

'Perfect' Norway?

How Breivik's ideology is related to the integration policy in Norway

Picture 1: Flowers in front of the Oslo Domkirke in central Oslo after 22nd of July 2011¹



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¹ Picture from my personal collection, made on July 29, 2011

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Abstract

This thesis studied why a country as perfect as Norway could bring forth someone like Breivik. Instead of looking at Breivik as a lone wolf, this thesis researched the Norwegian integration policy, which Breivik opposes. Therefore, the research question of this thesis is the following: “*How are potential issues within the Norwegian integration policy related to an extreme ideology such as Breivik's?*” Exploratory research is used to investigate this question. The first chapter focuses on the discourse of a 'perfect' Norway, which emerges in a 'perfect' integration policy. Chapter 3 investigates whether there are possible ambiguities or issues within these integration policies, since Breivik focuses on the *danger* of these policies. This chapter analyses five potential issues - *welfare state, multiculturalism, gender equality, citizenship* and *ethnicity*. Chapter 4 investigates - by empirical research - to what extent and how these issues from the literature research lead to tensions. The chapter concludes that some issues of the integration policy lead to more tensions than others. It confirmed that all the issues lead to certain degrees of tension. The issues of multiculturalism, gender equality and the welfare state in particular are confirmed as tensions within the Norwegian integration policy. The final chapter aimed at investigating whether and to what extent these issues – and therefore tensions – are found in Breivik's manifest. Breivik is not a *lone wolf*, because some of this ideology can be traced back to the tensions in the analytical and empirical discussion about the integration policy. Breivik launched an anti-discourse about multiculturalism, in which he expresses that **not** all cultures are equal. In doing so, Breivik turns the private narrative of some of the interviewees into a public narrative. In addition, with Breivik's discourse about the future of the nation state, he continues the existing discourse. One could conclude that the issues – each to a certain extent - in the Norwegian integration policy are related to Breivik's ideology. Exposing this relation provides an understanding of the origins of Breivik's ideology as a product of society, and will possibly lead to a better handling of such extreme ideologies.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

July 22nd, 2011 was a turning point for Norway. The whole world was shocked that in a country such as Norway - a promise to the western world - one of its own citizens could commit a terrorist attack that killed 77 persons. July 22nd, 2011 was also the day that the bond between Norway and me became much stronger than it had been before. At that moment, I had been living in Norway for more than six months. During the summer months, I organized a summer camp in Bærum (near Oslo), for children whose parents were seeking asylum in Norway. On that particular day, we were having a party called: “global village”. All the international students and the children were bringing food and clothes from their home countries, to show them to the other children and their parents. We were having a great time, until we heard the news.

At that point, we were faced with a dilemma: our main task was to keep the party going. However, we wanted to reassure the families back home and let them know that we were fine (one of the terrorist attacks was committed at a summer camp). Many of the children had grown up in countries where fights and war were the order of the day. This in contrast to Norway, where even policemen do not carry guns. In our camp, we had many children from Palestine, and the first thing that came to their minds was: “hopefully, the terrorist(s) is (are) not Muslim(s)²”. Their hopes of obtaining a permit were diminishing with each minute.

I will never forget the day of the attacks. Especially since the reason behind the attacks was discontent with the Norwegian multicultural society. In this research, it is my aim to give meaning to the terrorist act by searching for an explanation for it *within* the Norwegian integration policy. Thereby, I hope to gain an understanding of what happened to all of us during that dark day in July.

Many persons supported me during this research. I would first like to thank Henk van Houtum for his advice and wise words during the process. I enjoyed working with him. I would also like to thank Roos Pijpers for the time and effort spent in being my second reader.

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2 Migrant I, Personal communication, 22nd July 2011

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Before you read my thesis, I want you to know it has opened my eyes. I hope they will stay open for the rest of my life. I have worked on it with great pleasure. I hope you will now enjoy it just as much reading it.

Doreth van Manen

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1. Introduction

Many Norwegians paid their respects to the victims of the terrorist attacks, of July the 22nd 2011, committed by the right wing ideologist Anders Behring Breivik. The picture³ on the front page of this thesis shows the flowers laid down in front of the Domkirke⁴ in the Norwegian capital Oslo. Norway is often seen as a perfect society, with a strong economy, a celebrated welfare system and an internationally acclaimed immigration policy. One might question how a 'perfect' country such as Norway could generate such an 'extreme' and violent ideologist as Anders Breivik. Rather than seeing Breivik as a 'lone wolf' - which puts him into the box of crazy and thus irrelevant - this thesis seeks to find an explanation for the emergence of this 'extreme' ideology. More specifically the emergence in a country labelled as 'perfect'; *in* the 'acclaimed' Norwegian integration policy.

The introduction is organised as follows: First, Breivik's ideology and attacks of terrorism are further discussed. The second part deals with Norway as the 'flawless society'. Both parts will lead to the research question of this thesis, which is followed by an explanation of method that is used in this thesis. Final, a short reading guide is presented.

