duyvendak, 2016, p. 9; Van Reekum, 2016, p. 39; Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 112). Furthermore, these findings resonate with the national integration barometer (IMDi, 2022b) showing that the Norwegian population are more positive to immigrant from Sweden than Somalia, considering that Swedes more often share cultural norms with Norwegians than Somalis. This can be seen as an extension of Painter's theory by arguing that societal effects not only stem from individuals involved with legislations, but

also mirror the prevailing attitudes within the society in question. Given the emphasis on non-universal social locations predominantly found outside the Western context in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse, it is reasonable to assume that these social locations are also met with skepticism in the Norwegian society in general.

Moving on, the theories in Chapter 2.1 argues that the individuals responsible for drafting and implementing legislations potentially can shape the life chances of immigrants (Jasso, 2011, p. 1294; Lipsky, 2010, p. 9; Painter, 2006, p. 761). Taking this further, I argue that it can also shape immigrants' chance of fulfilled human rights. In the context of my research, this regards the right to marry and the right to found a family, and protection from interference in family life by public authority (Council of Europe, 1950, art. 8; United Nations, 1948, art. 12; United Nations, 1948, art. 16(1); United Nations, 1948, art. 16(3)). Based on my analysis, only those relationships formed under other circumstances than Norwegian norms are understood as deviant and in need of special evaluation, explanation, and scrutinizing. Applied to the context of human rights, this implies unequal treatment, where certain groups experience greater interference in family life from authorities compared to others. Consequently, this indicates inconsistency with the principle of equality in rights without distinction, as outlined in the two first articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948, art. 1; United Nations, 1948, art. 2). Ultimately, documents managing immigration at a "lower level" (ex. guidelines compared to international declarations) seems to be more open to societal, local, or personal influence. I am using the description "lower level" to signify that there is a difference in for instance documents concerning international manners like human rights and those concerning a state's local economic and social affairs like immigration politics.

The Immigration Act (2008) protects the right to marriage and family life for trans-national couples in Norway. However, the section regarding whether a marriage is entered into with the main purpose of receiving a residence permit opens for discretionary assessments. In other words, it opens for interpretation of the law which can be influenced by individuals, as I have presented in Chapter 2.1. The guidelines and questionnaire work as tools for doing this assessment, and as found in my analysis, these are influenced by a Norwegian standpoint. So, whilst international human rights obligations and the Immigration Act (2008) protects the rights of immigrants, the guidelines and questionnaire are influenced by individuals and prevailing attitudes in a greater extend thus causing societal effects. It is at the lower levels where discretion, opinions and societal attitudes comes into play. Consequently, the Norwegian standpoint apparent in the three analyzed documents can potentially shape the

life chances of immigrants to varying degrees based on attitudes towards groups of immigrants.

6.2 Selective policies

The analysis has shown that the discourse in the two guidelines and the questionnaire constructs an identity of the targeted individual. This identity has strong links with non-universal cultural practices and traditions mostly common outside the west, indicating that the assessment of illegitimate marriages is designed for individuals of specific cultural backgrounds. The analyzed documents are designed to reveal judicially and ethically condemned practices in Norway. Therefore, the constructed identity is associated with such practices, potentially reflecting who is deemed unwelcome in Norway. The previous research outlined in Chapter 2.2 suggests that immigration policies can serve as indicators of who is perceived as undesirable and unassimilable immigrants, and the opposite regarded as desirable and potential members of society (Bonjour & Kraler, 2014; Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Kofman, 2018). With this perspective, according to my analysis and supported by the authors of the theoretical frameworks (Kešić & Duyvendak, 2016, p. 70; Tonkens and Duyvendak, 2016, p. 9; Van Reekum, 2016, p. 39; Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 112), the desired immigrants in Norway are those conforming to traditional Norwegian norms. Comparably, Myrdahl (2010a, p. 115) argues that immigrants perceived as excessively different from us are primarily those considered problematic. In my analysis I have found two identities: those the questionnaire is applicable to and the rest, both of which can be described as static. Consequently, connections to the identity of the targeted user of the questionnaire may hinder the attainment of culturalized citizenship and belonging.

