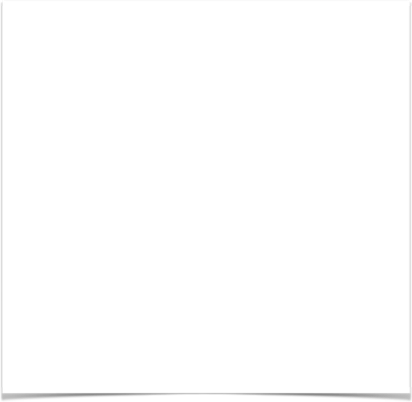
# Master Thesis

# Culture Communication and Globalisation

Supervisor: Pauline Stoltz

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# **Social Democracy and Multiculturalism**

**An Ideology Analysis of The Norwegian Labour Party’s Manifesto on Integration and Immigration, 1986, 1997 and 2009.**

**by**

**Marte Strand**

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**Abstract**

With immigration and integration becoming defining topics of political debate Western Europe has seen an exponential growth in radical right parties. A vast pool of academic sources has been devoted to the phenomenon of the radical right and the reasons for its success such as Norris and Mudde. Less focus has however been dedicated to the reaction of mainstream social democratic parties in Europe. Their overall response to the radical right threat as well as their stance on immigration and integration. Alonso and Claro da Fonseca argues that the social democratic parties in Western Europe are facing a dilemma of changing social cleavages. The current social democratic voting base is made up of a progressive upper middle-class and a conservative middle-class. The issue of immigration divides these groups, the progressive upper middle-class supporting ideas of multiculturalism, while the conservative middle-class being more prone to an anti immigration stance. Therefore it is argued that the social democratic parties have remained a vague profile on immigration, in order not to alienate either social group. However this vague profile has backfired as the conservative middle-class is shifting their loyalty to the radical right parties. Consequently social democratic parties are now being accused of combating the loss of voters, by taking a stricter stance on immigration. This thesis will investigate this accusation in regards to the social democratic Norwegian Labour Party. The Norwegian Labour party has recently been accused of becoming more protectionist, emulating radical right policies in regards to immigration and integration. It will do so through an ideology analysis of the Labour Party, using the Labour Party’s political manifesto from 1986, 1997 and 2009 as the basis for the analysis. It will conclude that despite the accusations the Norwegian Labour Party still maintain a clear revisionist socialist policy on Immigration and Integration, and has not moved towards ideologically towards the radical right.

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**Introduction**

Immigration and integration have become important issues within political debate during the past couple of decades. Alongside the increased focus on immigration Western Europe has seen a wave of new radical right parties. These parties have created their political platform based on ethno-nationalism, promoting strict anti-immigration policies and promoting the nation-state as the most important political institution.[[1]](#footnote--1) These parties increased popularity can be seen in the most recent European Parliament election. During the 2014 European Parliament election radical right parties won in Denmark, the United Kingdom, and France over the traditional parties.[[2]](#footnote-0) With this sudden flux of popularity of the radical right a vast set of academic sources have been written on the topic, among them Mudde[[3]](#footnote-1) and Norris[[4]](#footnote-2). These books have tried to explain how and why radical right parties have become popular in the social democratic Western Europe.

However much less literature has been devoted to the left side’s reaction to the increased popularity of the radical right. Including the left’s own stance on immigration.[[5]](#footnote-3) As social democracies are built on socialist ideas of equality and solidarity should they not have a clear positive approach to immigration? What has been the response of the mainstream social democratic parties to the issues of immigration and integration? How have they dealt with the increasing threat of the radical right? Scholars such as Alonso and Claro da Fonseca argue that social democratic parties are currently facing a dilemma based on changes in political cleavages.[[6]](#footnote-4) In recent times the social democratic voting base has been combined of two main social groups, the progressive upper middle-class, and the conservative middle-class. In terms of socio-economic issues these two social groups have been in agreement supporting state intervention and redistribution of wealth through the welfare state. However the immigration issue seems to be dividing these social groups with the conservative middle-class being more likely to be against immigration, and the progressive upper middle class being more likely to support ideas of diversity and multiculturalism.[[7]](#footnote-5) Therefore it is argued that social democratic parties have remained vague on the issue of immigration in order to not alienate either of the social groups.[[8]](#footnote-6) However remaining vague on immigration have caused people belonging to the conservative middle-class to shift their support from social democratic parties to the radical right. In order to appease this social group social democratic parties have recently been accused of adapting stricter policies on immigration similar to that of the radical right.[[9]](#footnote-7)

One such example is the Norwegian Labour Party. It has been a symbol, as well a main supporter of the Norwegian social democratic state. Since its establishment in 1887, it has based its politics on socialist ideas of social equality and solidarity.[[10]](#footnote-8) However it has recently been accused adopting radical right values and views when it comes to issues of immigration and integration.[[11]](#footnote-9) If this is in fact reality it would mean an ideological shift for the Labour Party, from a base of socialist ideas to ideas of the radical right.

Based on this information, this thesis seeks to explore the issue of social democracy, represented by the Norwegian Labour Party, and the issues of immigration and integration. If the Norwegian Labour Party has become more right-winged in it stance on immigration one would expect to see an ideological shift in their political manifesto. Therefore this thesis will do an ideology analysis based on the Labour Party’s political manifesto from 1986, 1997 and 2009. It will analyse the manifestos content regarding the values and views presented on immigration and integration. The ideological framework used in the analysis will be based on the political ideologies of populist radical right, modern liberalism and revisionist socialism. It will analyse the stance of these ideologies in terms of labour immigration, refugees and asylum seekers, as well as both economic and cultural integration. The ideological framework will be applied in the analysis of the three Labour Party manifestos in order to see which ideological profile the manifestos seems to identity with.

Thus this thesis will attempt to answer the problem formulation: How has the Norwegian Labour Party’s ideological stance on immigration and integration developed from the manifesto’s of 1986, 1997 and 2009? Which ideology does it seem to follow, and has there been a shift towards radical right policies?

It will conclude that despite claims otherwise, the Norwegian Labour Party does still have a strong socialistic ideological stance regarding immigration. There has been no apparent sign or trend of an ideological shift towards the populist radical right within the three Labour Party manifestos representation of immigration and integration.

**Part Two**

**Method and Design**

**2.1 Epistemological and Ontological Considerations**

The thesis epistemological consideration and consequently view of what is acceptable knowledge will be interpretivism. The thesis will be analysing social matters such as politics, social conditions and ideology. Within these topics this thesis will claim no absolute truth, and thus one has to rely on ones own interpretations of the information presented.[[12]](#footnote-10) For example in the case of the manifestos, it will be up to the researcher to interpret the opinions expressed and evaluate to what extent these are connect to the ideological framework. Therefore this thesis will not claim any absolute truth but merely present one interpretation of the issue.

The ontological approach of the thesis will be constructivism. It will treat social phenomenon and their meanings as constantly changing.[[13]](#footnote-11) This thesis will be using ideologies. These are value based systems that can be interpreted differently according to ones own position and evaluation of them Therefore the ontological standpoint of the researcher will effect overall portrayal of the ideological framework. This will in turn affect the analysis, as it will be based on the framework itself. In addition the researchers view on issues of immigration and integration and how these are defined will also have an impact in the interpretation of the analysis. Therefore in order to make the analysis more coherent the main social concepts applied throughout this thesis will be clarified.

**2.2 Research design**

The research design of this thesis is a case study of the Norwegian Labour Party stance on integration and immigration. This will be done through an ideology analysis of the Labour Party’s political manifesto from 1986, 1997 and 2009.

The inspiration behind this study was based on the accusations both on a national and international level that Western social democracies have moved towards a more strict right-winged outlook on immigration and integration.[[14]](#footnote-12) It is indicated that this ideological move is based on reasons of competition from the radical right, changes in political cleavages, and public opinion.[[15]](#footnote-13) This thesis will be analysing this claim through a case study.

In order to test this claim this thesis has selected the case study of the Norwegian Labour Party, and the development of its stance on immigration and integration since the 1980s. The reasoning behind using the Norwegian Labour Party to test this claim is based on three reasons. First, scholars have often portrayed Scandinavia as home social democracy.[[16]](#footnote-14) The Norwegian Labour Party belongs to a group of parties that are referred to as social democratic parties. Therefore when analysing social democracy stance on immigration and integration it is a natural to take a look at the Norwegian Labour Party as it represents a branch of social democracy today.[[17]](#footnote-15) Second, The Norwegian Labour Party has been itself accused on several occasions of moving towards the right of the political spectrum in terms of immigration and integration policies, and thus fits the overall claim of the problem formulation.[[18]](#footnote-16) Third, Norway has experienced the growth of a radical right party, the Progress Party, which recently was elected into government for the first time in the 2013 national election.[[19]](#footnote-17) The claim has been that one of the reasons behind why social democracies move towards the right in terms of immigration and integration is due to the increasing presence of radical right parties.[[20]](#footnote-18)

*Validity of Case*

However, as with any case study the thesis will only be able to draw conclusions and findings based on the specific case of Norway. Therefore despite the similarities to other cases such as for example the Social Democrats in Sweden or Denmark, the findings of this case study can only be applied to the case of Norway, and should not be used to base claims about occurrences in other cases, without additional research. However as this case study has similarities to other cases it can stand as a sources of inspiration and indication of similar trends and occurrences elsewhere. Therefore the findings of this thesis will only claim validity in the case of Norway and not attempt to claim that the findings apply to all social democracies in Western Europe.

**2.3 Method**

The method that will be used in this thesis is a qualitative ideology analysis. It will be applied to the Labour Party’s manifestos in 1986, 1997, and 2009. The way the analysis will be conducted will be through interpretation of the ideological content of the Norwegian Labour Party’s political manifestos. The ideologies, which will be applied in the analysis, will be accounted for in the Theory section. Once defined the ideological framework will be applied to the three manifestos, were it will act as a basis for the qualitative analysis.

The way the ideology analysis will be applied is through a qualitative approach. It would also be possible to do a quantitative approach to the ideology analysis. This could be done comparing the manifestos in regards to how many times they mention words with a socialist connation, liberal connection and conservative connotation. Then make graphs and trend lines based on that. Although that would be a valid analysis in itself, in an ideology analysis it is more applicable to use a qualitative approach. If one for example imagine the word of equality, it is a word that is important when it comes both liberalism and socialism. However it is not until one does a more qualitative analysis of the text, looking at the word in context that one can deduct if the text refers to equality in the liberal sense or in the socialist sense. Therefore the qualitative approach will give more depth, and make it easier to draw conclusions regarding the ideological stance of the Labour Party based on the manifestos.

**2.4 Selection of Data**

The main sources of primary and secondary data used in this analysis can be divided into two. The primary sources being the Labour Party’s manifestos, and the secondary sources being journals and books on political ideologies.

*Political Manifestos*

The primary sources used in the analysis will be the political manifestos of the Norwegian Labour Party from 1986, 1997 and 2009. When analysing a party’s political ideology a natural place to start is their political manifesto. A political manifesto is not just a representation of the party’s main political ideas and values to the public, but also acts as a political guide for the party members themselves.[[21]](#footnote-19) Other areas to research in terms of ideological stance could be polices and laws implemented by the party. However as the Norwegian Labour Party has not experienced majority since the early 1990s this will be difficult.[[22]](#footnote-20) This based on the fact that it will be complex to deduct which polices are purely in connection with the Labour Party’s ideology, and which are based on comprises and ideological stances from cooperation parties. Therefore this thesis will be based purely on the political manifestos.

The decision of which manifestos to use was based on the historical context of immigration as a political issue in Norway. Immigration was a relatively small topic within Norwegian politics until the Progress Party brought it up in political debate in the 1980s.[[23]](#footnote-21) Therefore any manifesto before 1980s will likely have minor to no mention of immigration and would therefore not be useful in this analysis. Further the debate of immigration developed itself in the 1990s to become more a debate on cultural integration vs. just a debate on immigration.[[24]](#footnote-22) In 2000s immigration and integration has become one of the main topics of Norwegian political debate. The Labour Party is facing the continued pressure of the Progress Party who has become one of Norway’s biggest political parties. Therefore in order to see the development of the Labour Party stance on immigration it is natural to view their stance since immigration became an issue in the 1980s, and to their current stance in the 2000s. This will give an overview of how the ideological stance of the Labour Party was, and how it currently is, and if there has been a shift or change in between.

*Political Ideologies*

In order to create the ideological framework for the analysis it had to be decided which ideologies should be part of the framework. In this analysis three ideologies has been selected; populist radical right, modern liberalism and revisionist socialism. Representing respectively right, moderate and the left wing of the political spectrum. This analysis is testing the claim that social democracy and consequently the Norwegian Labour Party has become more right winged. Therefore it is appropriate to use classical left vs. right winged ideologies. This excludes the more contemporary ideologies of multiculturalism, ecologist and religious fundamentalism. Although these ideologies might be just as relevant in debating the immigration issue overall, they are limited in a classical left vs. right debate. This also leads to the question of whether or not immigration belongs in a left vs. right debate, or if there it belongs in a new type of division of politics. However as Norwegian politics is still dominated by the left vs. right debate, and because the accusations surrounding an ideological shift are based on a left vs. right debate the ideologies will follow this figuration.

*Populist Radical Right*

Populist radical right is important to include in this analysis for two main reasons. First, populist radical right is the ideology behind parties that have become some of the most vocal and controversial voices when it comes to anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism in the 21st century. Therefore it is natural to have it part of an analysis that deals with these concepts. Second, populist radical right is the ideological foundation for the Norwegian Progress Party. The Norwegian Progress party promotes strong anti-immigration policies, which is the exact same policies the Labour Party has been accused of moving towards and adopting.[[25]](#footnote-23) Therefore in order to see if this statement is in fact correct one has to include this ideology in order to compare it with the Labour Party’s stance on immigration.

*Modern Liberalism*

In addition to being accused of moving towards the populist right, many social democratic parties have been accused of remaining relatively neutral and vague about the issue of immigration. Modern liberal ideology acts as a moderate middle between populist radical right and revisionist socialism, overall representing a more neutral and vague voice on the issue. Also with many left-wing parties like the English Labour party and the American democrats adopting liberals principles through the idea of Anthony Giddens “Third Way,” it could be a possibility that the Norwegian Labour party has not become more right-winged in its immigration policies but become more liberal.[[26]](#footnote-24)

*Revisionist Socialism.*

When the Norwegian Labour Party was founded in 1887 it was based on the core ideas of socialism. Mobilization of the working-class, and concepts of social equality, solidarity and cooperation was the basis of its ideology.[[27]](#footnote-25) However as with most political parties the Labour Party has developed itself through the past 100 years. However it has remained its claim of a socialist ideological core of social equality and solidarity.[[28]](#footnote-26) Therefore this thesis will take use of revisionist socialism, which is a more current and revised version of classical socialism. The reason why this thesis chooses to use revisionist socialism as opposed to for example Anthony Giddens “Third Way” is due Norwegian Labour Parties never having claimed to adopt the third way, making revisionist socialism more applicable.