1.1 THE ATTACKS IN NORWAY ON THE 22ND OF JULY 2011

At around 3.30pm on the 22nd of July 2011 Anders Behring Breivik dropped a bomb in front of a government building in the heart of Oslo. Eight people were killed and 30 people got wounded. The bomb, placed in a car, caused "*extensive damage to government buildings including the Prime Minister's*" (Perng et al., 2011. p. 3). After the bomb attack Breivik went to the island of Utøya, which is about 40 kms northwest of Oslo. Every year the "Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking" (AUF), the youth organization of the Norwegian Labour party⁵, holds a political summer camp on that island. Dressed in a police uniform, Breivik gathered all the adolescents from the summer camp and then started shooting. On Utøya 69 people were killed and 60 people got injured. In total, Breivik killed 77 people.

Later that day it became clear that there was an ideology behind the massacre. Before his act of terrorism, Breivik had sent a manifest with his critique on the 'rise of the European multicultural society' to other "*like-minded 'European patriots'*" (Bachmann et al, 2011, p. 193). The following quote is from the manifest:

3 Picture is from my personal collection, made on July 29, 2011

4 Oslo Domkirke is the Norwegian name for the Oslo Cathedral

5 In Norwegian the labour party is called the "Arbeiderpartiet".

The time for dialogue is over for an increasing number of Western Europeans. The European civil war will progress the coming decades and our traitor enemies will eventually be defeated and executed (Breivik, 2011, p. 1374).

The main argument Breivik provided for the attacks – the beginning of the *war* - is that he wanted to protect Norway against the multicultural society, put in place by the country's elite *i.e.* the Labour party. Researchers suggest that Breivik views the Labour party as synonymous with the state Norway, because it was that party that built the welfare state (Arter, 2008). Hence, by killing the next generation of Labour party leaders, Breivik hoped to defeat those who are in favour and aim to further promote the Norwegian multicultural society.

Bachmann et al. (2012) argue that Breivik's attacks can be seen as “three acts of terrorism” (p. 193). The “first act of terrorism” is Breivik's manifest “*2083: a declaration of European independence*” (Breivik, 2011). This manifest “*may prove to be the most destructive and murderous*” (Bachmann et al, p. 193). By sharing his thought – creating a new discourse – Breivik may influence others to follow his view and – more destructively – his acts of violence. The second and the third act of terror are the directly violent actions; respectively the bomb in the centre of Oslo and the shooting at Utøya (Bachmann et al., p. 193). Breivik's main reason for writing his manifest, is to draw attention to destructively impact of multiculturalism. Breivik perpetrated this act of terrorism because he did not believe in a dialogue (any longer). In an extreme way, Breivik is pointing out the negative side of immigration in western countries. He is not alone in this view. In his manifest, it became clear that he had connections with other organizations throughout Europe (Breivik, 2011, p. ix) Breivik refers to “*like-minded European patriots*” (Bachmann et al, 2012, p. 195). Extremist ideologies, mainly against immigrants, are gaining support in Europe (Bachmann et al., 2012). In Greece for instance, the neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn is now part of the political system with seven per cent of the votes in the election of June 2012⁶. Their main point is also that they are against immigrants coming to Europe. An other development is the rise of populist right-wing parties in Europe, which is a less extreme ideology. According to Arter (2008), there is such a populist right-wing movement in Norway. He is referring to the Fremskrittspartiet. In recent decades, this party has grown. According to Grue Langset of the Aftenposten⁷, Breivik was a member of this party (Grue Langset, 2011). However, he left the party, the reason being that the Fremskrittspartiet was not right-wing enough. One of the founding fathers of this party, Carl I Hagen held the following view on terrorism: “*not all Muslims are terrorists, but all terrorists are Muslims*” (Erikson, 2011).

Bearing this in mind, the focus is to research Breivik's manifest as part of the system in Norway. According to Bachmann et al. Breivik is *not* a lone wolf. There are many groups throughout Europe who have the same ideology as presented in Breivik's manifest. The relevance of this research is that it will not isolated Breivik as an other mad man, but search for a possible explanation within the Norwegian system, more

⁶ [http://ekloges.ypes.gr/v2012b/public/index.html#{"cls":"main","params":{}}](http://ekloges.ypes.gr/v2012b/public/index.html#{), accessed on May 26, 2013

⁷ Aftenposten is one of the biggest newspapers in Norway.

specifically the Norwegian integration policy. The next part elaborates on the Norwegian system in a globalizing context (Bachmann et al, 2012).

1.2 NORWAY AS AN EXAMPLE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD

The attacks of the 22nd of July came as a shock to Norway and also the outside world. No one expected such a massacre to take place in a peaceful country, which by many reviewed as a very well functioning society. For years in a row, Norway has been the best country to live in according to the Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations Development Program⁸ (UNDP, 2013). This means that, in Norway, people have good access to education, a decent standard of living and people live a long and healthy life. Norway also scores extremely high on the 'better life index' of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). This means that Norway's living conditions (e.g. housing, jobs, income, safety, etc.) are valued accordingly⁹. It is argued that the high standard of living in Norway is created through its welfare system. Developed after the Second World War, it granted equal opportunities by providing access to education, political power, health care and labour opportunities.