Bonjor and Duyvendak (2018, p. 894) introduced the term "migrants with poor prospects" to describe this phenomenon. In a Dutch context they proclaimed which characteristics that are linked with the "migrant with poor prospects" who are unlikely to successfully integrate and are expected to exploit the welfare system. In Bonjor and Duyvendak's research, the undesired migrant is characterized as someone who is uneducated, lazy, parasitic and has poor work ethic. These features understandably raise concerns about potential exploration of the welfare system and lack of contribution to society. However, these same features or characterizations are used to describe migrants with a specific geographical, religious, or cultural background, and similar to my research are undesired migrants linked with being non-western (Bonjor & Duyvendak, 2018, p. 895). Yet, whilst the underlying objective of the immigration policies examined in Bonjor and Duyvendak's research appears to be the

protection of the welfare state, the objective of the discourse in my research is primarily linked with preventing forced marriages and marriages of convenience, which are more directly or openly associated with cultural factors. The similarity is that the state separates itself from the imagined "other", mostly described as non-western, but the contribution from this research is the direct references to cultural practices linked with specific migrants.

The approach of the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse is not well camouflaged. The Norwegian discourse is seemingly justified by associating certain cultural practices or traditions with forced marriage and marriage of convenience, which are virtually universally condemned. This is different from research done on for instance the heightening of the income level which seems more neutral, but still is selective considering it affects certain groups more (Eggebø & Brekke, 2019; Kofman, 2018). Based on my discussion, one can argue that selective immigration policies of practices have three different methods. Firstly, it can camouflage who it underlyingly targets like with income requirements. Secondly, it can link the targeted groups of migrants to attitudes and actions that negatively impact the state like in Bonjor and Duyvendak's research. Lastly, it can link the targeted migrants to condemned practices like in my research. Hence, immigration policies may selectively "choose" who they consider to be "the other", not fitted to belong in their national identity, and indirectly discriminate their right to family life without interference. My research contributes by adding a dimension to this by showing how neutralized the differentiation between "us" and "them" can be by linking particular cultural aspects not normally common in Norway to illegal practices which legitimizes skepticism towards certain distant foreigners. Further, I have argued that this contributes to a static idealized Norwegian culture and contributes to constructing boundaries of who can belong or not based on the constructed identity of the undesired immigrant.

6.3 "Real" marriages

Only real marriages have the right to marriage migration, in contrast to forced marriage or marriage of convenience. Forced marriage and marriage of convenience can be described as "fake" or "dishonest", prompting questions about the definition of a genuine marriage. Chapter 2.3 presented previous research arguing that real marriages are typically presumed to be founded on love, mutual feelings, and sexual and emotional equality (Eggebø, 2013; Mai & King, 2009; Moret et al., 2021; Myrdahl, 2010b; Pellander, 2019). However, there is a tendency of only some marriages having to prove their romantic nature. In my research, I have discovered that the discourse in the questionnaire and the two guidelines constructs an

identity concerning who the questionnaire is applicable to, and who thus needs further evaluation. Additionally, I argue that the measurements used for detecting illegitimate marriages are in large designed to detect non-Norwegian forms of relationship. This emphasis is underscored by the use of social locations typical outside Norway, as well as the focus on marriage as a duty and associated practices that diverge from typical Norwegian customs. Consequently, the discourse indicates that those the questionnaire is designed for marries for more practical reasons or as a duty, which contrasts from a romanticized idea of marriage idealized in Norway and is thus illegitimate.