Thus the ideological framework will be based on these three ideologies. To create a full picture of each ideologies views and values in regards to immigration and integration, secondary sources will be used for research. In order to make the research process more systematic immigration and integration will be divided into four categories; Labour immigration, asylum seekers and refugees, economic integration and cultural integration. The reason why it has been divided into the four categories is to make the analysis more clear, but also to be able to put the ideologies values and views in systematic categories. Labour immigration, and refugees and asylum seekers, are both types of immigration however differ in nature. Labour immigration being based on a voluntary basis due to employment, while refugees and asylum seekers immigrate due to fear of persecution or other detrimental conditions.[[29]](#footnote-27) As the basis of the immigration is different so is likely the ideological point of view on them as one is connected more to economic theory, and the other to human rights theory. The same with cultural and economic integration. One is connected to values and belief in economics, and one is more connected to values connected to identity and the construction of society. Therefore it is natural to keep them separate in the analysis.

Thus the analysis will be based on the theoretical framework of ideologies. The ideologies will be explored in the theory section, where they will be categorised in a table based on their views on integration and immigration. This table will then be used as a means of comparing the views and values presented in the Labour Party’s political manifestos from 1986,1997 and 2009. Consequently concluding which ideological group the manifestos seems to identify with, and if there has been an ideological shift between the three manifestos.

**Validity of Data**

As with all types of data there are areas of consideration in regards to validity. First, although manifestos work well to get an insight into a political party’s value system, it might be too subjective. Many political parties use their manifestos as a basis of their politics but often when making legislations and policies make decisions that do not always correlate to the values represented in the manifesto. Based on this even if the manifestos does not indicate that the Labour Party has move towards the populist radical right, their actual policies might have become more right-winged. This as a result of them having strayed away from their manifestos when making policy decisions. Therefore in order to make a more complete picture of the labour parties stance on immigration and integration additional research on policy decisions could be supplemented, on a later stage.

As ideologies are contested concepts especially in modern political times, a clear and objective description of individual ideologies is difficult to make. The theoretical framework will be based on interpretations of ideologies by individual writers. The way these writers have interpreted social conditions can affect the overall outlook of the finale political ideology, potentially making it biased. In order to combat this, various set of sources will be examined for each ideology, to create a reflected and less subjective outlook of the political ideologies.

In dividing the topic of immigration into four categorises it will ultimately mean that certain of the opinions expressed in the manifestos will not fit into either of the categories. Therefore one could argue that the Labour Party’s profile on immigration and integration will be somewhat incomplete. Though in covering key areas such as labour immigration, refugees and asylum seekers and economic and cultural integration police, it is hoped that they will cover enough of the Labour Party’s views on immigration to create a clear ideological profile.

One last point should be made clear, which is that this thesis is not looking to either promote a specific political ideology in terms of immigration and integration, nor is attempting to assess the successes or failures of the different ideological stances on immigration and integration. It is just exploring if the ideological basis for the Norwegian Labour party on immigration and integration has changed between the manifestos of 1986, 1997 and 2009.

**2.5 Conceptual Framework**

In order to create a framework of the ideas and concepts this thesis is based on, the next section will define the key concepts used throughout this thesis.

*Political Manifesto*

A political manifesto, is a public source in which a political party presents their policies, views and aims for the upcoming political period.[[30]](#footnote-28)

*Ideology*

There are multiple definitions of what is an ideology. This thesis will use the definition of Denzau and North as cited in “Political Ideology:Its Structure, functions and Elective Affinities.” Here they state: “ideologies are the shared framework of mental models that groups of individuals possess that provide both an interpretation of the environment and a prescription as how that environment should be structured.”[[31]](#footnote-29)

*Globalisation*

Jeffrey Haynes in three main areas; “…the rapid integration of the worlds economy, innovations and growth in international electronic communications, and, increasing politically and cultural awareness of the global interdependence of humanity.”[[32]](#footnote-30)

*Multiculturalism*

Multiculturalism is a much used term though one that has several definition. In this thesis multiculturalism will be defined in the words of Friedrich Heckmann: “Multiculturalism refers to ethnic identities as a major basis for political and state organization, for the distribution of rights and resources; it means the reinforcing of ethnic pluralism, ethnic autonomy, and speaks out against acculturation or assimilation, against one state language.”[[33]](#footnote-31)

*Assimilation*

Assimilation related to integration will be defined based on the writings of Castle and Miller: “immigrants are to be incorporated into society through a one-sided process of adaptation. They are to give up their distinctive linguistic cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority of the population.“[[34]](#footnote-32)

*Culture*

Culture is a vague and all engulfing concept. However in order to try and contextualize it, the definition used in this thesis will be the one presented by Minnesota Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition. It states: “culture is defined as the shared patterns of behaviors and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization. These shared patterns identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group.”[[35]](#footnote-33)

*Immigrant*

In this thesis immigrant will refer to people born outside of the country they now live in, by two parents who also have a different nationality than the current country of residence. In this thesis immigrant or immigrant will refer to: asylum seekers, those seeking asylum based on political ground. Refugees, those who have gained status as refugees through the UN High Commission. Labour Immigrants, those who immigrate based on employment.[[36]](#footnote-34)

*Social Democracy*

Social democracy can be defined in many aspects either as a political ideology, a political system or a type of political party. In this thesis it will be defined as a political family promoting a political system that advocates tamed capitalism, in that it acknowledge the efficiency of the marked but believe it needs to be socially and politically constrained. They also promote the values of solidarity and equality, the belief that the state should intervene in order to maintain lower levels of either social or economic inequality.[[37]](#footnote-35)

**Part Three**

**THEORY**

As described in the method chapter this thesis is based on an ideology analysis of the Norwegian Labour Party’s view on immigration and integration. Consequently this next chapter will account for the following ideologies used in the analysis; revisionist socialism, modern liberalism and the populist radical right. It will outline in short how these ideologies position themselves in general. However the main emphasis will be on how these ideologies position themselves in the four categories outlined in the method section; Labour immigration, refugees and asylum seekers, cultural and economic integration policies. The last sections of this chapter will include a summary table comparing the different ideological views and their positions. This table will be applied in the analysis.

**3.1 Populist Radical Right**

Populist radical right is part of the third wave of post-war mobilisation of the far right. It belongs to the era of establishment of new right winged parties throughout Western Europe in the 1970s and 1980s.[[38]](#footnote-36) Therefore it stands as a relatively new strand of ideological thought, however with roots in both conservatism and liberalism.[[39]](#footnote-37) Parties that follow this third wave of far right have been labelled everything from radical right, extreme right as well as being linked to neo-fascism. In this thesis the ideology of new right that will be applied is populist radical right (PRR) as outlined by Andrej Zaslove[[40]](#footnote-38). It stands different from neo-fascism, as it does not have roots in pre-war fascist ideology. First, it does not oppose parliamentary elections or the liberal democratic state. Second, it does not believe in a strong authoritarian government, but adopts more anti-bureaucratic and anti big government sentiments.[[41]](#footnote-39) It does also not belong to extreme right, as PRR operates within the political system and is not unconstitutional.[[42]](#footnote-40) It can in many ways be viewed as a marriage between neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism.[[43]](#footnote-41)

The populist radical right ideology is complex and sometimes seems to contradict itself. To explain the ideology it will be broken down to three; the radical aspect of anti-bureaucracy, the populist aspect of the “new class war”, and the conservative aspect of opposition to multiculturalism.

The radical aspect of PRR is probably were the ideology seems most contradictory. On one hand it is strongly against big bureaucracy and promotes neo-liberal market forces. However it simultaneously promotes state protectionist policies, in terms of welfare and culture. It especially promotes strict immigration to protect what it views as the “authentic civil society”.[[44]](#footnote-42) In these short sentences the ideology seems to contradict itself by promoting neo-liberal market forces, but simultaneously protest in many ways what neo-liberal market forces produces. Consequently big multinational companies, and more free flows of labour immigration. However the PRR defends this because it views ideas and policies within a nation-state and not internationally.[[45]](#footnote-43) As a result it promotes neo-liberal friendly economics within the nation-state itself, but not on an international scale. Therefore it can promote neo-liberalism and anti-bureaucracy policies within a nation state, and at the same time claim the states need for protection from international market forces, and institutions such as the European Union.[[46]](#footnote-44)

In terms of populism the ideology can also seem contradictory. This as populism has normally been linked to the left side of the political spectrum. Mobilizing the proletariat against the bourgeois.[[47]](#footnote-45) Though the PRR has used populism for a different cause. It has moved away from the old class war of economics and has moved toward a new political cleveage. Based on the ideas of Pippa Norris it is the “war” between those who thrive and believe in the process of globalization and multiculturalism, and those who feel neglected and oppose these trends[[48]](#footnote-46). Therefore the populist core of the PRR is the idea of the fight between the “silent majority”, and the bureaucratic “cultural elite.” The “cultural elite” being those in power that promotes international postmodern values, such as green politics and multiculturalism. Consequently being a war of culture and values instead of economics.[[49]](#footnote-47) It taps into the mass of blue-collar workers as well as small to middle class business owners who are feeling neglected by these new trends. Thus the PRR is the reaction against the “corrupt cultural élites” who is destroying the “authentic civil society” and overlooks the needs of the “common man”.[[50]](#footnote-48)

Tied in with the new type of culture/values war comes what PRR is probably most known for its anti-immigration stance, and opposition to multiculturalism. From a cultural point of view the PRR basis its anti-immigration stance on the ideas of traditional conservatism. It believes that society is strongest when there exists a monoculture, based on similar traditions, religion, history and ethnicity.[[51]](#footnote-49) It is envisions that multiculturalism will create instability, and consequently increased crime, unemployment and social unrest. This comes from the belief that humans naturally are drawn to familiarity and secure situations. It is only in a society were monoculture exist that people will know both their role in society as well as their responsibilities.[[52]](#footnote-50) Consequently viewing crime and unrest in a multicultural society as a result of peoples loss of identity and sense of belonging, instead of caused by social inequalities.[[53]](#footnote-51) Though where fascists and neo-fascist often promoted one culture to be superior of another, the PRR does not. It does however opt for “cultural rationalism.” It states that no culture is superior to one another however each culture has the right to protect itself.[[54]](#footnote-52) Therefore when protecting for example Norwegian culture from the influence of Islam, PRR claims it is not due to Islam being inferior to Christianity. Instead its argued that Norway has the right to protect the Christian aspect of the Norwegian culture, just as for example Turkey has the right to protect the aspect of Islam in their culture.[[55]](#footnote-53) On that basis the PRR rejects claims of racism and xenophobia.

From an economic point of view the PRR believe in equality as equality of opportunity and not material equality. Based on this the PRR does not support subsides and favourable treatment of immigrants in the integration process. As stated by the pervious Progress Party leader Carl I. Hagen, he believed that they were the only Norwegian party promoting equality. He based this on the idea that they were the only party that did not give special treatment to any ethnicity, religion or culture.[[56]](#footnote-54) Translated into policy terms, it concludes that if you immigrate to Norway you have to adapt to its rules, culture, and economic situation without expecting any special treatment or subsidies by the state.[[57]](#footnote-55)

Based on information presented above one can create a picture of how populist radical right views the four categories of immigration and integration:

*Labour Immigration:*

* Promoting restrictive and limited flows of labour immigrants, on the basis that any immigration including those who migrate due to work is a threat to the “authentic civil society.”
* More likely to accept labour immigrants from countries similar to their own, in this case western Europe, as their culture is similar and thus stands as less of a threat.

*Refugees and Asylum Seekers:*

* Promote temporary asylum, the ultimate goal being that the refugees can return once conditions in their home country have improved.
* Stricter requirements to be granted asylum and citizenship.
* Reduction in the amount of refugees and immigrants received by the state.

*Economic Integration.*

* Limited to no subsidies or special economic arrangements to aid immigrant transition into the new country.

*Cultural Integration:*

* Focus on assimilation policies.
* Limited to no recognition of minorities in society, no promotion of diversity or multiculturalism.

**3.2 Modern Liberalism**

Modern Liberalism came as a response of the growing poverty and social inequality that had occurred in the beginning of the 20th century. It acknowledged that unrestrained pursuit for self-interest would not necessarily create liberty and prosperity for allas presumed by classical liberals.[[58]](#footnote-56) Modern liberals main beliefs are, universal human rights, individuality, positive freedom and welfare state/economic management. Universal human rights is the core of liberalism overall and is the idea that we are all equal in the sense that we are all individual, and therefore we all should have the same universal rights. Individuality is being able to gain autonomy and self-realization.[[59]](#footnote-57) Positive freedom is opposed to the classical liberals negative freedom not just the removal of restrictions and barriers on the individual, but the freedom to develop ones individual skills and knowledge. By accepting positive freedom modern liberals realized that freedom included not just removing legal constraints, but also by creating more social equality. Though this is not to be confused with socialism desire for economic and social equality for the collective. For liberals the idea of a more equal society is that it promotes freedom of choice for the individual. Therefore modern liberals supported the idea of the welfare state and some economic management on the basis that it would create more positive freedom and liberty for the individual.[[60]](#footnote-58)

When it comes to issues of immigration and integration there is no clear modern liberal stance. As a result the following paragraphs will present some of the debates regarding liberalism and immigration, and present the views that will be applied in the analysis.

Immigration is a complex topic for liberalism. It has become the issue between the Universal Human Rights, and the rights and sovereignty of each nation-state.[[61]](#footnote-59) If one adhered to the universal human rights then technically no state should be able to be refuse refugees and asylum seekers residency. This based on Article 14 of The UNs Universal Declaration of Human Rights; “Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.”[[62]](#footnote-60) However as each state is sovereign they can have laws and requirements that do not always correlate with the Universal Human Rights, based on both practical and political reasons. As a response to this dilemma the approach that will be used in the analysis is the one presented by Andy Lamey in is essay a “Liberal Theory of Asylum.”[[63]](#footnote-61) Here the main point of view is that refugees have the right not return back from where they fled. This in practical terms means that if someone fled from Syria to Norway, they have the right to not be returned to Syria on a later occasion.[[64]](#footnote-62) The idea is to create more international cooperation among countries. Consequently trying to provide asylum for all the worlds refugees, by providing them asylum to the countries that have the capacity to absorb them. Thus having countries decide upon different quotas. It emulates what is already being tested out by the UNHCR.[[65]](#footnote-63) By such an arrangement one adheres to Article 14 of the human rights declaration, as well as allowing sovereign states practice their autonomy by having a say in debates on how big of a quota they can receive etc.

In terms of labour immigrants liberals are generally positive, as it allows people to grow and develop themselves across boarders. It also promotes liberal market economics in terms of competition and efficiency.[[66]](#footnote-64)

When it comes to integration and multiculturalism liberalism again faces controversy.

