Ethnicity, Racism and Intersectionality

Øystein Gullvåg Holter
University of Oslo

Lotta Snickare
University of Oslo

Abstract: Research on discrimination and the effect of working towards equal status is significantly more advanced in academia in relation to gender than to other forms of discrimination. A relevant question is the extent to which analyses and measures to promote gender equality can contribute to advancing equality in other areas, including ethnic background and skin colour. And conversely: What can insight into discrimination on the basis of ethnicity bring to work on gender equality? This is the starting point for a review of the ethnic dimension of the FRONT survey's empirical material. In this chapter, the university is seen as an international workplace. Thus the extent to which relations within the work environment and professional culture are influenced by ethnic background is investigated. The primary focus of the review is ethnicity, but the chapter also discusses how dimensions such as gender, ethnicity and class interrelate. In conclusion, the results are discussed in light of other research on intersectionality, stigmatization and gender roles.

Keywords: ethnicity, racism, intersectionality, class, equality, gender differences, academia

Historically speaking, equality work in universities has focused on equality between men and women. More recently, gender has been accompanied by diversity, a term primarily used in reference to ethnicity and ethnic diversity.[1] Other grounds of discrimination, such as sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, disability and age, are more seldom

discussed. Workplace diversity has been on the agenda for some time, but is still relatively underdeveloped and poorly integrated into the higher education sector in Norway, compared to gender equality work (Tica, 2021). At the same time, universities' international orientation is expanding. This trend of increased internationalization applies to universities in general, but is particularly visible in the natural sciences (Gunnes et al., 2016).[2] For example, as many as 38 per cent of those who responded to the survey of employees at the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences in the University of Oslo, which forms part of the empirical basis for this book, were of foreign nationality. A total of 51 nationalities were represented in the survey, but the large majority of answers came from employees with western national origins, including neighbouring Nordic countries. Only 17 per cent of the foreigners were from non-western countries.[3]

In Norway and other countries, there has been considerable debate on whether gender equality and diversity are aligned or can in fact be conflicting goals. There is also a fear that increased emphasis on diversity will weaken gender equality efforts. Since research on differential treatment/discrimination and the effect of equality measures is considerably more developed in relation to gender than other potential grounds for discrimination, a relevant question is whether analyses and work based on gender equality can contribute to equality in other areas, including ethnic background and skin colour. And conversely, how can knowledge on ethnic discrimination contribute to gender equality work? Therefore, based on our analyses of gender differences, we wished to explore the ethnic dimension in our empirical material. Both the survey of the employees and the interview material provided an opportunity to conduct an analysis with regard to ethnicity. The questionnaire survey contained variables providing information on the respondents' origin, and some of the interviews included questions on diversity and differential treatment based on ethnicity.[4]

In this chapter, we explore how life in academia is formed and affected by ethnicity. We begin by describing our material and definitions. Next, we describe a main feature of our material – the university as an international workplace. We show how four ethnic groups are distributed in terms of position level and other variables. In the employee survey,

three questions explicitly mention racism: whether the respondent has experienced unwanted racist attention; if so, who was behind this; and whether s/he experiences the culture in the unit as non-racist (racism was not defined in any detail in the survey). We describe the distribution of answers to these three questions. We then pose the question of whether conditions related to the work environment and academic culture, which we have considered earlier in relation to gender, are affected by ethnic background. The interviews show evidence of cultural differences and linguistic problems. Finally, we address ethnicity in relation to other dimensions in the material, including gender and class. The chapter ends with a discussion of the results in light of other research on intersectionality, stigmatization and gender roles.

Ethnic Discrimination

An ethnic group can be defined as a group within a larger society, which considers itself a group in relation to others, and is also identified as a separate people by others (Sommerfelt & Schackt, 2020). For example, the group may have the same national origin, descent, skin colour or language, according to Norway's Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act (Likestillings- og diskrimineringsloven, 2017).

This law prohibits direct and indirect discrimination on grounds of ethnicity (including national origin, descent, skin colour, language). Thus ethnicity, like gender, is a *ground of discrimination* in modern legislation. This is also reflected in the mandate of the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud,[5] whose mission is to "promote equality and fight against discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and age" (Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet, 2019).[6]

Several studies indicate that the extent of experienced unfair or differential treatment on the grounds of ethnicity is considerable in Norwegian working life. As many as 22 per cent of descendants of immigrants have reported differential treatment in the workplace in the past year (Bufdir, 2020). Diversity is also severely limited among business leaders (Grundekjøn, 2020). Differential treatment also occurs in academia,

although research here is not decisive (Akademiet for yngre forskere [AYF], 2019; Cools & Schøne, 2019; Midtbøen, 2020). Some studies indicate that differential treatment increases with higher position levels (Løkeland-Stai, 2020; Maximova-Mentzoni et al., 2016, p. 41), but differential treatment based on ethnicity in today's Norwegian academia is relatively unexplored.

The Ethnic Dimension in the Study

In Norway, the term "race" is not a valid category; it is not used in official registries and therefore not included in our study (unlike some countries, like the U.S.). Two variables in the questionnaire survey provide information on the ethnic dimension: *nationality* (citizenship) and *family background*. Nationality was formulated as an open question, while family background had three response options (Norwegian, mixed, foreign).[7]

In the analyses below, we divide the ethnic dimension into four main categories. These are defined as follows:

Majority   = Norwegian nationality, not descendant
Descendant = Norwegian nationality, foreign or mixed family background
Western   = Non-Norwegian (foreign) with western nationality
Non-western = Non-Norwegian with non-western nationality[8]

We should mention some limitations in the material and this categorization. According to the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act (2020, § 6), "Ethnicity includes national origin, descent, skin colour, and language." We asked about nationality and family background, but not about skin colour. Neither was language addressed in the employee survey, although the interview material offers information on this issue.

The law distinguishes between direct and indirect differential treatment (§ 7 and § 8): "'Direct differential treatment' means treatment of a person that is worse than the treatment that is, has been or would have been afforded to other persons in a corresponding situation." Indirect differential treatment is "any *apparently neutral* provision, condition,

practice, act or omission that results in persons being put in a worse position than others" (our italics). The questions in the employee survey do not distinguish between these types of differential treatment.

We should also add that differential treatment and discrimination are two different things. Differential treatment implies that groups are treated differently or affected differently by a practice or rule. It is connected to what sociologists call social stratification. In some cases, differential treatment is justified. For example, a requirement for proficiency in Norwegian in a job announcement may affect different ethnic groups differently, yet still not be discriminatory if the position involves teaching in Norwegian. "Discrimination" is reserved for those cases where such differential treatment cannot be justified, that is it does not have a factual purpose (as defined in the law relating to equality and the prohibition against discrimination). The topic of this chapter is, first and foremost, differential treatment, not discrimination in the legal sense.[9] Our data describe experiences of differential treatment, as well as potential factors behind it.

The survey used in this and other chapters in the book was answered by 843 employees at the faculty. The interview material consists of 93 interviews, of which two-thirds were Norwegian employees and one-third were foreign. The interviews included questions related to diversity and differential treatment based on ethnicity/sexual orientation/age etc., but were primarily oriented towards questions concerning gender equality.[10]

The material is extensive but also limited. It is, for example, too small to say anything about different experiences based on each individual nationality. Our ethnic categorization is also rough (western/non-western), and conceals major variations within some categories, perhaps especially for descendants. Nevertheless, the material is relatively representative and contains answers from both majority and different minority groups. Moreover, the breadth of questions that can be tested in relation to ethnic differential treatment is considerable – much more than in previous research.[11] The analyses thus provide new knowledge, albeit with reservations. By uncovering shortcomings, they also reveal more precisely the need for further research, which we discuss towards the end of the chapter.

The International University: Majority and Minorities

The huge span of the ethnic dimension is shown in Table 6.1, where we present the main features of four different groups, defined on the basis of nationality (citizenship) and family background. The first two columns apply to employees of Norwegian nationality, with either Norwegian family background (we call this category "majority") or foreign/mixed background (we call this category "descendants"). In other words, descendants are not only children of immigrants, but also those who have changed citizenship during adulthood (that is first-generation immigrants). The next two columns apply to foreign employees from western and non-western countries, respectively.