It is noteworthy that the scrutiny aimed at uncovering marriages entered into for migration purposes predominately centers on region-specific marriage culture, rather than on evaluating the romantic relationship of all applicants or focusing directly on migration. Similarly, Myrdahl (2010b, p. 110) argue that forced marriage is understood as a symptom of 'Pakistani culture', and that by condemning forced marriage, Pakistani culture can also be condemned. Incorporated with my findings it also seems like illegitimate marriages are understood to be a result of specific cultures. Further, Myrdahl (2010b, p. 110) believes there is a societal expectation that Norwegians should be autonomous individuals valuing romantic marriages, an idea believed to be threatened by for instance Pakistani immigrants. Individualistic notions of love are used to dictate what a legitimate marriage should look like and create a hegemonic hierarchical differentiation between cultures in the immigration discourse (Mai & King, 2009, p. 300). The analyzed marriage immigration discourse is thus constructing a hierarchy of which migrants are more desirable and undesirable, and by dictating that love-based marriages are emotionally and civically superior. It appears that cultural hierarchy is more important than illegal or illegitimate forms of marriage. However, the mere absence of love does not make a marriage inherently illegitimate.

Forced marriage and marriage of convenience, which the immigration administration claims to work against, are dependent on one of the parties being deprived of individual autonomy or marrying entirely with the purpose of maintaining a residence permit. To choose to marry because of traditional, cultural, or practical reasons that do not conform with Norwegian norms are not equal to a marriage being illegitimate. Eggebø (2013, p. 781) argues that for some, the right to choose for instance an arranged marriage can itself show self-determination and thus undermine the potentiality of a forced marriage. The right to choose should be the ideal criteria of a real relationship, but as Mai and King (2009, p. 300) argues, this is applied differently to those considered as "others". The monitoring of feelings in a relationship or marriage is not a common practice when marrying in Norway, yet it is seen as

necessary when evaluating those the marriage immigration questionnaire is designed for. This raises the question whether the Norwegian standpoint represented in the marriage immigration discourse are more suspicious of foreigners from cultures considered inherently different. This assumption is strengthened by my analysis, which reveals a restorative notion of culture across the three documents. With a restorative static perception of culture and specifically cultural belonging, individuals with inherently different cultures than "us" can never fully belong. It is therefore perceived favorable to limit the number of migrants that are considered as threats to societal norms and stability in order to maintain this conception of Norwegian culture and belonging.

6.4 Categories for exclusion and hierarchies

In line with the preceding discussion, Moret and others (2021, p. 327) argues that transnational or cross-border marriages challenges the boundaries between "us" and "them". However, by producing categories, nation-states can justify exclusionary mechanisms in laws, policies, and practices (Benhabib, 2004, p. 1; Moret et al., 2021, p. 328). These categories are used to distinguish fundamentally "different" marriages (Moret et al., 2021, p. 334), like the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse which focuses on for instance arranged marriage, marriage within kin and practical marriages. By ingraining these categories as fundamentally different (and less worth) than "us" it becomes common knowledge and thus legitimatized. As observed in the three analyzed documents as well, Moret and others (2021, p. 334) argue that legislations and policies targeting specific groups of individuals from "different" backgrounds are justified precisely because of the prescribed differences. In the questionnaire and the two guidelines, certain cultures are linked with categories that are largely perceived to be negative and fundamentally different from traditional Norwegian culture by Norwegians, thus creating boundaries. Specifically, forced marriage, marriage of convenience, and arranged marriage are linked to these cultures, similarly to former research (Charsley et al., 2020, p. 229; Moret et al., 2021, p. 332). By portraying certain groups of people as fundamentally different from "us", the analyzed discourse justifies a discriminatory political objective that determines who is considered suitable to belong to the national identity. As argued in the analysis, I choose to describe this as a separative discourse.

It can be argued that throughout history, the act of separating "oneself" from "others" and perceiving individuals as something inherently different has served to justify unequal behavior. The most significant and extreme examples of this are for instance towards Jews

during holocaust, and towards people of color during the slave trade. By constructing a cultural hierarchy and a fixed or static Norwegian culture, the marriage immigration discourse has a predetermined idea of who are inherently different and does not belong. Further, it can justify unequal rights to family life without interference to those considered as "sames" and as "others" as the latter according to the discourse in the analyzed documents requires more evaluation and scrutinizing. One must not ignore that forced marriages, for instance, are more common in some cultures or regions and focus on these areas can be based on statistics. However, with a separative discourse focusing on differentiating cultures instead of the practice of forced marriage itself, a large group of people can be deprived the chance of fully belonging in Norway. As argued, individuals may benefit from distancing oneself from the social locations outlined in the questionnaire and guidelines, thereby inhibiting opportunities for cultural mixing.