In his essay “Liberalism and Multiculturalism: the Politics of Indifference” Chandran Kukathas argues that religion and culture is something that is up to each individual to decide.[[67]](#footnote-65) Therefore it should be a matter completely excluded from the state responsibilities altogether. In this line of thought the state should only provided the same universal rights for each citizen, including the freedom to choose for example ones religion.[[68]](#footnote-66) As a result the state would be neutral to people’s religious choice, as well as which culture people identify with. It differs greatly from the populist radical right belief of the need for a monoculture society. However if completely neutral it does also imply that the state even though it does not oppose immigration and multiculturalism it does not promote it.

There are two important critiques to Kukathas claims of neutrality. First, if the state remains completely neutral it allows the individual to make a choice which culture or religion she or he identifies with. However it does not imply that each culture or religion has an equal platform within the nation.[[69]](#footnote-67) Using Norway and religion as an example. Norway is a country that still is predominately influence by Christianity. According to the CIA fact book 82% of the Norwegian population belong to Evangelic Lutheran faith.[[70]](#footnote-68) Consequently although people have the freedom to choose another religion, the nation will be built up around Christian traditions and beliefs. Thus if you are for example Jewish or Muslim you might find there is less room for you to practice your faith, and even feel excluded from the majority of society. As a result there will be social inequality based on which religion you identify with.[[71]](#footnote-69) This could hinder your development, and consequently your freedom to develop yourself as an individual. In terms of modern liberals view, it could threaten someone’s positive freedom.

Second, as much as one could promote the state being neutral Kymlicak points out that it is in fact practically impossible.[[72]](#footnote-70) In order to work as a well functioning state certain aspects needs to be agreed upon, such as language and work holidays. These are things that will likely reflect whichever culture the majority of the population have.[[73]](#footnote-71) Again using the case of Norway, the language in which state affairs will be dealt in will be Norwegian, and the holidays will follow a Christian calendar. Consequently the state is not neutral. The issue is then if there is unequal opportunity for those who belong to the culture that is represented by the state, and those who do not. Lack of acknowledging this fact and recognising minorities in society can lead to discrimination and racism, and increased social inequalities.[[74]](#footnote-72) Again one could argue the lack of state involvement on issues of immigration and multiculturalism can negatively affect the positive freedom of certain individuals.

With this in mind, this thesis will view modern liberalism somewhere in-between revisionist socialist and PRR. One could sum it up in one sentence that reads; it is not the states responsibility to make sure any culture or religion survives, however it is the states task role to make sure no individual gets discriminated against based on his or her culture or religion. Instead the focusing on promoting multiculturalism, the state would focus on preventing discrimination and racism based on individuals culture, race or religion.[[75]](#footnote-73) To explain the distinction in practical terms, one could use the example of a Muslim in Norway. The modern liberals believe in his or hers right to choose to be Muslim and practice Islam. It also believes in the right of this person to be evaluated for a job based on their skills and talents, and not based on their religion. However it would not for example promote policies to make sure there are enough representation of Muslims in political positions.

Therefore modern liberals point of view on immigration and integration reads:

*Labour Immigration*

* Positive to labour immigration, as it allows for individual development and compliments market economics.

*Refugees and Asylum Seekers:*

* Promotes Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of human rights, thus believes in the responsibility to accommodate asylum seekers and refugees as agreed on internationally.

*Economic Integration*

* Believe in minor state subsidies and arrangements for immigrants, to allow more social equality and thus positive freedom.

*Cultural Integration*

* Believe in the individual’s freedom to identify and practice any religion and culture he or she wants.
* Accommodate laws to prevent discrimination and racism, however try and remain neutral in promoting a specific culture or religion.

**3.3 Revisionist Socialism**

Representing the left of the political spectrum of this analysis is revisionist socialism. Socialism as an ideology came as a reaction against the unfair distribution of wealth caused by capitalism. The goal was to create a more human alternative, allowing the state and not marked forces to be in charge of the economy.[[76]](#footnote-74) Although the idea of a planned economy has been let go in western politics since the fall of the Soviet Union certain socialist ideas have remained in current political debate. The strain of socialist thought that will be applied in this thesis will be based on the concepts of Anthony Crosland’s revisionist socialism.[[77]](#footnote-75) Key areas for revisionist socialist are mixed economy, the welfare state, equality and social justice. However in order to create a fuller picture of the debates of socialist ideas and immigration today it will also incorporate current debates put forward by Taylor[[78]](#footnote-76) and Fraser.[[79]](#footnote-77)

As opposed to liberals, socialists believe in the collective over the individual. It believes that people are defined not by nature but by nurture, and can only identify themselves by the social condition and groups they belong to.[[80]](#footnote-78) Further they believe in cooperation and the common good. Human beings are inherently good and thus will work just as much on the basis of moral incentives as material incentive. As a result humans will work in order to benefit not just themselves but society overall.[[81]](#footnote-79) Therefore socialists support the ideas behind the welfare state and the belief that the state should support people from cradle to the grave. Thus people are willing to giving up some of their material gain i.e. money as taxes in order to provide services and aid to society overall, supporting distribution of wealth above that of free market.[[82]](#footnote-80) Although revisionist socialists as opposed to Marxists have come to agree that some version of the free market can be beneficial, as long as it is regulated.[[83]](#footnote-81)

In talking about immigration and integration from a revisionist socialist point of view, two concepts are particularly important equality and justice.

When socialism first came about it was in order to create justice, economic and social equality for the bourgeois. This intense class battle has in Western Europe today taken a backseat with the creation of the welfare state. However with new issues of immigration and integration equality has again become a hot topic of debate. Social equality has always been at the core of socialist thought. However as opposed to liberals and the PRR, equality in the minds of socialist is not just equal opportunity but to some extent equality of outcome. It was also believed that crime and unrest was caused by social inequality.[[84]](#footnote-82) Therefore as presented by Fraser and Taylor the issue for many socialists today regarding equality is not just the question of redistribution, but about recognition and representation. Fraser points out that in this day and age inequality and injustice does not only apply to the distribution of wealth but to lack of recognition and representation. [[85]](#footnote-83) This involves a range of issues from recognition of ethnic minorities to unfair representation of gender roles. Lack of recognition and representation is now being presented as a cause of social inequality and injustice in addition to lack of economic distribution.[[86]](#footnote-84)

So how does this in turn reflect on socialist thought on integration? First in terms of economics, socialist would promote economic support for immigrants in the integration process, based on the belief of social equality. For many immigrants it can be economically challenging to integrate to a new country, therefore in order to avoid an economic underclass of immigrants, revisionist socialist would provide economic aid and programmes in order to make the integration process more humane and easier.[[87]](#footnote-85) Consequently promoting the idea those immigrants should be able to integrate and function at an equal level with the native population in the nation-state. The fear is that is lack of economic support will make many immigrants feel excluded and socially removed from society, leading to increased crime and unrest.[[88]](#footnote-86)

When it comes to cultural integration the ideas of Taylor and Fraser becomes important. If lack of recognition and representation within a nation-state creates social inequality, then revisionist socialists should in support cultural integration policies that would promote representation and recognition. This stands very different from PRR monoculture approach, and the liberals neutrality. In order to create a society of more representation and recognition, one has to move away from the liberal “difference blind” approach and instead acknowledge that people are different and identify with different cultures and groups.[[89]](#footnote-87) Only when identifying that humans are different can one create policies promoting equality. As a result socialists advocates diversity and the promotion of different cultures, ethnicity and religious groups that does not belong to the dominant groups of society. It believes it is the states role to make sure every group of society gets acknowledged and respected.[[90]](#footnote-88) In order to create equality socialists believe in has to promote policies including quotas of minority’s and representation in different aspects of society. Educating people in schools about different cultures and religions. Promoting laws against racism and discrimination. Of course that is not to say that socialist do not support some pragmatic assimilation policies such as language lessons However overall the state would promote policies within cultural integration that promotes diversity and multiculturalism, again in order to avoid exclusion of certain social groups in society leading to increased violence and crime. Or worse a new class society based on ethnicity[[91]](#footnote-89)

When it comes to asylum seekers and refugees one would expect socialist to take a similar approach to the modern liberals. Socialists have always believed in cooperation and solidarity. Therefore following Article 14 of the Declaration of Human Rights socialists believe in international cooperation to help out those in need. It is the responsibility of those better off to help out those who need it.[[92]](#footnote-90) This follows the revisionist core of social equality and justice. Based on this revisionist socialist are willing to take in refuges and asylum seekers often promoting international cooperation like the UNCHR, believe in making the asylum process easier and more human.[[93]](#footnote-91) Promote immigration through family reunification, as peoples identity is connected to their surroundings and community, it is more likely that people will succeed and be positive contribution to society with their families following article 16 of the Declaration of Human Rights.[[94]](#footnote-92)

In terms of labour immigration revisionist socialist are positive, although strongly against any form of social dumping. In order for labour immigration to be successful there has to be regulation. Strict laws including, equal pay for equal job, make it illegal to for business to use cheap illegal labour from the black market, make sure all workers pay taxes to the Norwegian state. This in order to prevent both that migrant workers will be taken advantage of, as well as protecting the rights and fair competition between immigrant workers and the native population.[[95]](#footnote-93)

Therefore to conclude the revisionist socialists ideology view on immigration and integration policies:

*Labour Immigration*

* Generally positive to labour immigration, though promote strict regulation and laws to prevent social dumping.

*Refugees and Asylum Seekers*

* Believe it is the responsibility of developed nations to help those in need.
* Promote international cooperation in solving the issue of asylum seekers and refugees.
* Wants to make the process of asylum and citizenship more humane and more manageable.

*Economic Integration.*

* Promotes subsidies and special economic arrangements to make it easier for immigrants to integrate to society, and to prevent them to feel excluded from the rest of the population.

*Cultural Integration*

* Believe that injustice can be caused by lack of representation and recognition, thus endorse policies of promoting diversity, representation and multiculturalism.

**3.4 Summary of Ideologies**

In order to apply the different ideological standpoints in the analysis a summary of the main views are presented in table 1.1 on the following page. It sums up the views by the different ideologies in terms of the four categories of labour immigration, asylum seekers and refugees, economic integration and cultural integration. This table will be used as a template in which the Norwegian Labour Party’s manifesto from 1986, 1997 and 2009 will be compared to in order to see:

* To what extent the views of the Norwegian Labour Party correlates with one or more of the three ideologies
* If there is a ideological difference between the three manifestos
* If there is an overall shift of ideology over the course of the three manifestos.
* If there is an ideological shift, is it towards populist radical right as they have. been accused of.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Labour Immigration** | **Refugees and Asylum Seekers** | **Economic Integration** | **Cultural**  **Integration** |
| **Populist Radical Right** | Promoting restrictive and limited flows of labour immigrants, on the basis that any immigration including those who migrate due to work is a threat to the “authentic civil society.”  More likely to accept labour immigrants from countries similar to their own, in this case western Europe, as their culture is similar and thus stands as less of a threat. | Promote temporary asylum, the ultimate goal being that the refugees can return once conditions in their home country have improved.  Stricter requirements to be granted asylum and citizenship.  Reduction in the amount of refugees and immigrants received by the state. | Limited to no subsidies or special economic arrangements to aid immigrant transition into the new country. | Limited to no recognition of minorities in society, no promotion of diversity or multiculturalism.  Promote assimilation policies. |
| **Modern Liberalism** | Positive to labour immigration, as it allows for individual development and compliments marked economics. | Promotes Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of human rights, thus believes in the responsibility to accommodate asylum seekers and refugees as agreed on internationally. | Believe in some state subsidies and arrangements for immigrants, to allow more social equality and thus positive freedom. | Believe in the individual’s freedom to identify and practice any religion and culture he or she wants.  Accommodate laws to prevent discrimination and racism, however try and remain neutral in promoting a specific culture or religion. |
| **Revisionist Socialism** | Generally positive to labour immigration, though promote strict regulation and laws to prevent social dumping. | Believe it is the responsibility of developed nation to help those in need.  Promote international cooperation in solving the issue of asylum seekers and refugees.  Wants to make the process of asylum and citizenship more humane and more manageable. | Promotes subsidies and special economic arrangements to make it easier for immigrants to integrate to society, and to prevent them to feel excluded from the rest of the population. | Believe that injustice can be caused by lack of representation and recognition, thus promote policies of promoting diversity, representation and multiculturalism. |

**TABLE 1.1**

**Chapter Four**

**Analysis**

The following analysis will examine the ideological framework behind the Labour Party’s political manifesto regarding immigration and integration. It will demonstrate that despite some protectionist views regarding labour immigration in the 1986 manifesto, the Labour Party does not seem to have adopted any populist radical right values. Instead the Labour Party seems to promote a mixture of revisionist socialist and modern liberalist views and values throughout the three manifestos.

**4.1 Analysis of the Labour Party’s 1986-89 Manifesto**

The Norwegian Labour Party’s 1986 manifesto was released following the Labour Party reclaiming power in 1986. This happened as a result of the Labour Party in cooperation with the Socialistic Left Party and the Progress Party gave the sitting government a vote of confidence, ensuing the government’s resignation.[[96]](#footnote-94) The manifesto is called ”New Growth for Norway.”[[97]](#footnote-95) The first noticeable thing with this manifesto is the minimal amount of space devoted to dealing with the issues of immigration and integration. Only one page of the entire manifesto has been set to deal with to topic of immigration (see appendix one for the section in its entirety). More specifically section 4.13 “Immigrants and Refugees Rights.”[[98]](#footnote-96) The following paragraphs will demonstrate that besides the issue of Labour Immigration the Labour’s 1986 manifesto shows a clear revisionist socialist stance.

**4.1.1 Labour Immigration**

In the 1986 manifesto the Labour Party expresses a rather protectionist view on labour immigration. The topic is only mentioned two places under section 4.13. First they express a very protectionist view, following the ideological views of the populist radical right by stating:

*”The immigration stop was introduced in 1975 to secure good living conditions for the population groups that had already established themselves in the country. This has not yet happened sufficiently. Therefore, it will still be necessary to regulate immigration, while efforts to improve immigrant living conditions should be strengthened.”[[99]](#footnote-97)*

Here the Labour Party express their continued support for the 1975 immigration stop. In 1974 a minority government lead by Labour leader Tryge Bratteli put forward a law designed to temporary stop labour immigration. It was accepted by a unanimous parliament and came into action the 1st of February 1975.[[100]](#footnote-98) The reason behind this was as the Bratteli government argued, that the current flow of labour immigrants was creating too much trouble and instability. Therefore Norway had to stop labour immigration until conditions had improved for the people who had already immigrated.[[101]](#footnote-99) In the 1986 manifesto 11 years since the law was put into action the Labour Party is still promoting the law. In the manifesto it states that the immigration stop has to continue until the conditions for immigrants already living in Norway has improved. This view does not correlate to the liberal view of labour immigration being a positive contribution, nor does it seem to fit the revisionist socialist view of labour immigration. Overall it seems to demonstrate a populist radical right stance of protection. This stop was only supposed to be a temporary solution but is still in the 1986 manifesto being promoted 11 years later. One also has to point out that at the time when the law was established, Norway had not experienced any increased flows of labour immigration. Nor did the government at the time mention exactly what were the issues in regards to the labour immigrants.[[102]](#footnote-100) Therefore it seems to overall be protectionist policies whose continued support is something likely to find in a manifesto following a populist radical right basis. One could argue following the thoughts of Alonso and Claro da Fonseca that the Labour Party’s scepticism towards labour immigration is due to it being perceived negatively by the conservative middle-class that make up a big part of the Labour Party’s voting base.[[103]](#footnote-101) Despite the reasoning behind it, it is a clear protectionist policy and therefore emulates the ideological standpoint of the populist radical right.