Majority and Minorities

Table 6.1. Employees by Nationality and Background. Source: FRONT employee survey (N = 843).

	Norwegian nationality		Foreign nationality	
	Majority	**Descendants**	**Western**	**Non-western**
Number of respondents	459	63	268	53
Percentage of the entire sample	54	8	32	6
Proportions in the group (in percentages):				
Proportion of women	43	53	42	28
Proportion of young (below age 35)	34	31	43	55
Proportion of middle-aged (age 35–55)	49	55	50	45
Proportion of seniors (age 56+)	17	14	7	0
Proportion of PhD students	15	13	28	36
Proportion of postdoctoral fellows	5	9	23	13
Proportion of associate professors	7	9	10	13
Proportion of full professors	16	14	13	0
Proportion with high parental education*	24	36	30	12
Proportion with high father's education**	40	45	52	17
Proportion of academic employees	66	66	87	91

Note:
Majority = Norwegian nationality, not descendant
Descendant = Norwegian nationality, foreign or mixed family background
Western = foreigner with western nationality
Non-western = foreigner with non-western nationality
*High parental education = scale value 12 and above (on the basis of a 14-part scale of the father's plus the mother's level of education)
**High father's education = scale value 6+, on the basis of a 7-part education scale

Let us take a closer look at the figures in the Table. The distribution of minority groups in relation to the majority enhances the picture of the faculty's international orientation. This is particularly apparent, embodied by a large group of foreigners of western nationalities, who make up as much as 32 per cent of the sample.

But is the distribution fair and balanced across the various career levels of the researcher's career, or do some groups fare worse than others? The proportion of professors is roughly the same for the majority (16 per cent) and descendants (14 per cent). Overall, the four groups are fairly evenly distributed on higher position levels. The only obvious exception is non-westerners, who are absent on the professor level, which may be an effect of the fact that this group is considerably younger than the other groups. It may also be the case, as mentioned, that some of the employees with non-western backgrounds have changed citizenship as adults, and therefore become part of the group "descendants" in our statistics.

It becomes clear from the Table that the minority groups are *different*. For example, descendants and non-westerners are two very different groups. The descendants resemble the majority.[12] Nor are they clearly underrepresented in relation to position level, based on our data. One difference is that their parents have higher education levels than the majority's parents. This applies particularly to the women in the group. The non-western group is a more clearly distinct group than the descendants. They often have parents with a low level of education, and the group is characterized by lower age (few seniors), a lower proportion of women, and many PhD positions.[13] However, they are not underrepresented on levels above PhD. Rather, they are slightly better represented here, although they are absent on the professor level. It is possible to interpret this in terms of a time frame, since the group largely consists of young people who have entered the picture relatively recently. They are almost exclusively academic (not administrative) employees.

Westerners make up the largest group with non-Norwegian nationalities. Like non-westerners, they are overrepresented on lower career stages, now especially on the postdoctoral level, not the PhD level. They are also somewhat older than non-westerners. We do not see any clear indication that they are underrepresented on higher position levels.

The four groups differ from each other in important respects. But we do not see a clear picture of the majority being overrepresented upwards on the career ladder. Does this mean that all the different groups have equal opportunities? We do not know. For example, we do not have information on the number of applicants divided by the number of those employed, both for Norwegian and foreign applicants. Other studies indicate a low employment percentage for applicants from countries outside of Norway (Frølich et al., 2019).[14] Furthermore, we have mentioned that "descendants" in our analysis is a diverse group, in which a number probably have one or both parents from western countries, and are therefore not in the target group for typical forms of differential treatment (that is differential treatment based on skin colour). What becomes obvious here, as well as elsewhere in the material, is that the faculty is largely open to "western" competition. Whether this also applies to *global* competition is a different issue. We see that the group most likely to be exposed to differential treatment, non-westerners, are absent on the professor level. The fact that this group often consists of younger employees, at an early stage in their careers, is perhaps not the entire picture.

It is important to emphasize that an even distribution by position level does not automatically mean that differential treatment does not occur in an organization. One can imagine that the distribution of different groups upwards on various levels appears relatively balanced or equal, and that everyone seems to have equal opportunities. Yet at the same time, there may be strong guidelines within the organization, making it more difficult in practice for underprivileged groups to achieve higher positions, be they women or foreigners. For example, both women and ethnic minority groups report that they have to work harder than their colleagues in order to achieve professional recognition (see below). This might mean that the path to positions on higher levels is longer for these groups. In other words, the results broken down by position level do not mean that differential treatment does not occur. A clear trend in our material on position level is that underrepresentation in regard to gender is consistent, whereas ethnicity is more varied (see Chapter 5). At the same time as we see few non-westerners at the top, we similarly see few women.

Time for Research: Both Positive and Negative

Work displacement means that an employee is given fewer meriting assignments. Within academia, where research counts as the most meriting activity, work displacement can consist of an increase in administrative tasks, or teaching at the expense of time for research. Consequently, it becomes harder for the employee to qualify for a position on a higher level. However having plenty of time for research can be a double-edged sword. A lot of time for research is good – it is how you qualify. But teaching and administration are also good – that is how temporary employees make themselves indispensable in the workplace, and thus might increase their chances of an extended contract, and finally a permanent position. We see this in the interviews, in which temporary employees attempt to "make themselves indispensable" in order to remain in the faculty. For example, Marit, a female postdoctoral fellow, says:

> My strategy is that we are a fairly small research group with few permanent employees, many students, and a popular degree programme. So we have many students and quite a lot of teaching, so I thought as an idea for me that I take on teaching. It is a way of making myself useful in this group … so I'm thinking of keeping that up, and hang on a little and see how far it leads me.

In the questionnaire survey, we ask how working hours are actually divided between the different tasks, and how employees wish they were divided. Our data show that the majority group spend slightly more time on administration than the other groups. This is not unexpected, considering that foreigners (particularly non-Scandinavians) have more problems with the language and culture. But the results should be interpreted with caution – it may happen that some work displacement should actually be considered to be ethnic allocation of assignments (Midtbøen, 2020), meaning that some groups are given less meriting assignments than others. This may pass under the radar, so to speak, in our study. But the main impression is that foreign researchers at the faculty are given ample opportunity to do research. However, they report slightly more total working hours (two more working hours a week) than their colleagues in the majority group. This result gains significance considering

that they, more often than the majority, experience unfair work pressure, as we discuss below.

A Norwegian study reveals a tendency in which Norwegian women often apply for positions emphasizing administration and teaching, whereas foreign men more often apply for research-oriented positions (Frølich et al., 2019). The FRONT material does not indicate any clear differences in relation to desired distribution of working hours.[15] The vast majority, regardless of ethnicity (or gender), would like more time for research. Some would like more teaching, and a few want more administration. We see a certain variation based on position level: the desire for more research time is stronger on lower levels than on higher levels. There is a slight tendency for the minorities to prioritize research even higher than the majority, but the differences are relatively small.

The Seeing Eye: Racism and Ethnic Differential Treatment

Let us take a look at experiences of racism in the employee survey, since we have measured this through questions explicitly mentioning this topic. Three questions deal with this: whether the respondent has experienced unwanted racist attention;[16] if so, who was behind this; and whether s/he believes the culture in the unit to be non-racist. The proportion of employees having experienced unwanted racist attention at the faculty was 4 per cent.[17] By comparison, 12 per cent have experienced bullying, and 7 per cent have experienced unwanted sexual attention.

These are figures for the entire sample, however. The extent of racism is highly dependent on "the seeing eye", or the position of the person responding. Unwanted racist attention has been experienced by only 1 per cent of participants with Norwegian family backgrounds, compared with 8 per cent of those with foreign or mixed family backgrounds. Among participants of non-western nationalities, 11 per cent have experienced unwanted racist attention compared with 4 per cent of western foreigners.