This research contributes by arguing that not only is the marriage immigration discourse in Norway separative, but it can also hinder those receiving a residence permit who are associated with the social locations, practices, and cultural aspects mentioned in the discourse to fully achieve a sense of belonging. With an ostensible aim of preventing forced marriage and marriage of convenience, the discourse in the questionnaire and guidelines are promoting a static restorative Norwegian culture. Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016, p. 6) suggests that this notion of culture of national identity can foster polarization and radicalization, which has the opposite impact than belonging and integration. My analysis reveals a Norwegian standpoint represented by the UDI which promotes static culture and impede cultural diversity by having to conform to Norwegian culture to avoid scrutinizing and fully belong.

7 Conclusion

The objective of this study has been to conduct an examination of the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse by analyzing three public documents. A central aim has been to expand the academic focus beyond the structural domain, which typically emphasizes market participation and educational achievements, to encompass the social, cultural, and emotional dimensions within the field of migration and integration. Additionally, the study has sought to contribute to the discussion regarding belonging and culturalized citizenship in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse that migrants directly encounter and must take into account when applying for residence permit. To do this I designed the following research question:

How does the marriage immigration discourse in Norway construct boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship for applicants?

The collected data are three public documents used in immigration administration. The main document is a questionnaire every applicant of marriage immigration must fill out and the two others are guidelines regarding marriage of convenience and forced marriage often used as guidance when evaluating applications for marriage immigration. The two guidelines are specifically a white paper by the Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion (2007) regarding the Immigration Act, and a guideline regarding forced marriages from the UDI (2023). By analyzing the marriage immigration questionnaire, the thesis handles a dialogue between the Norwegian state and the migrant, since the migrant must interact with the questionnaire directly. To answer the research question, I conducted a discourse analysis of the three documents to acquire a deeper understanding of how the marriage immigration discourse interprets the world and constructs a reality or understandings of cross-border marriages, immigrants, and national belonging.

To conduct the discourse analysis, I applied Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016) conceptualization of culturalized citizenship and Yuval-Davis's (2011) theory on belonging and politics of belonging. Utilizing these theoretical frameworks has facilitated a discussion beyond the structural and juridical dimensions of migration and integration. Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016) presented four ideal types of culturalization of citizenship: Restorative, constructivist, affective and functional culturalization. These four categories provided a framework that informs how culturalized citizenship is hindered or made possible, and what

is expected by an individual in order to belong as a full citizen. Yuval-Davis (2011) conceptualizes belonging and politics of belonging by presenting three analytical facets in which belonging is constructed: Social locations, identifications and emotional attachments, and ethical and political values. The three analytical facets provide a framework for identifying how boundaries between those who belong and those who do not are delineated in the discourse. The theories of culturalized citizenship and belonging provided a framework allowing for a comprehensive analysis of how boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship is constructed for applicants in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse.

7.1 Key points

The Norwegian marriage immigration discourse constructs boundaries of belonging and cultural citizenship in a number of ways. In my analysis, I have examined this by utilizing Yuval-Davis' (2011) three analytical facets for belonging: social locations, identifications and emotional attachments, and ethical and political values. Additionally, I have applied the framework of Tonkens and Duyvendaks' (2016) regarding culturalization of citizenship.

By utilizing Yuval-Davis' (2011, p. 13) concept of **social locations**, I identified frequent references to certain social locations common outside Norway and the West in the three documents. The discourse, therefore, constructs a perception that the targeted migrant in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse is non-Norwegian or non-Western. Furthermore, since the purpose of the three documents is to disclose the occurrence of forced marriage and marriage of convenience, the targeted social locations become connected to these practices. This revealed that Norwegian belonging and culturalized citizenship in the marriage immigration discourse is constructed based on preferred social locations.