However what is interesting is that labour immigration is mentioned a second time in the manifesto then with a different view:

*”Reconsider the immigration stop again, and possibly replace it with a fairer immigration regulation.”[[104]](#footnote-102)*

This statement seems very contradictory with what they already stated earlier, being the continued necessity for the immigration stop. Overall this is a very vague statement. It does not explain why they want to reconsider the immigration stop, or what they believe to be a more just regulation. However the fact that they are putting forward the idea to reconsider the immigration stop indicates a move away from a clear protectionist populist radical right stance. In an ideal world viewed from the aspect of populist radical right, immigration of any manner should be limited a regulated. Therefore a suggestion to reconsider a law that is already providing them with just that protection would not correlate with a populist radical right view.

Consequently the manifesto’s stance regarding labour immigration is divided. It first takes a protectionist stance clearly connecting them to the populist radical right ideology. However in the next paragraph the Labour Party acknowledges that it might be time to reconsider the law and thus takes a step away from a pure populist radical right ideological approach. It implies that the overall ideological stance on labour immigration is somewhere between populist radical right and modern liberalism. However as long as the support for the immigration stop remains their stance will always be leaning more towards populist radical right.

**4.1.2 Refugees and Asylum Seekers**

The Labour Party’s stance on refugees and asylum seekers is mentioned scarcely in the 1986 manifesto. However in the few instances where it is mentioned it demonstrates both a modern liberalist and revisionist socialist ideological base. First, the Labour Party talks about the Norwegian “fremmedlov”:

*“Revise the existing “fremmedlov,” in order to remove arrangements that might have a discriminatory effect.”[[105]](#footnote-103)*

The “fremmedlov” had already been revised just a few years earlier in 1983. The revision had introduced more focus on human rights, aiming to view all asylum cases on an individual basis, and to keep international obligations above that of national law.[[106]](#footnote-104) The Labour Party wanted yet another revision of the guidelines of the law in 1986. The revision would focus more on the on the rights for asylum seekers in regards to legal support and individual hearings regarding their cases for asylum.[[107]](#footnote-105) The focus on equal and fair representation of asylum seekers goes hand in hand with the revisionist socialist view on social equality. Though one could also make the argument that promoting international law to go above that of national law in regards to refugees and asylum seekers can also be an ideology stance connected to the modern liberals, and the ideas of universal human rights.

Further the Labour Party states:

*“Reduce the residence requirement for Norwegian citizenship from seven to five years.”[[108]](#footnote-106)*

This desire for a decrease the residence requirements indicates the Norwegian Labour Party’s aspiration to make the citizenship proces easier and more manageable, fitting in line with the ideological views of the revisionist socialists, being positive to receive and embrace new citizens of Norway.

Therefore their stance on asylum seekers indicates steps to making the asylum and the citizenship process easier, and in accordance with international human rights law. This view shows both an ideological coherence with the revisionist socialism in terms of social equality, as well as with the modern liberal stance promoting universal human rights as superior to that of national laws.

**4.1.3 Economic Integration**

Most of the Labours Party’s 1986 manifesto regarding immigration and integration deals with economic issues of the integration process. The views portrayed regarding the economic integration process shows a clear revisionist socialist ideological base. First the Labour Part presents their views about current living conditions of Norwegian immigrants stating that:

*“To ensure greater social equality, additional efforts and special schemes for immigrants and refugees needs to be put in place. Many immigrants live today under the housing that is not worthy of our country. Overcrowding, poor sanitation and questionable leases are part of many people's reality. Therefore, better financing for immigrants needs to be given high priority.”[[109]](#footnote-107)*

Here the Labour Party makes it clear that everyone regardless if they are born in Norway or not should have the same rights. In order to make sure everyone receive those rights special arrangements have to be made in order to help immigrants become equal members of the Norwegian society. The Labour Party follows this strain of thought with suggesting different arrangements that should be implemented:

*“Promote financial aid to help immigrants get loans in order to be able to buy acceptable/decent accommodation. Making sure immigrants with small children have access to day-care. Increased aid for Norwegian lessons to immigrants. Offer special courses and arrangements to make it easier for immigrants to enter the Norwegian labour marked.”[[110]](#footnote-108)*

Overall this shows a Labour Party willing to promote special economic arrangement to make the integration process easier for immigrants. Ideologically this goes hand in hand with the social revisionist idea of social equality. In order to make sure more social equality exist one has to accept that people are different with different needs. Based on this it consequently means that in order to then create equality there has to be put in place different policies for different groups. Therefore also when it comes to economic integration the Norwegian Labour demonstrates a clear revisionist socialist.

**4.1.4 Cultural Integration**

The manifesto does not include a large debate on culture and integration. However there are a few points that touch on the subject. These points demonstrate as with economic integration that the Labour Party follows a revisionist socialist ideological view of integration. First the Labour Party expresses their views about racism:

*"The emergence of new minorities in Norway has, like other Western countries, fostered racism and discrimination. There must be increased efforts in all fields of society to combat these trends.[[111]](#footnote-109)"*

This desire to fight racism and discrimination fits ideologically both with modern liberalism and revisionist socialism. Both ideologies promote measures to make sure discrimination and racism is combated. Therefore it is impossible to make a clear distinction between exactly which of the two it emulates more.

However the next point put forward by the Labour Party regarding cultural integration indicates a closer connection to revisionist socialist than modern liberalism. Here the Labour Party puts forward three policy points they believe should be implemented:

*“Strengthen offer of classes in native languages in kindergartens and schools. Strengthen immigrant woman's position. Help make immigrant and refugee cultures better known. ”[[112]](#footnote-110)*

By these three points the Labour Party demonstrates that it promotes diversity in society. This stands different from populist radical right idea of monoculture, and promotes a more active role of the state than the more neutral views of modern liberals. First, it advocates that immigrants should maintain aspects of their individual culture by promoting they maintain their language. Second, it encourages a strengthening of the immigrant women’s position. Immigrant women are becoming one of the most marginalised groups of Norwegian society.[[113]](#footnote-111) Thus recognition of them and promoting their role is an important step in order to create more social equality. This goes along with the revisionist socialist idea of creating social equality through recognition of people who are underrepresented in society. Third, the idea of promoting immigrant culture, further demonstrated the Labour Party’s ambition of creating a multicultural society that appreciate diversity. Again demonstrating a revisionist socialist view.

As a result the 1986 program with the exception of the stance on Labour immigration reflects a predominately revisionist socialist ideology, though with aspects of liberal ideas of universal human rights. The manifesto does not elaborate much on issues regarding immigration overall however when it does it has a clear focus on economic aid, making the citizenship and asylum process easier, and promoting aspects of cultural diversity. These are all topics that are in line with the socialist revisionist thought of social equality and diversity, as demonstrated in table 1.1. Consequently the Labour Party’s 1986 manifesto view on immigration and integration reflects revisionist socialist ideology.

**4.2 Analysis of the Labour Party’s 1997-2001 Manifesto**

The 1997 manifesto was released 10th of November 1997 after the Labour Party had lost a vote of confidence, and consequently resigned government power 15th September 1997.[[114]](#footnote-112) As opposed to the 1986 program the 1997 program has a more extensive scope of the Labours Party’s views on immigration (see appendix two for the sections in their entirety). This reflects both globalization and subsequently immigration becoming a more prominent issue in the 1990s than it was in the 1980s. In addition the growth of the radical right Progress Party pushed the issue of immigration on the political agenda, forcing other parties to make a clear stance.[[115]](#footnote-113) The following paragraphs will demonstrate that despite the increasing presence of the Progress Party, the Labour Party’s stance on immigration still remains compatible with revisionist socialism.

**4.2.1 Labour Immigration**

Despite more emphasise on immigration and integration in the 1997 political manifesto, does not include a section on labour immigration. There is no clear indication why, however there are two reasons this might have occurred. First, the immigration stop was still being implemented, 22 years after its establishment. This might have made labour immigration take a backseat in the political debate. Second, Norway had just gone through a EU referendum in 1994, in which issues of labour immigration had been debated heavily. As the referendum ended with a no, it could be argued that no party wanted to continue the debate on labour immigration due to fear of negative backlash.[[116]](#footnote-114)Regardless of the reasons behind it there is no statement on labour immigration in the 1997 manifesto.

**4.2.2 Refugees and Asylum Seekers.**

In the 1997 manifesto the topic of refugees and asylum seekers has been assigned its own section. This is section six of the program named “Solidarity with the Worlds Refugees.[[117]](#footnote-115) Within this section there are two subsections that demonstrates the Labour Party’s views on refugees and asylum seekers. It clearly illustrates that the Labour Party ultimately continues to portray their views mostly within the revisionist socialist ideological framework.

The subsection 6.2 named “Protection In Norway” accounts for the Labour Party’s stance on refugee protection. The section starts with explaining what role the Labour Party believes Norway should play in regards to refugees:

*”Our refugee policy in Norway should be based on the UN refugee convention. In line with that, all asylum seekers arriving in Norway and in need protection from persecution, should get receive it. They should be guaranteed equal and fair treatment, whether they come as refugee of the UN High Commissioner or on an individual basis. No one by UNHCR's assessment that may be subject to persecution in their home country should be sent back. Norway should be prepared to take responsibility for receiving an increased number of resettlement from the recommendations of an international burden-sharing by the UN High Commissioner[[118]](#footnote-116).”*

During this paragraph there are two key points that can illustrates the Labour Party’s stance. One is that the Labour Party supports the international regulations and cooperation’s made through the UN refugee convention, stating that everyone that needs protection from persecution should be granted asylum. Second, they state that Norway should be willing to accept to increase their refugee quota if needed. This clearly excludes a populist radical right stance. First, the radical right would put the nation-state in front of the views of the intentional community. Second, it would be negative to any increase of immigration. However to define it as a clear modern liberal stance or revisionist socialist is difficult. Both ideologies would be positive to international cooperation based on human rights. However the reason behind this support is based on to different aspects. Modern liberals would support it based on the idea that all humans are equal in the sense that all humans are individuals. Therefore all humans should be granted the same universal rights, such as the universal human rights. For revisionist socialists however the support for this international cooperation is based on social equality as well as universal human rights. Countries with means such as Norway have a responsibility to help those less fortunate. Though as the reasoning behind the support is not explained here one could conclude that the ideological standpoint of the Labour party is both modern liberal and revisionist socialist.

However further down in the section 6.2 the Labour Party states:

*”People that are exposed to abuse that would have qualified for refugee status if the authorities were behind, but is not granted such status because of a tight interpretation of the UN Refugee Convention. Labour therefore wants a European Refugee Convention that would provide refugee status to those fleeing from such gross and systematic violation of human rights.”[[119]](#footnote-117)*

The Labour Party states that a European regional convention should be created to supplement the UN refugee convention. They believe that the UN refugee convention is too strict when it comes to people who are being prosecuted by other forces besides the government. This section does imply that overall the Labour Party’s stance of refugee policy is more revisionist socialist than modern liberalism. The core of the argument behind the creating of a European convention is social equality. This idea is that through the European convention the Labour Party’s hopes to make all persecution be viewed on an equal basis, not just prosecution from the government. Instead of promoting this through on an international basis as more fitting for the modern liberal the Labour Party hopes to pursue this on a regional basis. The Labour Party makes an extra effort above that which is expected based on the deceleration of human rights. The idea behind the European block is that many European countries have the capabilities to take in more refugees than countries in the rest of the world and therefore should make an extra effort in addition to that set of the UN commission. The idea that countries that are more well off should take a bigger responsibility than the rest of the world, goes along the revisionist socialist idea of social equality and the common good. Those better off should make sacrifices for the common good of all. Therefore this section although it is also in support of modern liberalism it ultimately would identify mostly with revisionist socialist ideas of social equality.

The next section 6.4 called ”Receiving and Settling,” elaborates the Labour Party’s stance on the process of being granted asylum, and regulations regarding how local communities should accommodate people who have been granted asylum.

First in regards to the asylum seeking process the Labour Party states:

”*Those seeking asylum in Norway, must have their applications processed rapidly, so they do not have to live long in suspense and keeps the residence time in state reception is too long. "We will create an appeal board in asylum cases, which can ensure asylum seekers good legal protection and equal treatment and prevent the appeal is too slow”[[120]](#footnote-118)*

The Labour Party makes it clear that all asylum cases should be treated with respect and equality. The process should be efficient and quick in order to conflict less pain on the applicants. This again demonstrates a socialist revisionist point of view. With focus on making the process more manageable it will be easier for people who need it, to be granted asylum quickly and live under decent human conditions. This goes according to socialist revisionist view of giving aid to those in need.

The next section deals with local responsibility where the labour party states:

*“All municipalities should be prepared to receive refugees, so that we can take a joint domestic liable for the world's refugee problem.”[[121]](#footnote-119)*

Again the Labour Party seems to identify with the ideas of revisionist socialism. Here it promotes the common efforts of all of Norway’s municipalities of a shared responsibility of refugees. It promotes the idea that as a multiplicity of Norway regardless of how small or how large, has a responsibility to take on their share of helping out those in need.

Thus overall the Labour Party seems to promote a positive view of receiving refugees and asylum seekers. It states the responsibly for Norway as well as all countries who are in a favourable position to take on the responsibility to take in those in need. It even promotes solidarity and cooperation on a national level encouraging cooperation among municipalities, to share the number of refugees. Thus the idea of social equality and justice as argued by socialist revisionists.

**Integration**

In terms of integration the 1997 manifesto has dedicated the whole of section 7 in the manifesto to debate their views on the integration process. The first chapter defines their overall profile that states:

*“Labour believes that everyone, regardless of ethnicity, should have equal opportunities in all areas of society. Many minorities have knowledge and experience that is not used well enough in Norway. Resulting in increased unemployment and low levels of higher education. The result is that ethnicity is becoming an independent criterion for social status. Measures to ensure the use and development of knowledge the individual possesses, it is essential to create greater social and economic equality.”[[122]](#footnote-120)*

This is a clear revisionist socialist way of looking at the integration process. It deals with the fear that ethnicity is becoming a sources of social status. The worry expressed correlates to the socialist idea of the fear that lack of recognition and representation is ultimately creating a social underclass of immigrants within the Norwegian society. The extra measures in terms of economic and cultural arrangements for immigrants need to be put into place in order to create more social and economic equality. However the next paragraphs regarding economic and cultural integration demonstrates that the Labour Party has also adopted some modern liberal values regarding the cultural integration process.