The analyses show that roughly one in ten from exposed groups (descendants, non-westerners) have experienced unwanted racial attention. This indicates that experiences of unwanted racial attention are not

simply a marginal exception. And although it is not the norm, it constitutes a considerable problem at the faculty. This result largely resembles the figures for unwanted sexual attention – here, 12 per cent of the most exposed group (women) have experienced the problem, compared to 3 per cent of the men (see ch. 3).[18]

We asked who is responsible for the unwanted racist attention. The results show that colleagues are behind approximately two-thirds of this. Again, the picture largely resembles unwanted sexual attention. We also asked about the culture in the unit/department in regard to racism. The vast majority agree or strongly agree that the culture is non-racist. Only 4 per cent of employees disagree or strongly disagree with this. By comparison, 5 per cent disagree or strongly disagree that the culture is non-sexist. The tendency is similar. Although there are experiences of racism (or sexism), they are considered to be more the exception than the rule in academic culture.[19]

Direct questions on unwanted racist attention and racism show that the problem exists, and that the extent of the problem largely depends on whom you ask. The extent is considerably greater in exposed groups, than in less exposed groups. The majority report fewer problems than the minorities, in the same way that men report fewer problems than women, in relation to sexual harassment. The tendency here, as in analyses of gender, is that the more general the question, the greater the support for the "equality" response option. Almost "everyone" agrees that the culture is non-racist, generally speaking, especially among the Norwegians. Among the minorities, there is also still a large majority in favour of this view. Also, descendants and non-westerners agree – the culture in the faculty is generally good.

Another indication of equal treatment in the organization is the experience of bullying and harassment regardless of grounds for discrimination. Descendants, but not other minorities, more often report bullying than the majority. Among descendants, 19 per cent report bullying compared with 11 per cent of the majority. This is an indication of a problem, independent of direct racism. The difference is roughly the same across genders. We see no particular profile among the descendants compared to the majority in relation to who is responsible for the bullying. The most

common answer in both groups is colleagues. However, there is a clear tendency among descendants that those who report racist attention also report bullying.

In other words, we find a considerable, that is more than marginal, proportion of experienced racist attention and racism, and a larger proportion who have experienced bullying, among descendants. The problems depend on "the seeing eye" – and are experienced much more often in exposed groups than in the majority group. At the same time, assessments of the culture in the unit are mainly positive, also among minorities.

Different Experiences Based on Ethnicity

We have described the placement of various minorities on position levels, possible work displacement, and experiences of unwanted racist attention. This says something about diversity-related challenges, but it only tells part of the story. In order to understand more of this picture, we need data on work environment and academic culture, similar to what we have on gender. As mentioned, minorities may be relatively well placed in the position hierarchy – but the costs of getting there may be different.

Table 6.2 shows the main results of analyses of the majority and minorities with regard to essential work environment variables. At the

Table 6.2. Work Environment Problems Among the Majority and Minorities. Source: FRONT Employee survey (N = 843).

Work Environment Problems by Different Groups (in percentages)				
	Majority	**Descendants**	**Western**	**Non-western**
I have to work harder than my colleagues in order to be recognized	12	30	24	37
I am constantly scrutinized/judged by my colleagues	14	20	18	26
I am reluctant to bring up issues that concern me for fear that it might affect my career	20	33	19	28
I do not get the opportunity to participate in important committees/meetings/ projects	15	33	23	18
Problems with colleagues' attitudes	14	20	23	15

top of the list, we see problems with clearly unequal ranges between the groups, led by having to work more than colleagues, which ranks as number one on this "ethnic problem list". Below we see examples of variables that appear to be influenced by ethnicity, but where the results are somewhat less clear.

We see a clear (and statistically significant) variation for the experience of having to work harder, and the feeling of being scrutinized and judged. We also see quite a bit of variation in relation to raising issues. But for having the opportunity to participate in important committees, meetings and projects, the picture is somewhat less clear. The same applies to problems with colleagues' attitudes and a number of other environmental variables not presented here.

The Table should be interpreted with caution. It only shows how problems are experienced within the four groups. It does not say that they are *caused* by differential treatment based on ethnicity, or whether other conditions are at work. In particular, we see that the non-westerners are a special group in terms of age and position level. Our material is too small to correct for such factors. Nevertheless, it is relevant for revealing the actual pattern – even if we do not know what causes it. One possible interpretation is that the minorities – descendants, westerners and non-westerners – in fact largely resemble each other in some central areas, especially in the experience of having to work harder, being under scrutiny, and being slightly reluctant to raise issues. In other questions, they are more equal, but some of this might also be explained by the fact that the non-westerners are a more distinctive group, in terms of age and position level, as already mentioned.

The experience of having to work harder or being scrutinized and judged does not necessarily have anything to do with competitive environments. It could also relate to the costs of cultural differences. The degree of differential treatment may be relatively limited. On the contrary, the environment may be characterized by encouragement of international collaboration, but there is nevertheless a "Norwegian cultural curriculum" that the minorities must learn. This may be part of the explanation for why the minorities report more working hours a week, despite the fact that we see no indication that they have less time for

research than the majority. At the same time, it is clear that descendants also report demands for (perceived) unfair work efforts, which makes it clear that cultural difference is hardly the only explanation.[20] A possible interpretation is that minorities, more often than the majority, feel they have to prove they are competent.

One claim in the debate, which also shows up in the interviews, is that globalization entails competition, which may weaken Norwegian gender equality. The idea is that international competition means that male applicants, with less background and work methods based on equality, will oust a Norwegian "bedrock" of researchers, especially women. Some put this into a time perspective – some of these international environments are reminiscent of Norway in the old days:

> What you have kept [in today's university] is the job insecurity, low wages, the necessity for major work endeavours, especially in Norway, with gender equality now in particular, right, so it is obvious – before, the men could just go to work, and then they had a stay-at-home wife, you know, but you can't work 12 hours a day any more, modern PhD students can't and won't, not men either. And then, then there are many, then there are many things that … I mean a lot of tensions, to put it mildly. (Kristoffer, male professor)

This train of thought is most visible in interviews with men in our material, and less common among the interviewed women. To a lesser degree, these saw international competition as a problem in terms of gender equality.[21] The interviewed leaders often emphasized that gender equality and diversity should be seen in connection. They argued that these dimensions could reinforce each other, among other things, in the form of increased innovativeness. The positive importance of internationalization and diversity was mentioned by many of the interviewees, but was most emphasized by this group.

If international competition is a threat to gender equality, we should be able to see tendencies of this in detailed analyses of the ethnic dimension. For example, there should be a greater proportion of households in which the woman's career has priority, or where there is an equal priority in the majority group than in various minorities. Is this the case?

Work, Family and Ethnicity

The Table below shows how essential factors in the family situation (among those with a spouse or partner) are distributed among the four groups (in percentages).

Table 6.3. The Family Situation Among the Majority and Minorities. Source: FRONT Employee survey (N = 843)

	Majority	Descendants	Western	Non-western
Proportion with partner/spouse	82	70	78	68
Partner/spouse is an academic or researcher	30	21	36	41
The woman has taken leave due to the man's job (average, months)	4	1	5	7
Partner/spouse and I are equally dedicated to our careers	56	55	53	64
Man is more dedicated*	33	25	30	29
Woman is more dedicated*	7	0	9	0
The partners' careers had equal priority in the past year	57	52	46	47
The woman's career had first priority in the past year*	12	16	13	3

Note: The figures represent proportions in percentages within each group, except the figures for the woman's leave due to the man's job, which represent the average number of months on leave (*indicates that the figures are taken from men's reports, but the reporting is highly similar across genders).

The proportion of participants who are married or cohabitants is quite similar between the groups, if we take different age profiles into account (non-westerners are younger). We see a relatively large element of homo-gamy (married to equals) among those who have academic partners, at least in the majority group. Here as many as 50 per cent of those with an academic partner have a partner working in a discipline related to the respondent's own discipline. Natural scientists seem to be fond of each other. Figures for the minorities are a bit too small to say anything about this dimension. Similarly, figures for taking a leave of absence (leave/career break) are small, but they provide a certain picture of the situation.

We see no essential difference in the assessment of career motivation or dedication across ethnic groups. On the contrary, the proportion with balanced dedication is relatively similar. A few differences emerge when we take a closer look at prioritizations in the household during

the past year. That the woman is more dedicated than the man is generally a minority phenomenon but is actually not reported at all among descendants and non-westerners. Regarding actual prioritization in the past year, we see a slight tendency for equal priority to be more common among the majority than in the other groups, but this is not very clear. Nor do we see any clear picture that the proportion who have prioritized the woman's career in the past year is higher among the majority than in the other groups. However, there is a tendency towards a lower priority among non-westerners.[22]

What does the data say about the assumption that internationalization is a threat to the Norwegian gender equality model? It is a mixed picture. Norway is not alone in increasing gender equality. The different ethnic groups' households are relatively similar, and the difference we do see might be explained more by other factors, such as age and position level. We see some signs of lower acceptance for women's careers, meaning that women are less dedicated than men, among two of the minorities, but these are uncertain and may be caused by other conditions. Actual prioritization of the woman's career in the past year is, in fact, slightly lower among the majority than among descendants, but higher among westerners than non-westerners.