By employing Yuval-Davis' (2011, p. 14) presentation of **identifications and emotional attachments** I revealed what being a member of the social locations targeted in the questionnaire means according to the discourse. I found that the discourse constructs boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship by separating between "us" and "them". The discourse identifies the targeted non-Norwegian user of the questionnaire as closely connected to non-Norwegian and non-Western distinctions, by focusing on practices such as payments in marriage, marrying within family, marriage as a duty and arranged marriage, which are mostly common in areas in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. By belonging to any of the social locations mentioned in the questionnaire, an individual is thus also associated with these practices, which is further associated with forced marriage and marriage of

convenience, all of which is separated from Norwegian norms. In other words, the discourse constructs boundaries of belonging based on who is considered inherently different from Norwegian norms, indicating that the objective of the discourse is to reduce non-western marriage migration.

Yuval-Davis' (2011, p. 18) third and final analytical facet, **ethical and political values,** provided a framework for identifying how social locations and identities are assessed and given value in the discourse. The discourse has presumed values associated with the social locations identified in the questionnaire, including needing special evaluation and being understood as deviant if not complying with Norwegian cultural ideals. The Norwegian marriage immigration discourse constructs boundaries of belonging by idealizing Norwegian practices and cultural ideals. Furthermore, the questionnaire's phrasing of certain questions, along with the focus on marriage of convenience and forced marriage, reflects a negative perception of social locations represented in the marriage immigration discourse. The non-Norwegian identifications in the marriage immigration discourse have negative connotations and are therefore positioned as incompatible with Norwegian societal values and norms. Consequently, the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse constructs boundaries of belonging based on conformity to Norwegian cultural norms, reinforcing power dynamics that privileged certain social locations over others. The cultural elements to be aware of in the guidelines and questionnaire essentially frame the boundaries of belonging and qualifications for culturalized citizenship in Norway.

By utilizing Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016) framework for **culturalized citizenship**, I argued that the separative discourse carries a restorative or static understanding of culture. A restorative understanding of culture constructs strict boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship which may hinder cultural diversity, social and cultural integration, and an equal right to family life without interference to all. The separation between the Norwegian norm and "the others" are thus perceived as preexisting and unchangeable. According to the discourse in the three documents, to belong as a Norwegian resident means learning and accepting the predetermined cultural ideals of the Norwegian society, and no longer associate with any cultural aspects presented in the questionnaire. A restorative notion of culture may marginalize those associated with the social locations, practices, and cultural aspects mentioned in the discourse and prevent them from fully achieving a sense of belonging. Through a restorative understanding of culture, the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse constructs static boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship for those adhering to Norwegian norms.

In the thesis' discussion I discussed the implications of my findings divided in four themes derived from existing research: Shaping life chances, selective policies, "real" marriages, and categories for exclusion and hierarchies.

In Chapter 6.1 entitled **shaping life chances,** I argued that boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship is constructed by the bureaucrats involved with the three documents, representing Norwegian attitudes which shape the discourse. Building on earlier theories regarding how individuals and prevailing attitudes affect legal documents (Jasso, 2011; Lipsky, 2010; Painter, 2006) I argued that documents managing immigration at a lower level, like the three documents analyzed in this thesis, are more open to societal, local, or personal influence and are thus more likely to represent selective views or politics. This argument was strengthened by drawing parallels between my findings from the marriage immigration discourse and the national integration barometer (IMDi, 2022b), which both indicate more positive attitudes towards cultures that align with Norwegian norms. While the Immigration Act (2008) paragraph 40 protects the rights for cross-border couples in Norway, section four regarding whether the marriage is entered into with the purpose of obtaining a residence permit opens for a discretionary assessment, influenced by prevailing Norwegian attitudes. Consequently, documents at a "lower level", like the three documents analyzed in this thesis, opens for construction of boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship influenced by societal attitudes in a higher degree.