**4.2.3 Economic integration**

In terms of economic integration the Labour Party promotes again a clear revisionist socialist point of view. Within the categories, of education, labour, housing and welfare policies they promote government spending and special arrangements for immigrants. High focus on using immigrants previous knowledge and qualification, free education and Norwegian lessons, better loans for housing and cheaper day-care prices is some of the polices that are being promoted.[[123]](#footnote-121) This all goes in line with the idea that minority groups need additional help in order to integrate into the Norwegian society, in a respectful way. The ultimate aim being to make the Norwegian society more socially equal between native Norwegians and immigrants.

**4.2.4 Cultural Integration.**

In terms of cultural integration the Labour Party focuses on two main areas, the role of immigrant women, and the creation of a multicultural society

First in regards to women the Norwegian Labour Party promotes making immigrant women more involved in society they point out:

*“We want women from minority groups to be seen and given a greater opportunity to participate in democratic processes. Today existing conditions is not well enough suited to address this. We therefore believe that there should be established a council for women immigrants. This can be an important contribution to increased dialogue, more knowledge and better integration.”[[124]](#footnote-122)*

This clearly represents the arguments of Nancy Fraser that people who are unrepresented in society needs to be recognised and represented. The focus on improving conditions for immigrant women and giving them a platform in society, again shows the Labour Party’s focus revisionist socialist policy. The hope being that increasing focus on immigrant women will create a more social equality within the Norwegian society. However you can also make the modern liberalist point that as immigrant women are currently so isolated in the Norwegian society it does effect their possibility for individual development. Therefore policies need to be put in place to secure immigrants women’s positive freedom. Thus the Labour Party’s stance can be viewed both as a revisionist socialist policy and a modern liberal policy.

Last is the Labour Party’s view on a multicultural society. It is interesting as they start the section in a relatively revisionist socialist way with pointing out the positive sides of multiculturalism.[[125]](#footnote-123) However then they make a very modern liberal stand:

*“We live in a multicultural society. This requires mutual tolerance and respect. But openness and tolerance is not the same as value neutrality. Basic values ​​such as equality, rule of law, freedom of opinion and expression , the opportunity for political participation , gender equality and children's rights is strong throughout the Norwegian society.”[[126]](#footnote-124)*

This shows that regardless of recognition and special arrangements for immigrants the Labour Party values above all universal rights which in their eyes is equality, rule of law, freedom of opinion and expression, the opportunity for political participation, gender equality and children's rights, This goes hand in hand with the modern liberal view of all individuals sharing certain basic rights regardless of culture, ethnicity and religion. This is not to say these values are not supported by revisionist socialist and populist radical right, but ultimately it is a core idea promoted making up modern liberal ideology.

Thus to conclude the 1997 manifesto of the Labour Party does not show any traces of an ideological shift towards the radical right. Instead it reflects an ideological framework between modern liberalism and revisionist socialism.

**4.3 Analysis of the Labour Party’s 2009-2013 Manifesto**

The final manifesto that will be part of this analysis is the Labour Party’s 2009-2013 manifesto “Create and Share”[[127]](#footnote-125) (see appendix 3 for the immigration section in its entirety). The manifesto was released by the Stoltenberg government, before the 2009 national election. The Stoltenberg government consisted of a collation of the Centre Party, the Labour Party and the Socialistic Left Party, and was in power from 2005-2013. This was the first time in history these three parties had cooperated.[[128]](#footnote-126) The following paragraphs will demonstrate that despite claims of the Labour Party becoming more populist radical right in their policies on immigration, the 2009 political manifesto show few signs of a clear ideological shift. In fact the only shift that seems to have been made between the 1986 and the 2009 manifesto is that the Labour Party has become more liberal and less protectionist in terms of labour immigration, actually demonstrating a shift to the centre-left.

**4.3.1 Labour Immigration.**

In the 2009 manifesto as opposed to the 1997 manifesto the Norwegian Labour Party again express their views on labour immigration. This time as opposed to the 1986 program the Labour Party expresses a more positive view on labour immigration, moving away from the protectionist stance connected with the populist radical right. This more positive view is presented under section 7.12:

*“Labour is in favour of the new labour immigration arriving as a result of the EU enlargement. Labour immigrants in Norway should receive the same pay and working conditions as Norwegian workers, and shall be informed of their rights.”[[129]](#footnote-127)*

This demonstrates that the Labour Party have moved away from the 1975 immigration stop and towards more positive views on labour immigration. This change can both be argue to be a more modern liberal ideological approach as well as revisionist socialist. The liberal argument is that Labour supports the ideas of free flows of labour as it promotes the free market. Consequently this shift can be connected with Anthony Giddens “third way”. From the 1990s several social democratic parties were becoming more liberal in their ideological core, such as Tony Blair’s “New Labour.”[[130]](#footnote-128) This shift in the Labour Party’s stance can be an indication of the Norwegian Labour Party starting to adopt Anthony Giddens “Third way.” However to truly make a nuanced argument, one could state that the sentence promoting same pay and conditions for immigrant workers is technically more connected towards the revisionist socialist ideological framework. This based on the fact that it promotes solidarity of all workers within Norway through applying the same work conditions regardless of where the workers come from. This consequently prohibits truly free competition of the labour market, were for example workers from coming from outside of Norway would likely be willing to take less pay and therefore be more cost efficient for the Norwegian companies. The Labour Party’s demand for equal pay, thus consequently correlate with a stance against any form of social dumping. As a result one could therefore argue that the overall view of the Labour Party does slightly favour revisionist socialism over modern liberalism. Either way it demonstrates that in terms of labour immigration the Norwegian Labour Party has moved away from the protectionist stance of the 1975 immigration stop, and become more positive towards labour immigration. Consequently suggesting a shift from a populist radical right perspective towards modern liberalism and revisionist socialism.

**4.3.2 Refugees and Asylum seekers**

Under section 7.12 “Refugees and Immigration,” the Labour Party elaborates in great detail their stance on refugees and asylum seekers. They present two slightly different views. On one hand they follow the revisionist socialist thought of solidarity and responsibility:

*“Labour will both participate and take international responsibility to combat the reasons why people are fleeing, and help protect refugees from further humiliation and distress. Refugees are not without rights, and Labour will therefore work to promote refugee rights. Norway has a moral responsibility for people in need.”[[131]](#footnote-129)*

This echoes their previous revisionist socialist stance as represented both in the 1986 and the 1997 manifestos. It is responsibilities of the countries with means and capabilities to take care of the ones in need. However following this statement the Labour Party seems to promote a slightly more restrictive view on immigration:

*“At the same time, Norway cannot accommodate everyone who wants to come here. International cooperation, burden sharing and assistance to countries in conflict are therefore important. Controlled immigration is essential to the success of integration policies. Labour want to have regulated and controlled immigration, accounting for a humane, equitable and consistent refugee and asylum policy.”[[132]](#footnote-130)*

The main difference here is the rhetoric’s. The paragraphs use restrictive connotations such as “controlled” and “regulated” indicating a more restrictive policy than before. It is sentences like this that can be used to claim that the Labour Party’s has moved towards a more populist radical right stance. Ideas of regulated and controlled immigration is something that compliments populist radical right political ideology. However despite the use of more restrictive rhetoric’s, this paragraph alone is not sufficient evidence that their stance has become more populist radical right. If one views the suggested presented of what should actually be done in regards to refugees and asylum seekers, one can deduct that despite the use of more negative rhetoric’s the actual policy promotions still aligns with the revisionist socialism. Among the policy suggestions that confirms the Labour Party’s continued alignment with revisionist socialism are:

* *“Support the UN High Commissioner for Refugees work to safeguard and promote the rights of refugees.*
* *Contribute to a larger international effort for internally displaced refugees.*
* *Increase the number of quota refugees to at least 1,500 years.”[[133]](#footnote-131)*

These policy suggestions demonstrate the continued support of the Labour Party to take in their share of immigrants and refugees. Even increasing the current quota. This shows that despite their rhetoric’s and connotations regarding immigration seems to have become more restrictive their actually policy suggestions are not. Therefore they still belong to a revisionist socialist ideological framework.

**4.3.3 Economic Integration.**

In regards to economic integration, the manifesto does not specify a particular stance or policy. One possibility can be that it is due to the fact that the Labour Party at this point was content with the current economic arrangements for immigrants in Norway. However it is also important to note that between the 1997 and 2009 manifestos two main things happened in regards to the Norwegian immigration debate. First, the populist radical right Progress Party grew increasingly popular, becoming a contender to both the Labour Party and the Conservative Party.[[134]](#footnote-132) With the Progress Party success the focus on immigration was shifted from economics to a debate on culture.[[135]](#footnote-133) Therefore it is not surprising that in the 2009 manifesto the Labour Party has chosen to remain their focus on cultural integration policies.

**4.3.4 Cultural Integration**

In the 2009 the Labour Party again demonstrates a clear revisionist socialist view on integration and culture. They present their view in section 3.5 of called “Inclusive Norway.”[[136]](#footnote-134) Throughout this section the Labour Party states their support for diversity and multiculturalism, however there are two instances were it clearly shows that their ideological approach emulates that of revisionist socialism. First they debate the majority vs. minority debate:

*“Although everyone from their regardless of their social position is responsible for inclusion, those who are in the majority have the main responsibility. They are the ones who have the greatest power and opportunity both to discriminate and to combat discrimination.”[[137]](#footnote-135)*

The first section makes a point about the majority having the main responsibility in combating racism. This follows the debate put forward by Fraser[[138]](#footnote-136) and Taylor[[139]](#footnote-137) that belonging to an ethnic or cultural minority in a society can make individuals feel excluded and consequently make them feel not socially equal to the majority of the population. Therefore it is the state and the majority of the population that has to make sure this does not happen. This can be done by the creation of special arrangements to make sure minorities are both being represented as well as recognised in society. It is the realization that as we different, and thus different policies needs to be implemented in order to create social equality. In the same section the Labour Party further backs up this way of thinking by suggesting that both the private and the public sector should promote a hiring method that promotes inclusiveness.[[140]](#footnote-138) Promoting the idea that the public sector should always interview in a minimum one person of minority background, if qualified, when looking to hire.[[141]](#footnote-139) This case when the ideologies stance on equality matters. Populist radical right and to a lesser extent modern liberalism would believe such policies would interfere with equality of opportunity. Populist radical right might even go as far as claim that such a policy is actually discriminating towards native Norwegians.[[142]](#footnote-140) This only confirms that the Labour Party’s stance is ideologically in accordance with revisionist socialism. In the belief that in order to have equality of opportunity, some special measures need to be taken to promote the social equality of minority groups first. It is only once there is some level of social equality, that there is truly equality of opportunities, in the views of revisionist socialists.

The next section on cultural integration further demonstrates the Labour Party’s revisionist socialist stand in mentioning the fear of a class-based society of ethnicity:

*“Labour will oppose a class-divided society based on ethnicity, and pursue policies that ensure immigrants and descendants of these have the same opportunities as others.”*

Again based on the arguments of Fraser in this globalized world one has to promote recognition and representation to create a more socially equal society.[[143]](#footnote-141) The issue is no longer just about redistribution of money but recognition of minorities. Lack of acknowledging minorities rights and special requirements creates a danger of a class-based society based on race and ethnicity instead of economics. One can see examples all over Europe were countries seems to be divided into classes of ethnicity, such as Turkish communities in Germany.[[144]](#footnote-142) Therefore in the views of revisionist socialist the Labour Party opts to solve this by promoting social equality, through special arrangements for immigrants.

Therefore one can see that in terms of culture integration the 2009 Labour Manifesto is still in line with revisionist socialist ideas. They still view society within the ideological framework of diversity, social equality, cooperation and focus on minority rights and recognition.

To sum up the Labour Party’s 2009 political manifest, with the exception of more restrictive connotations hen talking about immigration and integration, does not promote a more populist radical right ideology. In fact it promotes even less of a populist radical right stance with becoming more positive towards labour immigration.

**Part Five**

**Conclusion**

This thesis objective was to analysis the development of the ideological foundation of the Norwegian Labour Party’s views and values regarding immigration and integration. By analysing the Labour Party’s manifesto from 1987, 1997 and 2009 three main findings can be presented.

First despite claims that the Labour Party has become stricter in their views on immigration and integration, there was found very limited indication of this within the Labour Party’s Manifestos. The manifestos all had a relatively coherent revisionist socialist stance with aspects of modern liberalism regarding immigration and integration. There were only two indications of populist radical right views. The first on was the Labour Party’s stance on labour immigration in the 1986 manifesto, were they promoted the immigration stop. However this was a view they removed by the 2009 manifesto. Which actually indicates a move towards liberalism and revisionist socialism not a move towards the populist radical right. The second indication of populist radical right stance was in the 2009 manifesto regarding asylum seekers and refugees, were the Labour Party used a more restrictive rhetoric in regards to immigration, by using words like regulated and controlled. Though the rest of the manifesto still showed a clear socialist revisionist or modern liberal stance. However this can be an indication that the Labour Party are starting to think more restrictive on immigration, taking a note from the populist radical right. Nevertheless as nothing in the rest of the manifesto and none of the policy suggestion actually indicated a more restrictive policy that is too weak of an assumption to make. Consequently based on the ideological stance found in the manifestos there has not been an ideological shift towards the populist radical right in regards to immigration and integration.

Second, though the Labour Party did not indicate a move towards populist radical right, the manifestos illustrated that they shared views with modern liberalism. This especially in regards to values and views represented in regards to asylum seekers and refugees. This can be an indication that the Labour Party has not become more populist radical right but has adopted more modern liberal values and views. This can be compared to the English Labour Party which was rebranded under Tony Blair’s “New Labour”, adopting an ideology based of a mixture of socialism and liberalism. Thus the traces of modern liberal ideology could be an indication that the Norwegian Labour Party is about to follow the ways of Tony Blair’s “New Labour.”

The ideological framework of the Labour Party did not change drastically throughout the manifestos. However the presentation and adaptation of the immigration issue did. The manifestos clearly shows how the immigration issue has developed itself to become a crucial political issue within Norwegian politics. The 1986 manifesto only included one page regarding immigration and included little information on cultural integration. Forwarding to the 1997 manifesto, it is clearly been shaped according to the immigration debate. It has more written on just integration policies than the 1986 manifesto has on all four categories of immigration combined. The 2009 manifesto continues to portray a much more detailed view on the immigration and integration debate. It has put even more focus on cultural integration. This could be an indication that the cultural class war between multiculturalists and protections will be one of the main political debates of the 21st century as socio-economics was in the 20th century.

Therefore to conclude, the Norwegian Labour Party still maintain an ideological core of revisionist socialist values of solidarity, cooperation, justice and social equality. Ideas it has promoted since its establishment in 1887. Despite claims from scholars such as Alonso and Claro da Fonseca[[145]](#footnote-143) about social democratic parties either being vague or moving towards populist radical right polices, this has not been the case so far for the Norwegian Labour Party. It has seen no ideological shift toward the populist radical right, and it has had a clear socialist profile on immigration promoting diversity and multiculturalism. However for the future it will be interesting to see if Alonso and Claro da Fonseca prediction will in fact eventually come true. The Labour Party has for the first time in the 2013 national election lost to the Progress Party, and this might lead to increased pressure to become stricter on immigration and integration.