In other words, we see that minorities have different "gender equality conditions" in the household/family, and the hypothesis that they are generally less gender equal is only supported to a limited degree. We have a few indications that traditional gender roles matter more, for instance, with less reporting than in the majority, that the woman's dedication to her career is greater than the man's. But as to who in practice has had priority in the past year, descendants score higher than the majority on giving the woman priority. The results correspond to other research on descendants' social mobility, especially among women (Midtbøen, 2020; Vidnes, 2019; Vik, 2013).

Cultural Differences and Indirect Differential Treatment

The interviews in FRONT confirm the faculty's international profile. As mentioned, approximately one-third of the interviewees are foreign citizens,

mostly from western countries. We also see major geographic mobility: many have moved between countries during their careers; and many of the non-westerners have had stays at western, including Norwegian, universities, for example as master's students or PhD students. Many also work in research groups with an international configuration. Many experiences and reflections relating to ethnicity, directly or indirectly, emerged in the interviews. Here, we will take a closer look at these, emphasizing statements from non-Norwegian and non-western participants.

The most common explanation for additional problems for non-Norwegians at the faculty, described in the interviews, suggests cultural differences rather than racism, discrimination or direct differential treatment. These cultural differences involve such things as language, but also understanding how things work in Norway, including formal and informal rules of the game at the faculty. For example, there is major international variation in terms of what a position as a student, postdoctoral fellow or professor actually means in practice. The foreigners feel that it takes time to familiarize themselves with the rules of the game.[23]

When differential treatment is mentioned it is usually implicit, a type of bias that is not necessarily conscious. Li, a female PhD student, says:

> You don't speak as fast to Chinese people because sometimes you expect poorer English, and the English is poorer, perhaps much poorer sometimes. But you know – there are some mechanisms – you see the young male researcher there, you see him, or you wish to help him get into the discipline, but what about this Chinese girl? Well, she will probably soon go back to China, you know. And, of course, that may be true – but it is not fair. There should be equal opportunities in a situation like that. Even though many Chinese researchers have to go back for many reasons. But still.

Here we see both linguistic problems, as well as a tendency that foreigners, who may be likely to return to their home countries, are passed over. The investment does not benefit the unit (or the Norwegian job market). Consequently, the Norwegian candidate may be preferred. The example illustrates how structural conditions may contribute to differential treatment.[24] Foreign researchers may appear as "nomads", not suited for permanent employment.

Linguistic Problems

All the interviewees who do not come from Norway (or Sweden/Denmark) describe difficulties learning Norwegian. However, their views on whether they actually need Norwegian in order to work at a Norwegian university differ.

"So the beginning was a bit difficult for me because I wasn't that good in Norwegian," says Ella, a female associate professor, when she describes how she experienced her first period in Norway. She continued to describe how informal contact between colleagues during lunch and by the coffee machine is what happens in Norwegian. Planned, professional discussions normally occur in English, however. Thea, a female associate professor, thinks she manages well with English. "They said, 'It would be great if you learned Norwegian,' but I mean, everything is in English. I am used to the English system. I came from an international group, I spoke English every day, so I was never … I never thought of it as a problem." Hannah, a female associate professor, agrees and says, "Speaking English is so natural, even with Norwegians, that I don't think it – for most people – occurs to us to switch into Norwegian. When you've established a relationship through one language, that kind of becomes the language of that relationship, so if you start with English, that's the way it is …." Kathrine, a female associate professor, has a different opinion. She is working hard to learn Norwegian because she needs it in her research collaborations, and in order to build networks with Norwegian researchers. "The meetings are in Norwegian, so I had to improve my Norwegian," she says. To some, like Thea, it may be "natural" to continue in English – especially within research collaboration – but at the same time, the administrative language at the University of Oslo is Norwegian, as is the language of instruction on the undergraduate level.[25]

Li describes how English may also be excluding, as mentioned above. "You don't speak as fast to Chinese people, because sometimes you expect poorer English, and the English is [in fact] poorer, perhaps much poorer sometimes." English is normally a greater challenge for non-westerners, such as from Asia, than for western employees, and linguistic problems can easily be perceived as slow-wittedness. The importance of English

as a working language also benefits employees from English-speaking countries in relation to Norwegians (and other westerners). We did not ask systematically about linguistic problems, but our impression is that "everyone" is expected to be proficient in English, and problems with this may therefore be undercommunicated, also among the Norwegians.[26]

Networks, Culture and Contacts

The biggest problem described by non-Norwegians is not language, but the lack of a Norwegian network. For Kathrine, these two things are connected. She has learned Norwegian in order to strengthen her Norwegian network. "During the ten years that have passed since I moved to Norway, I have been involved in a lot of international collaboration, so people outside of Norway know my name very well, and I get invitations and so on. My challenge is Norway," she says. Anna, a female post doctoral fellow, describes the same problem: "I have a very good international network, but the national network is not as good, in Norway." Thea also says that she misses a Norwegian network, which she believes affects her chances of getting research funding. "I wasn't used to failure [having grant applications rejected, our comment], then I came to Norway, and it was so difficult. […] In order to get funding, the RCN committee,[27] the researchers, and these committees must get to know you, both Norwegians and non-Norwegians." According to Thea, you must have a well-known name within the country where you apply in order to get funding. In her opinion, this is not typical of Norway, but applies everywhere: "I mean, in Germany, the peer-reviewers are German, or Germans living abroad. And I think, for me most … now it's like, if I hear who has assessed my application, I know all of them. Or they know me. And then being assessed as number one is easier."

These quotes illustrate how "networks" must be interpreted broadly. It is not only about acquaintances and collaboration but also about opportunities for funding and positions. Earlier, we described professional hierarchies and prestige (see Chapter 2), and here the more personal prestige system emerges. Having a "well-known name" is an advantage, and this varies with nationality.

Thea's statement that "in Germany, the peer-reviewers are German," may also illustrate cultural barriers, regardless of language – that there is a lot to learn when you come to Norway. Thea observes that some things are different ("these committees must get to know you, both Norwegians and non-Norwegians"), but she nevertheless interprets the Norwegian financing system based on a German model. However, the Norwegian model is different. The procedures for application processing vary considerably between countries, and the Research Council of Norway's system means that quality assessments, with few exceptions, are based on assessments made by foreign referees.[28] The quote illustrates how mastering the cultural codes, including the formal and informal rules for research funding, is often more difficult when you come from "outside". You may not necessarily be doing it "wrong". But you are not necessarily doing it entirely right either.[29] And that is important in academic competition.

In the employee survey, the lack of networks does not appear as a problem factor among minorities. That may be because the question is formulated differently than in the interviews. In the survey, we ask whether the respondents have been encouraged to establish their own network. Most of the respondents answer this question in the affirmative, including non-westerners. We do not ask whether they have managed to establish a network of their own or how difficult this has been. These topics came up in the interviews.

"The University Bubble"

Coming to Norway as a young employee, on the PhD or postdoctoral level, without a family is one thing. Staying in Norway with a family is a different matter. A number of participants describe how they experience problems of integration only after they start a family – before that, they lived in a "university bubble".

"I came here because I got a scholarship, and I was in the university bubble, and it feels like I lived entirely in that bubble. It was a bubble with a very hard shell – I spent all my time at the university and only socialized with people at the university. I worked out at the university's gym, I was involved in clubs at the university." Hannah describes how she lived in a

university bubble until she had a family and experienced how difficult it was for her husband to become integrated in Norway. "I felt pretty naive, and at the same time stupid, vulnerable, since I wasn't really in that reality. And when I had to face that reality, having a family … having a family really bursts that bubble because you begin to relate to people on a different level." For example, Hannah describes that she did not know how difficult the application process for a visa was, because she herself had received help. But most importantly, she describes how difficult it was for her husband to enter the Norwegian labour market. "Of course it is very important to be part of something bigger, to be part of a network and … yeah, and he has tried to make contact via email, but it is … his impression is that it is a very closed system. So people look out for each other, but it is very difficult for outsiders to come in. But once you're inside, you will be looked after."