Furthermore, boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship are constructed through **selective policies**. Based on my analysis and discussion in Chapter 6.2, selective politics signal who is considered an undesirable migrant. Selective policies may selectively discriminate against certain groups, which is legitimized either by camouflaging it as affecting everyone the same, whilst in reality affecting certain groups of individuals more, or by associating the targeted to negative practices like forced marriage and marriage of convenience like in my research. So, by connecting the targeted non-western migrant to negative practices, biases and hierarchies differentiating between "us" and those considered as inherently different within the marriage immigration discourse is legitimized and therefore neutralized. In addition to legitimizing skepticism towards certain foreigners, the discourse enforces boundaries that determine who is deemed a migrant with poor prospects unable to belong. Consequently, the marriage immigration discourse in the three documents may influence chances of belonging and impair multiculturalism in Norway.

When discussing the topic **"real" marriages** I argued that the separative approach in the marriage immigration discourse constructs a deviant "other" requiring further evaluation,

wherein only the "other" needs to prove the legitimacy of their relationship. The Norwegian marriage immigration discourse constructs boundaries by idealizing love-based marriages and autonomy, whilst assuming these values are inconsistent with the cultures described in the discourse. Illegitimate marriages lacking personal autonomy is believed to be results of non-western cultures. However, marrying for traditional, cultural, or practical reasons not conforming to Norwegian norms do not equate loss of autonomy and illegitimacy. The right to choose should be the ideal criterion for a genuine marriage but is applied differently to those considered as "others", raising suspicion of foreigners from cultures deemed inherently different. This indicates that the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse constructs boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship through power dynamics and a cultural hierarchy idealizing a fixed and static Norwegian culture. Moreover, distant cultures may pose a threat to the restorative notion of culture evident in my analysis, and on that account be considered as hindrances in integration efforts. This perspective implies that the users of the questionnaire are perceived to be merely objects of integration.

The last part of the discussion considered **categories for exclusion and hierarchies.** In this chapter, I discussed that it is precisely by constructing categories for differences, that exclusionary mechanisms are justified and boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship are constructed. In the analyzed documents the targeted immigrant is linked with categories like forced marriage and marriage of convenience which has a negative association and are considered different from Norwegian norms. When placing individuals in condemned categories or categories perceived as distant from "us", discriminatory political objectives are justified. Moreover, unequal treatment and scrutiny justified by belonging to different categories can establish a predetermined and naturalized idea of the undesirable migrant as inherently different and unable to belong. Thus, the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse can thus hinder cultural mixing, thereby potentially denying a large group of people the opportunity to fully belong and obtain culturalized citizenship in Norway.

7.2 Implications and significance to the field

First of all, my research has underscored the significance of focusing on social, civic, and cultural integration in migration and integration studies, as well as national and cultural identity and belonging. I have addressed a gap in existing literature by specifically examining the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse's construction of boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship. By examining the marriage immigration questionnaire, I have explored the initial meeting between potential residents of Norway and the Norwegian state,

which acts as a dialogue between the two parties. My results contribute to the idea that limiting research within the field of migration and integration to merely the structural dimension is insufficient, and that to fully understand the field there is also s need to examine discourses and their effects. Words have meaning and shape the world. Additionally, by analyzing discourses within documents at a lower level, one can uncover potential cultural biases and hierarchies that may exist in the related context. This not only sheds light on the prevailing attitudes within the specific discourse but also within the state itself, which, in turn, influences policies, guidelines, and documents such as the marriage immigration questionnaire. My research provides valuable insights into how the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse may reflect and maintain cultural stereotypes and prejudices.

The results of my study could have implications on development and implementations of policies in marriage immigration, as well as immigration and integration in general. My research highlights the ways the three analyzed documents in the marriage immigration discourse in Norway may reinforce exclusionary attitudes or hinder certain immigrant groups from obtaining full belonging. Consequently, the study can inform more inclusive and unbiased approaches in future policy making that support social and cultural integration and cultural diversity to a greater extent. Future research should expand upon this notion by examining the consequences such discourses have on social and cultural integration, and on the immigrants themselves. Assessing the effects of such a discourse on established and potential residents of Norway necessitates further a different methodology and a larger scope than what has been presented in this thesis. The thesis does, however, highlight the significance of studying the underlying and naturalized biases that may be apparent in discourses concerning individuals and their life chances. It especially emphasizes the importance of focusing on discourses concerning *potential* residents, as the political project of belonging can start already at this stage.