*Further Research*

For further research there are several areas that would be interesting to elaborate on. First, a look into the Labours Party’s implemented polices and laws regarding integration and immigration. They might show a different ideological pattern, of more populist radical right policies. Second, additional research to examine if in fact the Norwegian Labour party is moving in the direction of “New Labour”, by doing a more extensive ideology analysis including economic policy as well. Third, a comparative study of other social democratic parties to see if the case of the Norwegian Labour Party is an exception, or if in fact most social democratic parties have remained positive towards immigration despite the threat of the populist radical right.

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**Appendix 1**

**English Version of the Labour Party’s 1986 Political Manifesto:**

**The Labour Party Political Manifesto 1986 -89, ”New Growth for Norway.”**

**Section 4 – Freedom in the Community**

**4.13 – Immigrants and Refugees Rights**

Intensified efforts need to be put forward to ensure increased rights and better living conditions for immigrant and refugees in Norway. The main goal must be that everyone should have the same rights and responsibilities in society. To ensure greater equality, additional efforts are required and special schemes for immigrants and refugees. Many immigrants today live in conditions that are not worthy of our country. Overcrowding, poor sanitation and questionable leases are part of many people's reality. Therefore, better housing finance for immigrants needs to be given high priority.

The immigration stop was introduced in 1975 to secure good living conditions for the population groups that had already established themselves in the country. This has not yet happened sufficiently. Therefore, it will still be necessary to regulate immigration, while efforts to improve immigrant living conditions should be strengthened.

The emergence of new minorities in Norway has, like other Western countries, fostered racism and discrimination. There must be put forward efforts in all fields of society to combat these trends.

The Labour Party Wants to:

* Revise the existing ”fremmedlov” to remove arrangements that might have a discriminatory effect
* Reconsider the immigration stop, and possibly replace it with a fairer immigration regulation.
* Decreases the residence requirement for Norwegian citizenship from seven to five years.
* Give young people from developing countries greater access and opportunities than today to qualify for a Norwegian education.
* Provide immigrants the right to have their kids in kindergarten the first time period in Norway.
* Strengthen offer of classes in native languages in kindergartens and schools. Increased government funding teachers of native languages and teaching support is needed.
* Strengthen the Norwegian education for immigrants and refugees.
* Increase grants for interpretation services.
* Provide employment agency funds to promote introductory courses and other special arrangements for immigrants and refugees.
* Increase help for house financing so that more immigrants can obtain decent housing.
* Strengthen immigrant woman's position.
* Coordinate various measures for immigrants and refugees, both centrally and locally.
* Combating racism in all parts of society, especially in schools, at the workplaces, in the local communities and in the administration.
* Make immigrants and refugees culture better known.

**Original Version of the Labour Party’s Political Manifesto 1986:**

**Arbeiderpartiet Valgprogram 1986 – 89, ”Ny Vekst for Norge”**

**Seksjon 4 - Frihet i fellesskapet**

**4.13 - Innvandrernes og Flyktingenes Rettigheter.**

Arbeidet med å sikre innvandrerne og flyktingene økte rettigheter og bedre levevilkår i Norge må intensivisere. Hovedprinisippet må være at alle skal ha de samme rettigheter og plikter i samfunnet. For å sikre større likhet er det nødvendig med ekstra innsats og særskilte ordninger for innvandrere og flyktinger. Mange innvandrere lever i dag under boligforhold som ikke er vårt land verdig. Trangboddhet, dårlig sanitær forhold og tvilsomme leiekontrakter er en del av manges virkelighet. Derfor må bedre boligfinansiering for innvandrere gis høy prioritet.

Innvandringsstoppen ble innført i 1975 for å trygge gode levevilkår for de befolkningsgruppene som hadde kommet til landet. Dette har ikke skjedd i tilstrekkelig grad. Derfor vil det fortsatt være nødvendig med en regulert innvandring, samtidig som innsatsen for innvandrerne styrkes.

Framveksten av nye minoritetsgrupper i har i Norge, som andre vestlige land, gitt grobunn for rasisme og diskriminering. Det må gjøres en kraftinnsats på alle felter i samfunnet for å bekjempe disse tendensene.

Arbeiderpartiet vil:

* Revidere eksisterende fremmedlov og forskrifter for å fjerne ordninger som virker diskriminerende.
* Vurderer innvandringstoppen på ny og eventuelt erstatte den med en mer rettferdig innvandringsregulering.
* Sette ned botidskravet for norsk statsborgerskap fra sju til fem år.
* Gi ungdom fra utviklingsland større adgang og muligheter enn i dag til og kvalifisere seg til en norsk utdanning.
* Gi innvandrerbarn rett til barnehageplass den første tiden i Norge.
* Styrke morsmålundervisningen i barnehager og skoler. Økt statlig større til morsmålslærere og støtteundervisning er nødvendig
* Styrke norsk undervisningen for innvandere og flyktninger.
* Øke tilskuddene til tolketjenesten.
* Gi arbeidsmarkedsetaten midler til flere introduksjonskurs og andre særlige arbeidsmakedstiltak for innvandere og flyktninger.
* Øke rammen for etableringslån slik at flere innvandrere kan skaffes tilfredsstillende bolig.
* Styrke innvandrerkvinnes stilling.
* Samordne ulike tiltak fir innvandrere og flyktninger både sentralt og lokalt.
* Bekjempe rasisme i alle deler av samfunnet, spesielt i skolen , på arbeidsplasser , i nærmiljøet og i administrasjonen.
* Gjøre innvandrernes og flyktningenes kultur bedre kjent.

**Appendix 2**

**English Version of the Norwegian Labour Party’s 1997 Manifesto**

**The Labour Party Political Manifesto 1997-2001 ”Samråderett”**

**Section 6 – Solidarity with the Worlds Refugees.**

Labour will work locally and globally to provide protection to those who have had to flee their homes. Refugees coming to Norway should receive help and protection in accordance with the Refugee Convention and international treaties. Rich countries must provide the UN High Commissioner greater resources and better means to achieve a joint effort of the world's refugees. Help and preventive measures that reaches the largest possible amount of people in the areas close, to be stepped up.

**6.2 – Protection in Norway**

Our refugee policy in Norway should adherence to the UN refugee convention. In line with that, all asylum seekers arriving in Norway and that needs protection from persecution, should get it. They should be guaranteed equal and fair treatment, whether they come as resettlement of the UN High Commissioner or on an individual basis. No one by UNHCR 's assessment may be subject to persecution in their home country should be sent back. Norway should be prepared to take responsibility for receiving an increased number of resettlement based on recommendations of an international burden-sharing by the UN High Commissioner . When armed conflicts and extensive violence causes a mass fled in an area, those who come to Norway should be allowed to get collective protection, which should be decided in consultation with the High Commissioner on an individual basis. Based on this we will review practices and experiences in refugee policy in recent years. The purpose of such review is to see if there are grounds for a more liberal practice. Norway should also in UN bodies go in for a review of the Refugee Convention, so that it may be better suited to creating a uniform practice, burden sharing and clear humanitarian obligation to provide protection in all countries. The convention must be improved internationally, as more countries join it. To develop the European responsibility for the world's refugees Norway will also work for the establishment of a European Refugee Convention, which involves a greater degree of obligation and burden sharing. Many are fleeing terror and abuse that is not committed by the authorities, and that these authorities cannot or will stop. People exposed to abuse that would have qualified for refugee status if the authorities were behind it, but that does not get granted such a status because of a tight interpretation of the UN Refugee Convention. Labour wants a European Refugee Convention that can give refugee status to those fleeing from such gross and systematic violations of human rights. In Norway these refugees should be granted asylum status rather than get accepted on humanitarian grounds as of today.

**6.4 - Reception and Settling**

Those seeking asylum in Norway, must have their application processed quickly, so they do not have to live long in suspense and to decrease the residence time in state reception. We will create an appeal board in asylum cases, which can ensure asylum seekers good legal protection and equal treatment and prevent that the appeal is too slow. When decisions on asylum or humanitarian residence permit is issued, it is important to quickly prepare settlements with appropriate training and job actions. All municipalities should be prepared to receive refugees, so that we can take a joint domestic liability for the world's refugee problem. It is important to convey lessons learned from communities where integration has been successful. A concentration of settlement in the big cities must be countered because it makes it harder to establish a good deal for the individual refugee. Both the state reception and after settling the measures for refugees increasingly planned a return perspective. It involves facilitating that brought expertise can be maintained, and that new knowledge and skills that can be used in the home country, is introduced. This is not opposed to the teaching of Norwegian language and social studies, which makes it possible for refugees to get used and renewed their expertise during their stay in Norway. Children living in receipt shall normally attend school in the community in line with their right and duty to primary education. Health services at the reception and settlement must be adapted to the problems that people may struggle with having lived through a refugee situation.

**Section 7 - Integration of Minorities**

The Labour Party believes that everyone, regardless of ethnicity, should have equal opportunities in all areas of society.

Many minorities have knowledge and experience that is not used well enough in Norway. This is expressed through increased unemployment and lack of higher education. The result is that ethnicity is becoming an independent criterion for social status. Measures to ensure the use and development of knowledge the individual possesses, it is essential to create greater social and economic equality. Refugees and others who are granted residence in Norway, must quickly after arrival be followed up with individual qualification plans that can secure a place in work and community life. Neighbourhoods that have many inhabitants with minority backgrounds needs to be followed up with local community - and growth initiatives. Integration requires a mutual tolerance, openness and respect strengthened between minorities and the majority in Norway.

**7.1 Qualifications for Work**

Training and follow-up with the aim of work is essential to ensure integration. We want to refugees and others granted residence in the country shortly after arriving to have their qualifications reviewed and translated to Norwegian standards. Then prepare an individual plan for each immigrant for further education and qualification. To intensify and ensure the integration process, the Labour Party wants to make Norwegian mandatory for all refugees and immigrants. Language instruction should be tailored to the individual and aim to reach a predetermined measurable level. Education and training, both quantitatively and qualitatively should be constructed in accordance with this objective. There should be issued certificates of completed training. Individual plans for qualification shall also be prepared for those who have already been in the country for a while, but lacking an overview of skills and provision of education and work. Those who cannot read and write should be offered training. Those who have not completed primary school will be offered this in “voksen opplæring.” Effective use of experience and knowledge that the individual already posses requires that arrangements for recognition of foreign education is improved. The responsibility for monitoring the individual with the preparation and implementation of plans should be within each municipality. This requires close cooperation between the various government agencies. Responsibility for the initiative, coordination and implementation should be placed in one place. The State shall provide municipalities economic opportunities for implementation. It should be linked one form of grants or payments to the individual's completion of qualification plans.

**7.2 – A place in the workforce.**

Job seekers with a minority background faces more problems in the labour market than others. Those who have the greatest difficulty finding work, should be followed up. One possibility might be to develop an offer of special training and internships in the workplace. Targeted information campaigns towards employers and employees can also contribute positively. The organizations dealing with issues of working life have a particular responsibility for providing information and initiate communication, and they will get support for such measures. Knowledge and experience about minorities should be valued for employment both in kindergartens, schools, health and social services, employment agency and the police. Also postgraduate courses in these areas, including continuing education, must take this into account. Government agencies and businesses have on their sites a special responsibility to recruit qualified refugees and immigrants in the workplace.

**7.3 Housing and the Local Community**

Especially in Oslo there is a tendency for a concentration of ethnic minorities residing in certain neighbourhoods. The positive aspects of such concentration are the emergence of strong community that takes care of traditions and uniqueness. The downside is that it prevents regular contact between minorities and the majority population - making integration difficult. We believe it is a goal to establish neighbourhoods with a diversity of people represented. The starting point must however be freedom of establishment and the free right to housing choice for all. Through instruments such as urban renewal, environmental and favourable mortgage we will work to establish good communities that are attractive to all. We will upgrade the areas north of Oslo with government support. These measures must include both the environment, housing, culture and nursery conditions. It should be introduced state subsidies for the development of practical cooperation arrangements between local minority communities, established local organizations and local government agencies. Housing co-operatives and other organizations can play an important role in this context. The goal should be to strengthen local communities and prevent conflicts.

**7.4 Upbringing**

Children of foreign language parents need interaction with the Norwegian language, even in preschool. Focus on the development of kindergartens, resulting in a reasonable price people can pay is an important means to achieve integration. It should also be developed offers of part-time places and open nursery where parents can be involved. Children who have parents from a linguistic minority, should be getting tested their knowledge of Norwegian before they start school. We want when necessary, to offer Norwegian language training in preparation for schooling. There will still be some who are not able to follow the education, if only taught in Norwegian in all subjects. Bilingual education should therefore be provided at all levels in higher education. The purpose of bilingual teaching and training in the mother tongue must be to put students in a better position to cope with Norwegian and take full advantage of the teaching of other subjects. The aim is that students should have good knowledge of Norwegian after leaving school, and those they had benefited from education in general. This requires a level of personalized instruction and regular evaluation of students. Education and training of bilingual teachers and nursery assistants must be improved to meet the need. We will increase government subsidies to cover additional costs associated with kindergartens and primary schools in areas with large concentrations of minority children. The municipal subsidies should be maintained at the same level as they are today.

**7.5 Women**

Women with a background in certain minorities may be in a particularly difficult position. Some live almost in isolation without adequate knowledge of the Norwegian language and society. Such a situation is not consistent with our goals of equality, and it creates problems for the children. Women in this situation should be monitored systematically with Norwegian education and knowledge of the health and social conditions. Health centres can play a key role in this work. We want them to be better able to provide more and better information tailored to the needs of the individual, and to provide guidance on health and social issues, and on Norwegian society. We will particularly emphasize how important it is that women be given the right and opportunity to Norwegian education and qualification for employment. They should have access to extended child care in this regard. This so they are given more freedom, opportunity to participate in and become familiar with Norwegian society, and increased ability to follow the kids growing up. Improving the situation of women will have a direct impact on the children's plight. We want women from minority groups to be seen and given a greater opportunity to participate in democratic processes. Today existing conditions is not well enough suited to address this. We therefore believe that there should be established a council for women immigrants. This can be an important contribution to increased dialogue, more knowledge and better integration.

**7.6 Respect and Tolerance for a Multicultural Society**

Immigrants and refugees who have arrived in the country in recent decades, make up minorities in Norway . They are individuals with very different backgrounds and life. They have a right to be treated and respected as equals. We live in a multicultural society . This requires mutual tolerance and respect. But openness and tolerance is not the same as value neutrality. Basic values ​​such as equality , rule of law , opinion and expression , the opportunity for political participation , gender equality and children's rights is strong throughout the Norwegian society. Our legislation is built on these values. It forms a common basis for interaction between us that all must respect . Discrimination on the basis of name , race or cultural background should not be accepted . We will therefore review the current legislation and practice it in order to clarify that discrimination based on ethnic origin is illegal and against common values ​​within the Norwegian society. There is currently not adequate systematic knowledge about the living conditions of minorities , the relationship between majority and minority populations and the impact of government measures aimed at integration. It is therefore necessary to strengthen and coordinate research in this area , and systematize already available knowledge.