Thea describes much the same. Her husband also had problems finding a job, an experience she shares with many in the same situation. "We have many colleagues here whose partner hasn't got a job. And it is super frustrating! And I think we foreigners have been very naive, that we believed that we have come to Norway, and Norway is a rich country with a low unemployment rate. But I think, for many, it just hasn't worked out. And that can be dramatic."

We see a tendency for the interviewees to find it easier to talk about their partners' difficulties in Norway than their own. This may, of course, be because they actually *have* bigger problems, for example, that the lack of Norwegian proficiency is a bigger problem in the job market outside the university. But it may also be easier to talk about differential treatment as something other than coincidences and exceptions, when it applies to another person.

Class, Ethnicity and Intersectionality

As we have seen, the results reveal a pattern of problems and challenges related to ethnicity. For instance, a higher proportion of minorities say that they have to work harder than their colleagues and are constantly scrutinized and judged. Some of these problems also emerge in relation

to gender (more often experienced by women), whereas others are more specific to the ethnic dimension (like linguistic problems). In order to provide a better interpretation of this picture, it is important to consider various background variables in connection with each other. Do different grounds for discrimination work together? This is the topic of the following section. The ethnic dimension is discussed in light of class and gender, and we describe the three dimensions together. First, we will look at the class dimension in the material.

Class and Education

Research on education shows that social class background is an important factor for selection in academia. Students with parents having long higher education levels are decidedly overrepresented compared with those whose parents have the least education (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2019; Vidnes, 2019).

The FRONT project has data on mothers' and fathers' levels of education, as an indication of social class in the questionnaire surveys. We have an extended scale for educational levels (seven levels) and ask about both the mother's and father's levels. That education is a narrow and incomplete indicator of social class is beyond doubt, but not a discussion we can address here (for further discussion, see e.g., Hansen et al., 2014). Educational level should at least indicate one aspect of class, "cultural capital", having particular relevance in academia.

As shown in Table 6.1, 24 per cent of the majority have parents with higher educations compared with 36 per cent of descendants, 30 per cent of westerners, and 12 per cent of non-westerners. Parents' level of education has a positive effect for the majority and descendants (as mentioned, the category includes first-generation immigrants who have changed their citizenship to Norwegian). The Table may exaggerate the greater importance for descendants, based on data for western foreigners (with high educational backgrounds), and the tendency for "natural scientists to like each other" (homogamy), although we do not know this for certain. The figures indicate that class is even more important for descendants than for the majority.

One problem – or challenge – when measuring class through parents' level of education, in addition to the fact that this is only one aspect of class, is the scale itself. For gender and ethnicity, it is relatively clear what should be considered a high rank (male, white), and a low rank (female, of colour). But for educational level, this is not as clear. For example, we may find different problem levels on seven different levels of education, without any clear linear relationship (but perhaps a curvilinear relationship).

In our material, there is a clear tendency for the outliers on the scale for educational level to behave as expected, based on a hypothesis that a lower educational level among parents will increase the chances of experiencing problems. Descendants whose parents have a long university education report fewer problems than those whose parents have a low level of education. But the groups in the middle of the scale, westerners and the majority, do not report as expected based on a hypothesis of a straight line relationship. This probably contributes to the effect of class appearing lower than it actually is. It should be taken into account that class is a "movable target" in relation to ethnicity and gender. A career often involves social mobility, but rarely gender mobility or ethnic mobility.[30]

The proportion having different levels of education has changed greatly over time. High university education among parents was rarer a generation or two ago than today. However, this difference is not very dramatic in our material. The parents' average level of education is roughly the same among the young and middle-aged, but noticeably lower among seniors (age 56+).

We took a closer look at parents' education in regard to gender. Is the effect different based on the mother's or father's level of education? And is it different for women and men? Here, the results are clear. The answer is "no" on both counts. The mother's and father's levels of education have roughly similar effects. As far as we can see, both are problem reducing in roughly the same way. Moreover, analyses show that this pattern is relatively similar across genders.

Briefly summarized, we can say that class has an effect quite independently of gender and ethnicity, but the effect is less obvious in the material than one might expect, based on the fact that class is such a central dimension in research on education. It is not surprising that the

university provides a certain "bonus" to those whose parents have a long university education. One could imagine that with class included in the picture, differences based on ethnicity or gender would be relatively small. This is not the case in our material. A possible interpretation is that class is a more "underlying" dimension.

Three Problem Profiles: Ethnicity, Class and Gender

The FRONT material provides an opportunity to analyze the importance of the dimensions ethnicity, class and gender, in relation to career, environmental and cultural problems. What are the challenges connected with these, and how do they interact with each other? Before we can analyze this, it is important to identify each of these dimensions as clearly as possible. We will, therefore, first consider each of them separately. The analyses shed light on effects in relation to a number of environmental and cultural variables. The result is three different "problem profiles".

Here is the problem ranking based on ethnic difference, showing some characteristicss of the ethnic problem profile:[31]

Have to work harder than colleagues (correlation .155)

Reluctant to raise issues (.117)

Reluctant to speak my opinion (.104)

Constant scrutiny/assessment (.074)

All in all, the effect of ethnicity is visible on approximately 10–20 per cent of the environmental variables in the survey.

Here is the profile in relation to social class:

My area of research has low status (–.116)

Limited job opportunities (–.104)

Have to work harder than colleagues (.071)

The effect of class is visible on 5–15 per cent of the variables in the survey.[32]

The problem profile in relation to gender:

No access to role models (.135)

I cannot express my preferences (.132)

I do not fit in (.128)

Culture with long working hours (.115)

Have to work harder than colleagues (.107)

Lack of supervision (.106)

My area is too interdisciplinary (.105)

Reluctant to speak my opinion (0.97)

Periods of part-time work (.094)

No participation in committees (.093)

Lack of support (.092)

Constant scrutiny/assessment (.087)

My contributions are not valued (.084)

Professional isolation (.079)

The effect of gender is visible on approximately 50–65 per cent of the variables in the survey.

We see that ethnicity, and particularly class, have fewer visible effects on the problem level than one might expect compared with gender. If class and ethnicity are important dimensions, why are they not more visible? Is the faculty more characterized by gender division than ethnic or class-related division? What does the "gender gap", as described in Chapter 5, mean if we also consider other important background dimensions?

Intersectional Analysis

In order to take a closer look at ethnicity, class and gender in relation to each other, we analyzed each dimension – including the other dimensions in the picture. This is often called intersectional analysis, for example in gender research. The idea behind this is that various forms of differential treatment must be understood in a broader context, and as a whole. Thus, intersectional analysis may provide a better understanding of different groups among students and employees. The "classic" point of departure for intersectional theory is a situation in which different types or grounds of discrimination, for example, being black *and* female, reinforce each other (Crenshaw, 1989).

We investigated this through several types of statistical analysis. First, we looked at the interaction between background variables in regard to the problem profiles described above, and then we looked at the intersectional interplay. The analyses show three clear results.

Firstly, we see that the background dimensions – ethnicity, class and gender – are largely independent of one another. It is not the case that one of them stops working when the others are included in the analysis. The effects are essentially the same, yet somewhat moderated. In other words, the problem profiles are relatively similar, regardless of whether other background variables are included in the analysis or not. This applies particularly to the two clearest profiles (ethnicity and gender).

Secondly, it appears that the intersectional effect remains limited, even if we apply different methods to bring out the connections. The grounds for discrimination may be "added up" (a technique that has been criticized) or "multiplied" (for further discussion about the methods, see, e.g., Christoffersen, 2017; Dubrow, 2008; Krause, 2019). Both imply that "interaction elements" are included in multivariable analyses (ethnic + gender, or ethnic × gender). Neither of them show large or clear effects in our material.