Lastly, the thesis demonstrates the contradictions between Tonkens and Duyvendak's (2016) culturalization of citizenship, and Yuval-Davis' (2011) theory of belonging and politics of belonging. Yuval-Davis (2011, pp. 2, 12, 17) argues that the boundaries of belonging are constantly shifting and contested, especially along with tensions between cultures, religions, and ethnicities. By applying Tonkens and Duyvendak's conceptualization of culturalized citizenship to the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse, I am arguing that the discourse demonstrates a restorative, or static, notion of culture building on established norms and traditions. With an approach to culture and culturalized citizenship as something one must learn, there is little room for change when cultures meet. Norwegian cultural norms get a

privileged position, and boundaries for belonging and culturalized citizenship is not easily changed for an improved chance of belonging in the current and future terrain of growing cultural diversity.

7.3 Concluding remarks

To conclude and answer the research question, the marriage immigration discourse in Norway constructs boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship through a separative discourse and restorative notion of culture. The discourse constructs a reality differentiating between "us" and "them" targeting non-Norwegian and non-western immigrants where those not adhering to Norwegian norms need special evaluation and legitimation. By linking certain social locations to forced marriage and marriage of convenience, the individuals associating with those social locations are perceived negatively and cannot fully belong before letting go of their own cultures. The boundaries of belonging and culturalized citizenship are constructed as static, requiring individuals to disassociate from any elements deemed incompatible with Norwegian norms in order to attain full citizenship and belonging in Norway.

The politics of belonging becomes apparent at a lower juridical level, which in the Norwegian marriage immigration discourse can hinder cultural diversity, social and cultural integration, and an equal right to family life without interference to all. Evidently, studying discourses at a lower level can reveal attitudes within the related context which is significant with regards to migration and integration. As Michael Foucault stated, discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Future studies should examine the actual impact and outcome such discourses can have on individuals' chance of belonging and obtaining full citizenship.

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Appendix

Marriage immigration questionnaire

UDI

Questions about the relationship between the spouses in family immigration cases

Who is to answer the questions?

It is you who are applying to live in Norway who have to answer the questions in this form. You must sign the form on the last page. If you have been helped to fill out the form, you must also write on the last page that you received assistance.

Why do you have to answer these questions?

We ask these questions so that we can get information we need to evaluate your application. We need you to answer our questions thoroughly and in detail. If you need more space to answer one or more questions, use additional sheets. You must clearly mark the sheets with your name and date of birth.

When we process your application, we look at your answers. If you answered well to the questions, we may not need to interview you or your spouse. Then you also get faster answers to the application.

If there are questions that you do not answer, it may take longer to get an answer to the application, or it will affect whether you get yes or no to the application.

Personal data about you who are applying for family immigration

First name	Middle name
Family name (surname)	Date of birth (dd/mm/yyyy)
Citizenship	
Clan or caste (if you belong to a clan or caste)	

Which languages do you know?

Language	How well do you speak the language?
	☐ mother tongue ☐ fluent ☐ pretty good ☐ some ☐ little
	☐ mother tongue ☐ fluent ☐ pretty good ☐ some ☐ little
	☐ mother tongue ☐ fluent ☐ pretty good ☐ some ☐ little

Personal data about the person you are applying for family immigration with (your spouse in Norway)

First name	Middle name
Family name (surname)	National ID-number, D-number or DUF-number
Clan or caste (if the person belongs to a clan or caste)	

What languages does the person know?

Language	How well do the person speak the language?
	☐ mother tongue ☐ fluent ☐ pretty good ☐ some ☐ little
	☐ mother tongue ☐ fluent ☐ pretty good ☐ some ☐ little
	☐ mother tongue ☐ fluent ☐ pretty good ☐ some ☐ little

Information about religious and ethnic background

1. Do you and your spouse have different religious backgrounds?

☐ Yes ☐ No
If you checked yes, please elaborate

2. Do you and your spouse have different ethnic backgrounds?

☐ Yes ☐ No
If you checked yes, please elaborate

The relationship between you and your spouse

1. Tell us about the relationship between you and your spouse in the time before you married.

2. How did you get to know each other?

3. Where and when did you physically meet each other for the first time?

4. Which language or languages do you speak together?

5. How much time did you spend together before you got married? Describe where and when you met. We would like you to attach some pictures from the times you met.