**Original Version of the Labour Party’s Political Manifesto 1997:**

**Arbeiderpartiets Valgprogram 1997 - 2001 - Samråderett**

**Seksjon 6 - Solidaritet med verdens flyktninger**

Arbeiderpartiet vil arbeide lokalt og globalt for å gi beskyttelse til de som har måttet flykte fra sine hjem.Flyktninger som kommer til Norge skal få hjelp og beskyttelse i tråd med flyktningekonvensjonen og internasjonale avtaler. De rike landene må gi FNs høykommissær større ressurser og bedre virkemidler for å få til et felles løft for verdens flyktninger. Hjelp og forebyggende tiltak som når fram til flest mulig i nærområdene, skal trappes opp.

**6.2 - Beskyttelse i Norge**

Grunnlaget for vår flyktningepolitikk skal ligge i Norges tilslutning til FNs flyktingekonvensjon. I tråd med den skal alle asylsøkere som kommer til Norge og trenger beskyttelse fra forfølgelse, få det. De skal sikres lik og rettferdig behandling, enten de kommer som overføringsflyktninger fra FNs høykommissær eller på individuell basis. Ingen som etter UNHCR sin vurdering kan bli utsatt for forfølgelse i hjemlandet, skal sendes tilbake. Norge skal være rede til å ta sitt ansvar for mottak av et økt antall overføringsflyktninger ut fra anbefalinger om en internasjonal byrdefordeling fra FNs høykommissær. Når væpnede konflikter og omfattende voldsbruk fører til masseflukt i et område, kan de som kommer til Norge få kollektiv beskyttelse, noe som skal besluttes i samråd med høykommissæren i hvert enkelt tilfelle. På dette helhetlige grunnlaget vil vi gjennomgå praksis og erfaringer i flyktningepolitikken fra de senere år. Hensikten med en slik gjennomgang er å se om det kan være grunnlag for en liberalisert praksis. Norge bør dessuten i FNs organer gå inn for en gjennomgang av flyktningekonvensjonen, slik at den kan bli bedre egnet til å skape en ensartet praksis, byrdefordeling og klar humanitær forpliktelse til å gi beskyttelse i alle land. Konvensjonens stilling må styrkes internasjonalt, så flere land slutter seg til den. For å utvikle det europeiske ansvaret for verdens flyktninger, vil Norge også arbeide for etablering av en europeisk flyktningekonvensjon, som innebærer større grad av forpliktelser og byrdefordeling. Mange flykter fra terror og overgrep som ikke begås av landets myndigheter, og som disse myndighetene ikke kan eller vil hindre. Folk utsettes for overgrep som ville ha kvalifisert til flyktningestatus dersom myndighetene sto bak, men som ikke gir slik status etter en stram tolkning av FNs flyktningekonvensjon. Arbeiderpartiet vil at en eventuell europeisk flyktningekonvensjon må gi flyktningestatus til dem som flykter fra slike grove, systematiske brudd på menneskerettighetene. I Norge bør disse flyktningene få asylstatus istedenfor opphold på humanitært grunnlag som i dag.

**6.4 - Mottak og bosetting**

De som søker asyl i Norge, må få søknaden sin raskt behandlet, så de slipper å leve lenge i uvisshet og unngår at oppholdstiden i statlige mottak blir for lang. Vi vil opprette en klagenemd i asylsaker, som kan sikre asylsøkerne godt rettsvern og likebehandling, og motvirke at ankebehandlingen går for sakte. Når vedtak om asyl eller humanitær oppholdstillatelse er fattet, er det viktig raskt å forberede bosettinger med egnede opplærings- og jobbtiltak. Alle kommuner bør være innstilte på å motta flyktninger, slik at vi også innenlands kan ta et felles solidarisk ansvar for verdens flyktningeproblem. Det er viktig å formidle lærdommer fra lokalsamfunn hvor integreringen har vært vellykket. En konsentrasjon av bosettingen i de store byene må motvirkes, fordi det gjør det vanskeligere å etablere et godt tilbud for den enkelte flyktning. Både i statlige mottak og etter bosetting skal tiltakene overfor flyktninger i større grad planlegges i et tilbakevendingsperspektiv. Det innebærer å legge til rette for at medbrakt kompetanse kan holdes ved like, og for at ny kunnskap og ferdigheter som kan anvendes i hjemlandet, blir tilført. Dette står ikke i motsetning til undervisning i norsk språk og samfunnskunnskap, som gjør det mulig for flyktningene å få brukt og fornyet sin kompetanse under oppholdet i Norge. Barn som bor i mottak, skal vanligvis gå på skole i lokalmiljøet i tråd med sin rett og plikt til grunnskoleundervisning. Helsetilbudet ved mottak og bosetting må tilpasses de problemer som mennesker kan slite med etter å ha gjennomlevd en flyktningesituasjon.

**Seksjon 7 - Integrering av minoriteter**

Arbeiderpartiet vil at alle, uansett etnisk bakgrunn, skal ha likeverdige muligheter på alle områder i samfunnet.

Mange med minoritetsbakgrunn har kunnskap og erfaringer som ikke brukes godt nok i Norge. Dette uttrykkes gjennom betydelig arbeidsledighet og lite videreutdanning. Resultatet er at etnisk opprinnelse er i ferd med å bli et selvstendig kriterium for sosial plassering. Tiltak for å sikre bruk og utvikling av kunnskap den enkelte besitter, er avgjørende for å skape større sosial og økonomisk utjamning. Flyktninger og andre som får opphold i Norge, må raskt etter ankomst følges opp med individuelle kvalifiseringsplaner som kan sikre en plass i arbeids- og samfunnslivet. Boområder der mange har minoritetsbakgrunn, skal følges opp med nærmiljø - og oppveksttiltak. Integrering forutsetter at den gjensidige toleransen, åpenheten og respekten styrkes mellom minoriteter og majoritet i Norge.

**7.1 - Kvalifisering for arbeid**

Opplæring og oppfølging med sikte på arbeid er helt avgjørende for å sikre integrering. Vi vil at flyktninger og andre som gis opphold i landet, kort tid etter ankomst skal få sine kvalifikasjoner gjennomgått og oversatt til norske standarder. Deretter må det for hver enkelt utarbeides en plan for videre utdanning og kvalifisering. For å intensivere og sikre integreringsprosessen, vil Arbeiderpartiet at opplæring i norsk skal være obligatorisk for alle flyktninger og innvandrere. Språkopplæringen skal tilpasses den enkelte og ta sikte på å nå et fastsatt målbart nivå. Opplæringstilbudet må både kvantitativt og kvalitativt bygges ut i samsvar med denne målsettingen. Det skal utstedes vitnemål for gjennomgått opplæring. Individuelle planer for kvalifisering skal også utarbeides for de som allerede har vært i landet en stund, men som mangler en kartlegging av kompetanse og tilbud om utdanning og arbeid. De som ikke kan lese og skrive, skal ha rett til opplæring. De som ikke har gjennomført grunnskole, skal gis tilbud om dette i voksenopplæringsregi. Effektiv bruk av erfaringer og kunnskap som den enkelte allerede har, betinger at ordningene for godkjenning av utenlandsk utdanning forbedres. Ansvaret for å følge opp den enkelte med utarbeiding og gjennomføring av planer skal ligge i den enkelte kommune. Dette krever et nært samarbeid på tvers av de ulike offentlige etater. Ansvar for initiativ, samordning og iverksettelse bør plasseres ett sted. Staten skal gi kommunene økonomiske muligheter til gjennomføring. Det bør knyttes en form for stipend eller avlønning til den enkeltes gjennomføring av kvalifiseringsplanene.

**7.2 - En plass i arbeidslivet**

Arbeidssøkere med bakgrunn i en minoritet har i mange sammenhenger større problemer på arbeidsmarkedet enn andre. De som har størst problemer med å skaffe seg jobb, bør følges spesielt opp. En mulighet kan være å utvikle tilbud om særskilte opplærings- og praksisplasser i arbeidslivet. Målrettet opplysningsarbeid mot arbeidsgivere og arbeidstakere kan også bidra positivt. Arbeidslivets organisasjoner har et særlig ansvar for å drive opplysning og få i gang kommunikasjon, og de skal få støtte til slike tiltak. Kunnskap om og bakgrunn fra minoriteter må oppvurderes ved ansettelser både i barnehagene, skolene, helse- og sosialvesenet, arbeidsmarkedsetaten og i politiet. Også utdanningstilbudene på disse områdene, inklusive etterutdanningen, må ta hensyn til dette. Offentlige etater og virksomheter har på sine områder et spesielt ansvar for å rekruttere kvalifiserte flyktninger og innvandrere til yrkeslivet.

**7.3 - Bolig- og nærmiljøtiltak**

Særlig i Oslo er det en tendens til at mennesker med minoritetsbakgrunn bosetter seg konsentrert i enkelte bydeler. Det positive ved slik bokonsentrasjon er at det vokser fram sterke fellesskap som tar vare på tradisjoner og egenart. Det negative er at det hindrer jevnlig kontakt mellom minoriteter og majoritetsbefolkning - noe som gjør integrering vanskelig. Vi mener det er et mål å etablere nabolag med et mangfold av befolkningen representert. Utgangspunktet må imidlertid være fri etableringsrett og fri rett til boligvalg for alle. Gjennom virkemidler som byfornyelse, miljøtiltak og gunstige boliglån vil vi arbeide for gode bomiljøer som er attraktive for alle. Vi vil ruste opp områder øst i Oslo med statlig støtte. Tiltakene må omfatte både miljø, boliger, kultur og oppvekstforhold. Det bør innføres statlige tilskuddsordninger til utvikling av praktiske samarbeidsordninger mellom lokale minoritetsmiljøer, etablerte lokale organisasjoner og lokale offentlige organer. Boligsamvirket og andre organisasjoner kan spille en viktig rolle i slike sammenhenger. Målet må være å styrke lokalmiljøene og forebygge konflikter.

**7.4 – Oppvekst**

Barn av fremmedspråklige foreldre har behov for samvær med norskspråklige, også i førskolealder. Tilstrekkelig utbygging av barnehager til en pris folk kan betale er et viktig virkemiddel for å oppnå integrering. Det bør i tillegg utvikles tilbud om deltidsplasser og åpne barnehager der foreldrene kan være med. Barn som har foreldre fra en språklig minoritet, bør i god tid før skolestart få testet sine norskkunnskaper. Vi vil at det, når det er nødvendig, skal gis tilbud om norskopplæring som en forberedelse til skolegangen. Det vil likevel være noen som ikke makter å følge med i undervisningen, dersom den kun foregår på norsk i alle fag. Tospråklig opplæring bør derfor gis på alle nivåer under høyere utdanning. Hensikten med tospråklig undervisning og opplæring i morsmål må være å sette elevene bedre i stand til å mestre norsk og ha fullt utbytte av undervisningen i andre fag. Målet er at elevene skal ha gode norskkunnskaper etter endt skolegang, og at de har hatt godt utbytte av undervisningen for øvrig. Dette krever nivåtilpasset undervisning og jevnlig evaluering av elevene. Opplæringstilbudet for tospråklige lærere og barnehageassistenter må bli bedre for å møte behovet. Vi vil øke de statlige tilskuddene for å dekke ekstra kostnader forbundet med barnehagetilbud og grunnskole i områder med stor konsentrasjon av barn med minoritetsbakgrunn. Forutsetningen må være at de kommunale tilskuddene opprettholdes på minst samme nivå som i dag.

**7.5 - Kvinner**

Kvinner med bakgrunn i enkelte minoriteter kan være i en særlig vanskelig stilling. Noen lever nesten isolert uten tilstrekkelige kunnskaper om norsk språk og samfunnsliv. En slik situasjon er ikke forenlig med våre mål om likestilling, og det skaper problemer i forhold til barna. Kvinner i en slik situasjon bør systematisk følges opp med norskundervisning og kunnskap om helse- og samfunnsforhold. Helsestasjonene kan ha en sentral rolle i dette arbeidet. Vi vil at de skal settes bedre i stand til å gi mer og bedre informasjon tilpasset behovene til den enkelte, og til å gi veiledning i helse- og sosialspørsmål, samt om norske samfunnsforhold. Vi vil særskilt understreke hvor viktig det er at kvinner gis rett og mulighet til norskundervisning og kvalifisering for arbeidslivet. De må få tilbud om utvidet barnepass i forbindelse med dette. Slik kan hver enkelt gis økt frihet, anledning til å delta i og bli kjent med norsk samfunnsliv, og økt mulighet til å følge barna i oppveksten. En bedring av kvinners situasjon vil ha direkte innvirkning på barnas kår. Vi vil at kvinner med minoritetsbakgrunn skal synliggjøres og gis økt mulighet til deltakelse i demokratiske organer. I dag makter ikke eksisterende fora å ivareta dette. Vi mener derfor at det bør opprettes et eget råd for kvinner med minoritetsbakgrunn. Dette kan være et viktig bidrag til økt dialog, mer kunnskap og bedre til integrering.

**7.6 - Respekt og toleranse i et mangfoldig samfunn**

Innvandrere og flyktninger som har kommet til landet de siste tiårene, utgjør minoriteter i Norge. De er individer med svært ulik bakgrunn og tilværelse. De har krav på å bli behandlet og respektert som likeverdige. Vi lever i et multikulturelt samfunn. Dette stiller krav til gjensidig toleranse og respekt. Men åpenhet og toleranse er ikke det samme som verdinøytralitet. Grunnleggende verdier som likeverd, rettssikkerhet, menings- og ytringsfrihet, mulighet til politisk deltakelse, likestilling mellom kjønnene og barns rettigheter står sterkt i hele det norske samfunnet. Vårt lovverk er bygget på disse verdiene. Det utgjør en felles basis for samhandlingen oss imellom som alle må respektere. Diskriminering på grunn av navn, hudfarge eller kulturbakgrunn skal ikke aksepteres. Vi vil derfor gjennomgå dagens lovverk og praktiseringen av det for å tydeliggjøre at diskriminering på grunn av etnisk opprinnelse er ulovlig og i strid med grunnleggende fellesverdier i det norske samfunnet. Det finnes i dag ikke tilstrekkelig systematisert kunnskap om levekår blant minoriteter, om forholdet mellom majoritets- og minoritetsbefolkningen og om virkningen av offentlige tiltak med sikte på integrasjon. Det er derfor nødvendig å styrke og samordne forskningen på dette området, samt systematisere allerede tilgjengelig kunnskap.

**Appendix 3**

**English Version of the Labour Party’s 2009 Political Manifesto:**

**The Labour Party Political Manifesto 2009-2013 ”Create and Share”**

**Section 2 – The Ideas**

**2.6 Diversity**

Freedom requires tolerance for differences and diversity. It is fundamentally positive that people choose, think and appear different. Therefore, we will specifically ensure minority rights.