Thirdly, we see that the intersectional interplay that actually exists cannot be summarized in one simple formula. The most obvious intersectional effect has to do with ethnicity and gender, but only partially how one might expect – that a low ranking in one dimension goes hand in hand with a low ranking in the other. One could easily presume that a low ranking in the ethnic dimension (ethnic = minority) would go hand in hand with a low ranking in the other (gender = woman). This group ought to have the highest score on problem variables, like having to work harder than colleagues and academic devaluation (scrutiny). But the empirical results are different. It is the men, not the women among the minorities, who most often report problems compared with the majority of the same gender.

In our material, such connections are best revealed through detailed analyses. The figure below offers an example.
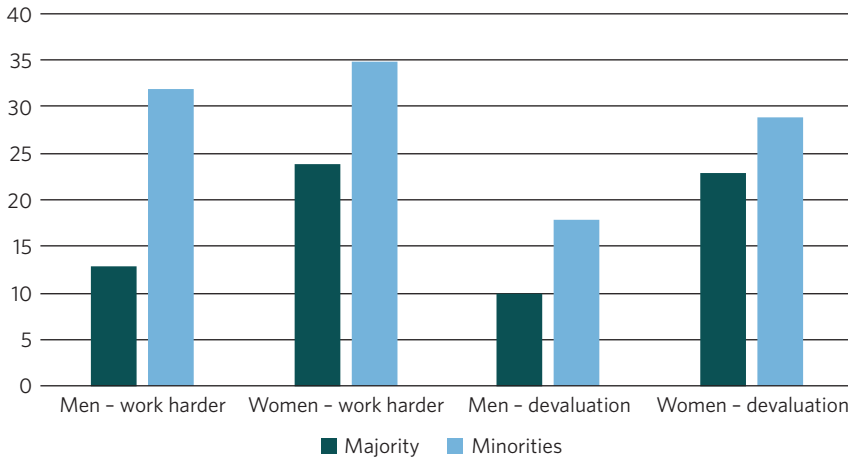
Figure 6.1. Work Environment Problems by Ethnicity and Gender. The columns show the proportion of "yes" answers (strongly agree and agree) in percentages for two problem formulations. Source: FRONT employee survey (N = 843).

The columns show the proportion of "yes" answers (strongly agree or agree) in percentages for two important problems, divided by gender and ethnicity.[33] We see that the problem proportion is generally higher among women than among men, and higher among minorities than the majority. We also see that the distance between majority and minority is greater among men than among women, especially for working harder than colleagues.

A relevant term from role theory is *incongruence* between different roles or positions. For example, problems are greatest (or perceived as greatest) for a low rank in one dimension, but for a high rank in another. This may explain why ethnicity, in our study, appears to have stronger effects for men than for women on important variables related to ethnic discrimination. Problems are greatest for minority women (as expected based on intersectional theory). At the same time, the effect of ethnicity for men is greater than what one perhaps might expect. We also have some indications of intersectional interaction in a more traditional sense. This is based on the fact that non-westerners also have a lower proportion of parents having a higher education, but these effects are relatively weak and uncertain.

Two reservations should be mentioned. First, our material may be too limited to reveal intersectional effects clearly (enough). Paradoxically, a large amount of material is needed to uncover something that is mainly about individual effects. Second, and perhaps most importantly, intersectional effects being moderate on an aggregated statistical level, does not necessarily mean that they are not important on an individual level. They might be extremely important to some individuals or groups, while they simultaneously do not have a large and clear impact on the overall picture.

Discussion

As mentioned, 11 per cent of non-westerners, and 8 per cent of descendants say they have experienced unwanted racist attention at the faculty, mostly by colleagues. A survey of young researchers in Norway shows a similar tendency (AYF, 2019). There, nearly 25 per cent of foreign-born researchers reported discrimination due to their immigrant background. The researchers emphasize that experiences of discrimination and sexual harassment have a strong negative impact on wanting to recommend an academic career to others, and that discrimination is a particularly strong factor.

Is racism part of a broader pattern of differential treatment? Here, our results point in slightly different directions. We find a clear underrepresentation of non-westerners on the top level (professors),[34] but apart from that, there are few signs of skewed representation on position levels.[35] Descendants and western foreigners are not clearly underrepresented on higher levels compared with lower levels. However, it is possible that a more precise research design focusing, for example, on employees with a specific national background (such as Asia or Africa), would show different results. Thus this should be interpreted with caution.[36] Nevertheless, we do not see any clear work displacement to the minorities' disadvantage, or any other visible signs of ethnic discrimination. However, one of the groups (descendants) experiences bullying more often than the majority.

This may be interpreted to suggest that structural discrimination is relatively low or indirect, which is also reflected in mostly positive reports on the culture at the department or unit. Even within exposed groups, there is general agreement that the culture is non-racist and diversity-friendly. We also see that the different groups are quite similar in terms of gender equality in the household. On the other hand, minorities report problems with the work environment more often, especially on a few (but essential) variables. For instance, these have to do with skewed work requirements, and that they report roughly two more working hours per week than the majority.

At the same time, it becomes clear from our study that the "problem profile" related to gender is more extensive than for ethnicity. Why are problems so much more visible in relation to gender compared with ethnicity and class? One interpretation says there are two factors at work. One factor is more reporting and criticism in relation to gender than to ethnicity and class, and another factor is that gender differences *are*, in fact, greater than ethnic differences. In other words, one hypothesis is "subjective", and one is "objective".

Let us first look at the subjective hypothesis. The point of departure here is that different research methods, including an anonymous questionnaire form, are influenced by the threshold for reporting problems. If this threshold is different for the exposed groups within various dimensions of discrimination, the results will provide an incorrect picture of the actual extent. They will be somewhat spurious and misleading. Conditions related to shame and stigmatization – typical factors behind low reporting – are perhaps stronger in relation to ethnicity than to gender, and may therefore contribute to such a result.[37]

But is this something we know? It is true that we have a number of interviews with foreigners who talk about better conditions in the Norwegian university system than in their home country. This relates to a more equal opportunity to combine being an active parent with pursuing an academic career, and that women are treated better in Norway. Other than that, the signs are not so clear. Some interviewees mention a "being grateful role" among foreigners. But all in all, the hypothesis must be described as uncertain.

The actual situation at the faculty is that gender equality work has developed over time and is more well-known and recognized than work for diversity. Based on research focusing on gender, we see that individual experiences related to gender are changing and are increasingly interpreted as systemic problems when discussed (described in Part 3 of this book). This might also be the case with ethnicity. If we had the opportunity to delve deeper into this dimension, and if there had been more focus on this issue at the faculty, the racism-related problems would perhaps have been more clearly reported. Nevertheless, we believe this is a minor limitation of the study, and that the reporting is relatively realistic as it is.

The objective hypothesis is that differential treatment in relation to gender is *actually* more extensive than discrimination based on ethnicity and class. The material provides many indications of this. For example, we see that the problem profile based on gender is broader and more extensive than the profiles for ethnicity and class. At the same time, we see that the reported extent of racism and sexism is relatively similar. A moderated version of the objective hypothesis probably makes most sense – namely, that division or *segregation* based on gender is considerably greater compared with ethnicity and class.

To put this in perspective, one can imagine what would happen if the university were as clearly ethnically (or class) segregated as it is gender-segregated. This would undoubtedly result in criticism and debate. It could easily be considered a type of apartheid. Gendered segregation, which is not found in the other areas (ethnicity and class), may explain some of the differences in the extent of the problem.

This does not necessarily mean that *direct* differential treatment is greater in relation to gender than to ethnicity or class. But *indirect* differential treatment is greater, primarily because the university maintains (or even encourages) gender segregation in various disciplines.[38] In other words, gender segregation has a stronger *structural* component than the other dimensions. We discuss this further in Chapter 8, where we demonstrate how an apparently purely horizontal gender division in the first part of a career path may result in a vertical gap at a later stage, with a low proportion of women at the top.

This hypothesis also provides the opportunity to understand the ethnic pattern better. Problems are most visible on the actor level than on the structure level. They peak especially on some points: minorities feel that they have to work harder than their colleagues in order to be equally recognized; and report more often that they have to be careful about expressing their opinion. Descendants report bullying more often. Ethnic disparities appear to be greatest for problems on the actor level, which manifest themselves in competition on an informal level especially, for example in terms of who delivers "good enough" results. Minorities tend to compensate for this by working more than the majority.