6. Have you lived together before you got married?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If you checked yes , you must write where, when, and how long you have lived together

7. When and where was it decided that you should get married?

8. Did you get engaged before you got married?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If you checked yes , you must explain who proposed, when and where the engagement happened.

9. If you celebrated your engagement, describe the celebration. We would like you to attach some pictures from the celebration.

10. Were there any others in your families who got engaged, got married or had celebrations during the same time period you engaged?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If you checked yes you must tell about this

11. What did your families think of you getting married?

12. Is the marriage arranged?

☐ Yes ☐ No

13. Who took part in the decision that you were to get married?

14. Could you have refused to marry your spouse?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

15. Describe how you think your family would have reacted if you did not want to marry your spouse

The formalities concerning the marriage

1. Describe how you married.

2. When and where did you get married?

3. Were you both present when you got married?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

4. Did you both sign a marriage contract?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

5. Did anyone pay dowry, "Mahr / Meher" or bride price when you married?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

If you checked yes, we would like to know what was paid and how much.

6. Did you marry your spouse mainly because you wanted a residence permit in Norway?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

Ceremonies and celebrations

1. Describe all the ceremonies and celebrations of your marriage. You must describe when, where, and how ceremonies and celebrations took place.

Use a separate sheet if you need it. Attach photos if you have pictures.

2. What gifts did you receive from each other and from your families?

3. If you have not celebrated that you married; Tell us why you haven't celebrated and whether you have any plans for future celebrations.

4. Were there any others in your families who got engaged, got married or had celebrations during the same period of time you married?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If you checked yes, tell who it was.

The time as newlyweds

1. Did you move together after you got married?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, where and when did you live together? If no, tell us why you didn't live together.

2. Give an overview of how much time you spent together after you got married. Use the form below or write on your own sheet.

Place	From date	To date

3. Have you been on a honeymoon?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If you checked yes, describe where and when. Attach photos if you have.

4. How and how often do you contact each other?

5. Do you have children together?

☐ Yes ☐ No				
If you checked yes, fill in information about them in the fields below If you need more space you can write it on a sheet and attach it				
First name	**Surname**	**Age**	**Place of birth**	**Residence**

6. Are you expecting a child together?

☐ Yes ☐ No	
If you checked yes, when is the child due?	

Family history

1. Have you been married before?

☐ Yes ☐ No				
If you checked yes, explain who you were married to in the fields below If you need more space you can write it on a sheet and attach it				
First name	**Surname**	**Age**	**Place of birth**	**Residence**

2. Do you have children from the past (who are not common children)?

☐ Yes ☐ No				
If you checked yes you must fill in information about the children below If you need more space you can write it on a sheet and attach it				
First name	**Surname**	**Age**	**Place of birth**	**Residence**

3. Has your spouse been married before?

Yes ☐ No ☐				
If you checked yes, explain who your spouse has been married to in the fields below If you need more space you can write it on a sheet and attach it				
First name	Surname	Age	Place of birth	Residence

4. Does your spouse have children from the past (who are not common children)?

Yes ☐ No ☐				
If you checked yes, fill in information about the children in the fields below If you need more space you can write it on a sheet and attach it				
First name	Surname	Age	Place of birth	Residence

The signature of you who are applying for family immigration

I have been helped to fill out this form

Yes ☐ No ☐
If so, give the name of the person who filled out the form and any family relationship.

- ☐ I confirm that all my answers in this form are true
- ☐ I know it is a punishable offence to give materially incorrect or clearly misleading information in connection with an application for family immigration
- ☐ I know that the UDI will revoke my residence permit if I give incorrect information

Place and date	Signature