Labour believes it is fundamental positive that Norway has become more multicultural. We want groups and individuals with different cultural backgrounds have the same opportunities, rights, duties and responsibilities as the majority. Everyone should be involved in shaping the present and the future Norway.

**Section 3 – The Norwegian Model of Society**

**3.5 A Inclusive Norway**

Another important pillar of the Norwegian model is that everyone should be included. Therefore, we must dismantle the barriers to participation. Everyone shall have the same rights, obligations and opportunities regardless of ethnicity, gender, disability, religion or sexual orientation. This means that we must contribute to increased acceptance that people can be different. The infrastructure of the community must be universally designed so that it is accessible to all and at all stages of life.

Labour believes that inclusion is not policy for special groups, but for everyone in Norway. We value tolerance and respect for other high and will respect and facilitate individuals ' and groups' specific needs. We will work to ensure that disabilities should not put limitations on people's ability and everyday life.

Although everyone from their position is responsible for inclusion, those who are in the majority have the main responsibility. They are the ones that have the greatest power and opportunity both to discriminate and to combat discrimination. Labour will particularly strengthen those who have it worst. We will have a special focus on prevention, gender equality and participation.

We will oppose discrimination, prejudice and racism and give everyone the best basis to participate in society. Labour will oppose a class-divided society based on ethnicity, and pursue policies that ensure immigrants and descendants of these have the same opportunities as others. For us it is important that all who live permanently in Norway learn Norwegian.

Lesbians and gays should be ensured in real terms the same rights and opportunities as heterosexuals. Labour will work to equalize differences in living conditions and quality of life among lesbians / gays and the majority population. We want to prevent bullying and hate crimes directed at gays. Labour will support gays and lesbians to live openly and actively oppose discrimination. We will particularly focus on improving the lives of gays and lesbians in different stages of life and in environments where there is still a challenge to come forward with their orientation. These include older gays and lesbians, those who live in smaller towns, those in multicultural environments and those who are active in sport or religious communities. Children of lesbians and gays should be treated equally with other children.

Labour wants to:

* Raise the awareness of employers in both the public and private sectors of an inclusive recruitment policy.
* Strengthen Equality and Anti-Discrimination requirements.
* Make sure that in positions within the public sector where there are qualified applicants from minority groups, at least one should be called in for an interview.
* Immigrants are informed about their rights and obligations within Norwegian labour and welfare system.
* Remove barriers and ensure a universal model and accessibility for all to participate in society.
* Review the educational content of language training for immigrants.
* Oppose bigotry and anti-democratic attitudes in Norway.
* Intensify research on homosexuals living conditions.
* Fight against hate crimes

**Section 7 – The World**

**7.12 Refugees and Immigrants**

There are over 40 million refugees in the world. A large proportion of these are internally displaced. People fleeing risk imprisonment, torture and possibly death because of their opinions or their position in society. Labour will both participate and take an international responsibility to combat the reasons why people are fleeing, and help protect refugees from further humiliation and distress. Refugees are not without rights, and Labour will therefore work to promote refugee rights. Norway has a moral responsibility for people in need. We build our refugee and asylum policy on international legal principles expressed through the Human Rights and Refugees Convention. People, who need protection because they are forced to leave their own country, should receive protection in Norway. Labour believes that immigration to Norway is fundamentally positive, and enriches us both economically and culturally. At the same time, Norway cannot accommodate everyone who wants to come here. International cooperation, burden sharing and assistance to countries in conflict are therefore important. Controlled immigration is essential to the success of integration policies. Labour wants regulated and controlled immigration, accounting for a humane, equitable and consistent refugee and asylum policy. The recommendations of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees are an important basis for the Norwegian government's asylum policy. Those who have received a final rejection of their asylum application have had their case thoroughly considered and are obliged to leave the country. Labour will have an active return policy that helps more people choose leave voluntarily, but also use forced return. The reception of quota refugees is the safest and most equitable way to ensure peoples lasting protection. It is therefore desirable that more countries in Europe accept quota refugees to reduce the number of asylum seekers who risk their lives to get into Europe. Cooperation, better burden-sharing and control of asylum seekers is an important prerequisite to achieve an increase in withdrawal of quota refugees. Labour wants to prioritize the reception of quota refugees in cooperation with UNHCR. Our ability to do this is affected by the number of asylum seekers arriving in the country. Our goal is to increase to at least 1,500 quota refugees. Ambition can be increased if the situation warrants it. We have a great responsibility to protect and assist victims of trafficking that are in Norway. We need measures to prevent, uncover and prosecute crimes related to human trafficking. In addition, efforts to protect and provide assistance to victims of trafficking strengthened. Labour is in favour of the new labour immigration that comes as a result of EU enlargement. Labour immigrants in Norway should have the same pay and working conditions as Norwegian workers, and shall be informed of their rights.

Labour wants to:

* Support the UN High Commissioner for Refugees work to safeguard and promote the rights of refugees.
* Contribute to a larger international effort in regards to internally displaced refugees.
* Increase the number of quota refugees to at least 1,500 years.
* Reduce the number of illegal immigrants though increased return appointments and more resources to the police.
* Strengthen case management capacity and reduce the processing period to UDI .
* Improve cooperation with local authorities to establish reception centres, and enhance expertise in the centres.
* Ensure that the au pair scheme contributes to cultural exchange, and do not contribute to social dumping of labour.
* Unaccompanied minors shall be provided with care by child welfare services that provide security and stability for each child while they are in Norway.
* Facilitate increased labour.
* Focus on recruiting provisional guardians to assist unaccompanied minors.
* Open for some increase in temporary labour migration of unskilled labour from developing countries within the framework of development projects in some countries.
* The establishment of international standards to prevent active recruitment of workers with higher education qualifications that developing countries have great lack of. Such regulation shall not limit these employees to seek employment in other countries.
* Consider creating a separate national identity centre.
* That mental health services in relation to reception centres strengthened.
* Work to protect families and single women in asylum centres

**Original Version of the Labour Party’s Political Manifesto 2009-2013**

**Arbeiderpartiet Valgprogram 2009: Skape og dele**

**Seksjon 2 - Ideene**

**2.6 - Mangfold**

Frihet krever toleranse for ulikheter og mangfold. Det er grunnleggende positivt at mennesker velger, tenker og framstår forskjellig. Derfor vil vi særskilt sikre minoriteters rettigheter.

Arbeiderpartiet mener det er grunnleggende positivt at Norge er blitt mer flerkulturelt. Vi vil at grupper og individer med annen kulturbakgrunn skal ha de samme muligheter, rettigheter, plikter og ansvar som flertallet. Alle skal være med på å forme dagens og framtidens Norge.

**Seksjon 3 - Den norske samfunnsmodellen**

**3.5 - Et inkluderende Norge**

En annen viktig bærebjelke i den norske modellen, er at alle skal med. Derfor må vi bygge ned barrierene for deltakelse. Alle skal ha de samme rettigheter, plikter og muligheter uavhengig av etnisk bakgrunn, kjønn, funksjonsevne, religion eller seksuell legning. Det betyr at vi må bidra til økt aksept for at folk kan være ulike. Infrastrukturen i samfunnet må være universelt utformet, slik at den er tilgjengelig for alle og i alle faser av livet.

Arbeiderpartiet mener at inkludering ikke er politikk for spesielle grupper, men for alle i Norge. Vi setter toleranse og respekt for andre høyt, og vil respektere og legge til rette for individers og gruppers spesielle behov. Vi vil arbeide for at nedsatt funksjonsevne ikke skal sette begrensninger for folks mulighet og hverdag.

Selv om alle ut fra sitt ståsted har ansvar for inkludering, har de som er i flertall et hovedansvar. Det er de som har størst makt og mulighet både til å diskriminere og til å bekjempe diskriminering. Arbeiderpartiet vil særlig styrke dem som kommer dårligst ut. Vi vil ha et spesielt fokus på forebygging, likestilling og deltakelse.

Vi vil motarbeide diskriminering, fordommer og rasisme for å gi alle det beste grunnlaget for å delta i samfunnet. Arbeiderpartiet vil motarbeide et klassedelt samfunn basert på etnisitet, og føre en politikk som sikrer innvandrere og etterkommere av disse de samme muligheter som andre. For oss er det viktig at alle som bor permanent i Norge lærer seg norsk.

Lesbiske og homofile skal sikres reelt de samme rettigheter og muligheter som heterofile. Arbeiderpartiet vil arbeide for å utjevne forskjeller i levekår og livskvalitet mellom lesbiske/homofile og majoritetsbefolkningen. Vi vil forebygge mobbing og hatkriminalitet rettet mot homofile. Arbeiderpartiet vil støtte homofile og lesbiske i å leve åpent, og aktivt motarbeide diskriminering. Vi vil særlig satse på å bedre livssituasjonen for homofile og lesbiske i ulike livsfaser og som er i miljøer der det fortsatt er en utfordring å stå fram med sin legning. Dette gjelder for eksempel eldre homofile og lesbiske, de som bor på mindre steder, de som er i flerkulturelle miljøer og de som er aktive innenfor idretten eller i tros- og livssynssamfunn. Barn av lesbiske og homofile skal likebehandles med andre barn.

*Arbeiderpartiet vil:*

* bevisstgjøre arbeidsgivere både i offentlig og privat sektor på en inkluderende rekrutteringspolitikk.
* styrke likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet.
* at ved stillinger i det offentlige hvor det finnes kvalifiserte søkere med minoritetsbakgrunn, skal minst én kalles inn til intervju.
* at innvandrere informeres om rettigheter og plikter i norsk arbeidsliv og velferdssystem.
* fjerne barrierer og sørge for universell utforming og tilgjengelighet for alle til å delta i samfunnet.
* gjennomgå det pedagogiske innholdet i språkopplæring for innvandrere.
* motarbeide fanatisme og antidemokratiske holdninger i Norge.
* intensivere forskningen på homofiles levekår.
* arbeide mot hatkriminalitet.

**Seksjon 7 - Verden**

**7.12 - Flyktninger og innvandring**

Det er over 40 millioner flyktninger i verden. En stor del av disse er internt fordrevne. Mennesker på flukt risikerer fengsel, tortur og kanskje død på grunn av sine meninger eller sin stilling i samfunnet. Arbeiderpartiet vil både være med og ta et internasjonalt ansvar for å bekjempe årsakene til at mennesker må flykte, og bidra til å beskytte flyktninger fra ytterligere nedverdigelse og nød. Flyktninger er ikke rettsløse, og Arbeiderpartiet vil derfor også arbeide for å fremme flyktningers rettigheter. Norge har et moralsk ansvar for mennesker i nød. Vi bygger vår flyktning- og asylpolitikk på internasjonale rettsprinsipper uttrykt gjennom menneskerettighetserklæringen og flyktningkonvensjonen. Mennesker som har behov for beskyttelse ved at de er tvunget til å forlate sitt eget land, skal få beskyttelse i Norge.  Arbeiderpartiet mener at innvandring til Norge er grunnleggende positivt, og beriker oss både økonomisk og kulturelt. Samtidig kan ikke Norge ta imot alle som ønsker å komme hit. Internasjonalt samarbeid, byrdefordeling og bistand til land i konflikt er derfor viktig. Regulert innvandring er en forutsetning for å lykkes i integreringspolitikken. Arbeiderpartiet vil ha en balansert og kontrollert innvandring, og står for en human, rettferdig og konsekvent flyktning- og asylpolitikk. Anbefalingene fra FNs høykommissær for flyktninger er et viktig grunnlag for norske myndigheters asylpolitikk. De som har fått endelig avslag på sin asylsøknad, har fått saken sin grundig behandlet og plikter å forlate landet. Arbeiderpartiet vil ha en aktiv returpolitikk som bidrar til at flere velger å reise frivillig, men også bruke tvangsmessige returer.  Mottak av kvoteflyktninger er den sikreste og mest rettferdige måten å sikre mennesker varig beskyttelse på. Det er derfor ønskelig at flere land i Europa tar imot kvoteflyktninger for å redusere antallet asylsøkere som risikerer sine liv for å komme inn i Europa. Samarbeid, bedre byrdefordeling og kontroll med asyltilstrømmingen er en viktig forutsetning for å kunne få til en økning i uttak av kvoteflyktninger. Arbeiderpartiet ønsker å prioritere mottak av kvoteflyktninger som skjer i samarbeid med FNs høykommissær for flyktninger. Vår evne til å gjøre dette, påvirkes av hvor mange asylsøkere som kommer til landet. Vårt mål er å øke til minst 1500 kvoteflyktninger. Ambisjonen kan økes dersom situasjonen tilsier det. Vi har et stort ansvar for å beskytte og å bistå ofre for menneskehandel som befinner seg i Norge. Vi må ha tiltak som forebygger, avdekker og straffeforfølger kriminelle handlinger knyttet til menneskehandel. I tillegg må arbeidet for å beskytte og yte bistand til ofre for menneskehandel styrkes.  Arbeiderpartiet er positiv til den nye arbeidskraftinnvandringen som kommer som en følge av EU-utvidelsen. Arbeidsinnvandrere i Norge skal ha samme lønns- og arbeidsvilkår som norske arbeidstakere, og skal informeres om sine rettigheter.

*Arbeiderpartiet vil:*

* + støtte FNs høykommissær for flyktningers arbeid for å sikre og fremme flyktningers rettigheter.
  + bidra til en større internasjonal innsats for internt fordrevne flyktninger.
  + øke antallet kvoteflyktninger til minst 1500 i året.
  + redusere antallet illegale innvandrere gjennom flere returavtaler og flere ressurser til politiet.
  + styrke saksbehandlingskapasiteten og redusere saksbehandlingstiden i UDI.
  + bedre samarbeidet med kommunene om etablering av asylmottak, og styrke kompetansen i mottakene.
  + sørge for at au-pair-ordningen bidrar til kulturutveksling, og ikke bidrar til sosial dumping av arbeidskraft.
  + at enslige mindreårige asylsøkere skal få et omsorgstilbud gjennom barnevernet som gir trygghet og stabilitet for det enkelte barn mens de er i Norge.
  + legge til rette for økt arbeidsinnvandring.
  + satse på økt rekruttering av hjelpeverger som skal bistå enslige mindreårige asylsøkere.
  + åpne for noe større midlertidig arbeidsinnvandring av ufaglært arbeidskraft fra utviklingsland innenfor rammen av bistandsprosjekter i enkelte land.
  + at det etableres internasjonale standarder for å motvirke aktiv rekruttering av arbeidstakere med høyere utdanning og kvalifikasjoner som utviklingsland har stor mangel på. Slik regulering skal ikke begrense disse arbeidstakernes rett til å søke arbeid i andre land.
  + vurdere å opprette et eget nasjonalt identitetssenter.
  + at det psykiske helsetilbudet i tilknytning til asylmottakene styrkes.
  + arbeide for å skjerme barnefamilier og enslige kvinner på asylmottak

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