Based on studies of men and masculinities, it is not surprising that problems related to being in an ethnic minority position are more visible among men than women. This can be linked to patterns in which men are (still) expected to be superior and that the fall, therefore, becomes greater when they are not (see e.g., Ekenstam, 2006; Kuosmanen, 2001). In hegemonic masculinity theory, race is one of the mechanisms putting men in the "subordinate" masculinity position (Messerschmidt, 2016). Results show that experiences of racist attention are a real problem – it is not marginal even though it applies to a minority. The extent of experiences of unwanted racist attention and unwanted sexual attention, within exposed groups, is roughly on the same level. The university's international profile is highly visible in the material. At the same time, there is a long way to go before this becomes a globally balanced profile. The foreign employees are mainly from other western countries. However, we do not see clear signs of ethnic differential treatment upwards on the career ladder.[39] And the large majority – also of minorities – experience the culture in their unit as non-racist and diverse. The hypothesis that minorities have less gender-equal family relations does not receive clear support. In our material, we see only limited signs of less gender-equal family relations among minority groups (but the study is not an in-depth study of this question).

On the other hand, we see that not only do minorities report unwanted racist attention far more often than the majority, they also report bullying more often (among descendants). Moreover, they report work environment problems more often, particularly experiences of having to work

harder than their colleagues in order to be recognized, constant scrutiny and evaluation, and hesitation related to raising issues of concern. The specific questions on experiences related to the work environment reveal greater differences than the general questions on academic culture.

Analyses of problems connected to ethnicity, class and gender show that each of these dimensions works relatively independently, yet they may be affected by each other. We essentially find the same picture in analyses including the interaction effect between dimensions. This may be interpreted in the sense that intersectional interaction is relatively limited. However, this applies on an overall general level, and not necessarily to individual cases. The most visible interaction effect appears in relation to ethnicity and gender. The effect is partly to be expected, that low status in both dimensions offers the most chance of reporting problems – but also, somewhat more unexpectedly, that the effect of ethnicity is often greater among the men than the women in the study.

All in all, the results indicate that differential treatment based on gender is more visible and extensive than differential treatment based on ethnicity. The class dimension is even less visible. We have discussed this from a "subjective" hypothesis, that the threshold for reporting problems is higher in relation to ethnicity and class than to gender, and from an "objective" hypothesis that gender segregation is, in fact, greater than segregation related to the other dimensions. The two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive.

The results and the limitations of our study are indicative of a major need for further research. How do various ethnic groups experience the situation? Within some groups, the proportion of people who have experienced unwanted racist attention or associated environmental problems may be considerably higher than what emerges in our material. "Descendants", "westerners" and "non-westerners" are all heterogeneous groups, for example in terms of skin colour. More targeted studies might reduce such problems. Our interview material includes experiences of racism and discrimination, but it is not an in-depth coverage of diversity issues. For instance, we do not know much about the "construction of whiteness", how it happens, or how important it is. What becomes clear is that problems of unwanted racist attention and racism are not marginal,

even if they relate to a minority. They are also associated with other and more common problems within the work organization. This resembles the situation regarding gender and unwanted sexual attention. A problem that may seem marginal at first, directly affecting only a minority, turns out to have wider effects. It is obvious that both culture and structure come into play, as they do for sexuality and gender. Further research can help identify the factors that may be linked to differential treatment and discrimination based on ethnicity.

We asked whether gender equality and diversity are opposing goals. Our study demonstrates that a gender equality research approach, using questions and variables derived mainly from gender research, can be extended to provide new insight into ethnicity and class. These dimensions would not become "diminished" through a gender equality approach. Instead, they can be better identified and understood.

References

Akademiet for yngre forskere. (2019). *Rom for mangfold i akademia? En surveyundersøkelse om internasjonalisering, diskriminering og seksuell trakassering blant yngre forskere i Norge*. https://akademietforyngreforskere.no/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Rom-for-mangfold-i-akademia-En-rapport-fra-Akademiet-for-yngre-forskere-2019.pdf

Bufdir. (2020). *Diskriminering i arbeidslivet*. https://bufdir.no/Statistikk_og_analyse/Etnisitet/arbeidsliv/diskriminering_i_arbeidslivet/

Christoffersen, A. (2017). *Intersectional approaches to equality research and data*. Equality Challenge Unit. http://www.ecu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Research_and_data_briefing_2_Intersectional_approaches_to_equality_research_and_data.pdf

Cools, S. & Schøne, P. (2019). Overgang fra utdanning til arbeid blant høyt utdannede etterkommere av innvandrere. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, *60*(2), 140–165. https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-291X-2019-02-02

Connell, R. W. (2006). Northern theory: The political geography of general social theory. *Theory & Society*, *35*(2), 237–264. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-006-9004-y

Crenshaw, K. W. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139–167.

Dubrow, J. K. (2008). How can we account for intersectionality in quantitative analysis of survey data? Empirical illustration from central and eastern Europe. *Ask: Research and Methods*, *17*(1), 85–100. https://kb.osu.edu/handle/1811/69557

Ekenstam, C. (2006). Man, manlighet och omanlighet i historien. In J. Lorentzen & C. Ekenstam (Ed.), *Man i Norden*. Gidlunds förlag.

Frølich, N., Reiling, R. B., Gunnes, H., Mangset, M., Orupabo, J., Ulvestad, M. E. S., Østbakken, K. M., Lyby, L. & Larsen, E. H. (2019). *Attraktive akademiske karrierer? Søkning, rekruttering og mobilitet i UH-sektoren* (NIFU-rapport 2019:10). Nordisk institutt for studier av innovasjon, forskning og utdanning. https://www.nifu.no/publications/1716098/

Goffman, E. (1975). *Stigma. Om afvigerens sociale identitet*. Gyldendal.

Gunnes, H., Nordby, P., Næsheim, H. N. & Wiig, O. (2016). *Mangfoldstatistikk: Statistikk om innvandrere og etterkommere av innvandrere i norsk forskning og høyere utdanning* (NIFU Arbeidsnotat 2016:17). Nordisk institutt for studier av innovasjon, forskning og utdanning. https://www.nifu.no/publications/1409704/

Grundekjøn, C. (2020, 18 July). Norges hundre største selskaper – mangfoldet blant topplederne er for lite. *E24 nettavis*. https://e24.no/naeringsliv/i/4qy3G9/norges-100-stoerste-selskaper-mangfoldet

Hansen, M. N., Andersen, P. L., Flemmen, M. & Ljunggren, J. (2014). Klasser og eliter. In O. Korsnes, M. N. Hansen & J. Hjellbrekke (Eds.), *Elite og klasse i et egalitært samfunn*. Universitetsforlaget.

Holter, Ø. G. (1990). *Arbeid og familie – en studie av teknologkulturen*. Universitetsforlaget.

Holter, Ø. G. (2004). A theory of gendercide. In A. Jones (Ed.), *Gendercide and genocide* (pp. 62–97). Vanderbilt University Press.

Krause, H. (2019, 21 June). How to model data with intersectionality. *Towards Data Science*. https://towardsdatascience.com/how-to-model-data-with-intersectionality-d42dd45abd7a

Kuosmanen, J. (2001). *Finnkampen. En studie av finska mans liv och sociala karriärer i Sverige*. Gidlunds förlag.

Likestillings- og diskrimineringsloven. (2020). *Lov om likestilling og forbud mot diskriminering* (LOV-2017-05-16-51). Lovdata. https://lovdata.no/lov/2017-06-16-51

Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet. (2019). *Mandatet vårt*. https://www.ldo.no/ombudet-og-samfunnet/om-ombudet/mandat/

Lysgaard, S. (1967). *Arbeiderkollektivet*. Universitetsforlaget.

Løkeland-Stai, E. (2020, 12 August). Khrono gransker toppene i akademia. *Khrono*. https://khrono.no/khrono-gransker-toppene-i-akademia-han-er-unntaket/505096

Løvbak, H. E. & Holter, Ø. G. (2012). *Kjønn og karriere: En rapport om kvinners karriereutvikling med utgangspunkt i mentorprogrammet ved Universitetet i Oslo* (Rapport, Senter for tverrfaglig kjønnsforskning). Universitetet i Oslo. https://

www.stk.uio.no/forskning/publikasjoner/rapporter/2012/kjonn_karriere_
web_20120830.pdf

Maximova-Mentzoni, T., Egeland, C., Askvik, T., Drange, I., Støren, L. A., Røsdal, T. & Vabø, A. (2016). *Å være utlending er ingen fordel. Karriereløp og barrierer for innvandrere i norsk akademia* (AFI Rapport 2016:3). http://kifinfo.no/sites/default/files/imported_file_10565.pdf

Messerschmidt, J. W. (2016). *Masculinities in the making: From the local to the global.* Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham.

Midtbøen, A. (2020). *Etterkommere av innvandrere i Norge. Mobilitet, assimilering, diskriminering.* Institutt for samfunnsforskning. https://www.samfunnsforskning.no/aktuelt/19/etterkommere-av-innvandrere-i-norge.html

Sommerfelt, A. & Schackt, J. (2020, 3 August). Etnisk gruppe. In *Store norske leksikon.* https://snl.no/etnisk_gruppe

Statistisk sentralbyrå. (2019). *Foreldrenes utdanningsnivå for studenter bosatt i Norge.* https://www.ssb.no/362904/foreldrenes-utdanningsniva-for-studenter-bosatt-i-norge

Statistisk sentralbyrå. (2020). *Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre* [Updated March 2020]. https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef/aar

Tica, S. (2021). *From vision to reality – a summary*. The Committee for Gender Balance and Diversity in Research (KIF committee). https://kifinfo.no/sites/default/files/from_vision_to_reality_summary.pdf

Vidnes, A. K. (2019, 10 May). I en klasse for seg. *Forskerforum.* https://www.forskerforum.no/i-en-klasse-for-seg/

Vik, M. L. (2013, 5 February). Klassereisen. *Maddam.* https://maddam.no/2013/02/klassereisen/

Notes

1   "Diversity" is used as a collective term for a reduction of the various grounds for discrimination mentioned above, normally with ethnic diversity or equality as a main issue (in addition to gender equality). Other grounds of discrimination, such as sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, disability and age, are more seldom discussed.

2   A study of the higher education sector in Norway shows that "mathematics and natural sciences (45 per cent) and technology (34 per cent) had the highest proportion of immigrants and descendants of immigrants among researchers and academic personnel in 2014, whereas the social sciences had the lowest proportion (17 per cent)." These percentages had increased considerably during the period 2007–14. The University of Oslo was among the institutions with the highest percentages (Gunnes et al., 2016).

3   The actual proportion of non-westerners among employees at the faculty is possibly somewhat higher, since the survey had more drop-out among employees in recruitment positions, where many non-westerners are found, than among permanent employees.

4   Interviewees were not chosen specifically based on nationality or ethnicity.

5   The Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud represents the interests of those who are discriminated against. The Ombud also work to prevent discrimination and promote equality. The office of the Ombud is a government agency, but the Ombud operates independently from the government and cannot be instructed by other authorities.

6   The Ombud must therefore protect against eight grounds of discrimination. The list of grounds has increased. In 2016, there were six grounds. The two most recent ones are protection against discrimination based on gender identity and gender expressions. It is interesting to note that discrimination based on social class is (still) not on the list – although we cannot discuss that here. It is well known within educational research that social class is a discrimination factor (see e.g., Vidnes, 2019).

7   "Nationality" was not defined in more detail in the questionnaire survey (which was in English), but we assume this is usually interpreted as citizenship. Nor was "family background" defined in any more detail. It had the response options "Norwegian", "Mixed (both Norwegian and not Norwegian)" and "Not Norwegian".

8   "Western" was defined as OECD countries minus Japan, South Korea, Chile, Turkey, Mexico and Colombia (and Norway), the rest as "non-western". Note that "descendant" does not necessarily mean children of non-western parents (this proportion is unknown to us).

9   We have a lot of data on differential treatment, but little on what constitutes discrimination – that would require another investigation.

10 The interviewees were not specifically selected based on nationality or ethnicity. The proportion of non-westerners was small, but the Norwegian/foreign nationality distribution was approximately the same as in the questionnaire survey, which is roughly one-third foreigners.

11 The questionnaire survey consisted of 190 questions on career development, choice of natural sciences, supervision, career breaks and use of leave of absence, as well as one's situation as an employee, including work environment, academic culture, ambitions, satisfaction and family situation (see Chapters 1-5 and Appendix "Method").

12 Probably also because some of them have other western family backgrounds and have changed to Norwegian citizenship (we do not have precise data on this proportion).

13 The non-westerners also constitute a relatively large proportion of the position level "researcher" (which is not included in Table 6.1).

14 At the same time as a lower percentage of employment from abroad may be factual, based on a greater proportion of unqualified applications.

15 The question on the desired distribution of working hours was posed immediately after the corresponding question on actual distribution. "To achieve promotion/success in your job, what percentage of your working time do you think you need to spend/should have spent on each of the following areas?" with the response options: teaching, research, administration, consultancy/expertise, and research value creation. The two last alternatives received very few answers.

16 The employee survey was in English, and the question was formulated in the following way: "Unwanted racially motivated attention (such as racist remarks, questions, jokes, teasing)."

17 The question was not time limited.

18 The figures are for the MN faculty.

19 Questions on the culture in the unit are very generally defined in comparison to the more specific questions on the environment discussed below.

20 In other words, they encounter somewhat more pressure in their work situation. But culture probably also comes into play, meaning it takes time to adapt to the Norwegian culture and mentality, also for foreigners with western backgrounds, or when one changes to Norwegian citizenship when acquiring a permanent position in Norway.

21 Many of these researchers were strongly focused on career and competition. A possible interpretation is that it did not suit their self-image to address unfair or too fierce competition.

22 Somewhat uncertain due to small figures.

23 The central importance of informal rules of the game – "How things are done here at the faculty" – also emerges in relation to gender in the material (see also Løvbak & Holter, 2012), but the challenges may even be greater for employees from other cultures.

24 That is, a tendency resembling the one we find in relation to gender.

25 Not learning Norwegian when one is required to make a long-term commitment may involve a certain work displacement on a given level, for example a researcher or associate professor who cannot contribute to teaching in Norwegian, meaning that others on the same level must do it instead.

26 For example, the employee survey was in English, not Norwegian, which may have weakened the response rate.

27 The Research Council of Norway.

28 Referee = qualified peer reviewer providing an independent assessment.

29 This perhaps often happens when developing a kind of "transitional language" or a preliminary working model for understanding. Here some of the new things about Norwegian culture are included in the picture, such as gender equality, but the "old" background, for example experience from the German higher education system, nevertheless characterizes understanding and general sensemaking in relation to the organization.

30 In a study of the engineering culture in a private oil company (Holter, 1990), the researchers included a question directly relating to current "social mobility", namely "What is your current wage level?". To many, this was more difficult to answer than questions about gender equality and private life. Lysgaard's (1967) classic study of the working collective included secrecy of wage level as a problem variable.

31 Only statistically significant correlations are included in this overview.

32 Here, class is encoded in line with ethnicity and gender, meaning that low status in the dimension is ranked on top and high status on the bottom. Those with high class status thus talk a little less often about the problem of having to work more than their colleagues (.071).

33 Minorities are here defined as non-westerners plus descendants, in order to obtain more certain data material.

34 This result seems to apply to the leadership level in the higher education sector generally. A count conducted by the trade journal *Khrono* in 2020 shows that 22 of 273 leaders at Norwegian universities and colleges have a background from other countries, but only 2 have a background from countries outside of Europe and North America (Løkeland-Stai, 2020).

35 Better data on this requires, among other things, insight into employment processes, see further Orupabo & Mangset (2021), discussed in Chapter 8.

36 On western dominance in research and theoretical development, see also Connell (2006).

37 On stigmatization, see e.g., Goffman, 1975; Holter, 2004.

38 "Encourages" in the sense of passive and indirect facilitation – not that one consciously seeks to promote greater gender divisions. But the education programmes – presumably especially on the master level – are designed in such a way that, in practice, they create great gender differentiation among the students (see Chapter 5).

39 The exception, the absence of employees from non-western countries on the professor level, may, as previously mentioned, at least partly be explained by other factors, including lower age and an early career phase.