One could argue that as globalization increases – which according to Castles (2005, p. 689) signifies '*increasing migration of all kinds*' – local borders have become more important¹⁰. Hence, migration and integration policies are an important part of the legislation of European countries. Norway's approach is also in this domain reviewed as an example to the rest of Europe. MIPEX, which is a European research institute ranks the Norwegian integration policy much higher than that of other European countries. Mipex argues that compared to other countries Norwegian immigrants have many opportunities to participate in society; there is relatively easy access to the labour market, education, NGOs and politics¹¹. It is interesting to elaborate why in a country with an 'excellent' working integration policy a terrorist attack was committed against 'the multicultural society'.

8 United Nations Development Programme (2013). *Human development report 2013, the rise of the south: human progress in a diverse world*. Retrieved on April 25, 2013, from http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR2013_EN_Summary.pdf

9 Organisation for economic cooperation and development (2013), *Better life index*, Retrieved on April 25, 2013 from: <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/norway/>

10 Sassen (2009) for example, argues that through the global, the local becomes more important.

11 Website of Mipex, retrieved from <http://www.mipex.eu/norway>, April 25, 2013.

1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Breivik's *first act of terror* seems to be in sharp contrast to this perfect view of the Norwegian society and its integration policy. This thesis investigates whether aspects of the 'perfect' Norwegian integration policy might be the underlying cause for the emergence of the extreme ideology of Breivik's. It claims is that labelling his (three) acts of terror, as actions perpetrated by an isolated mad man would not only be jumping to conclusions too fast, but is also dangerous. It is of the utmost importance that academics question whether a policy and its discourse are able to bring about 'extreme' opposing – and violent – forces. Hence, the relevance of this research.

It is important to stress that this research uses the concept *discourse* as coined by the French philosopher Michel Foucault. According to Willems (1989, p. 89), with discourse the philosopher expressed ordering principles that give meaning to phenomena. These can be expressions through language, but are also practices and institutional forms. It is through a discourse that meaning is given to a certain phenomenon. Foucault (1990, p. 100) argues: "[I]t is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together." Thus, in this thesis, it is argued that linguistic utterances and practices give meaning to reality. There is no 'clear' reality that produces practices of language, rather it is these practices that produce certain realities. Hence, there can be competing discourses and thus competing realities. Here, it is tried to reveal such controversies. The aim is also whether such controversies are or lead to extreme ideologies such as Breivik's.

In essence, the aim of this thesis is to come to an understanding of Breivik's actions on the 22nd of July 2011, in the context of the Norwegian system, more specifically the Norwegian integration policies. In order to analyse Breivik's actions, the focus is on the *first act of terror*: Breivik's manifest. It seems that Norway has an excellent integration policy compared to the rest of Europe. Are we able to find a discourse on the imperfections within the integration policy that could lead to a possible explanation of Breivik's manifest? These questions lead to the following research question:

"How are the potential ambiguities within the Norwegian integration policy related to an extreme ideology as Breivik's?"

In order to answer this question, the following sub-questions are important:

1. How is Norway seen as a perfect society? (Chapter 2)
2. What are possible ambiguities or issues within the Norwegian integration policy as found in the

literature? (Chapter 3)

3. Are (if so, to what extent) the possible ambiguities or issues in the Norwegian integration policy as defined in chapter 3 actually found in Norwegian society? (Chapter 4)
4. Is there a possible connection between the issues within the Norwegian integration policy and Breivik's manifest ?

1.4 METHODS AND READING GUIDE

The method used for this thesis is *exploratory research*. Stebbings (2001) illustrates this type of research as follows: “*Researchers explore when they have little or no scientific knowledge about the group, progress, activity, or situation they want to examine but nevertheless have reason to believe it contains elements worth discovering*” (Stebbing, 2001, p. 6). The question here is how Breivik's extremism relates to the Norwegian integration policy. How is it possible that a 'perfect' society with its seemingly perfect integration policy can bring forth someone like Breivik? Exploratory research is a practical method to answer questions to which an unambiguous answer does not directly exist. Essentially, this paper explores whether new insights emerge when Breivik is not labelled a ‘lone wolf’. This exploration leads to new hypotheses, preliminary conclusions and perhaps a new research design. (But, exploratory research may also lead to the conclusion that a perceived problem does not exist at all.) Thus far, no research has been conducted into the (potential) connection between the Norwegian integration policy and Breivik's ideology. Therefore, exploring that (potential) connection is the contribution of this research. An in-depth analysis of the possible connection between the Norwegian integration policy and extremist terrorist acts helps to shape novel hypotheses, thus generating the possibility – an important feature of exploratory research – set off setting up an original research design for further research.

The question central to this exploratory research is: “*How*” is the relationship between the Norwegian integration policy and Breivik's manifest? To answer such a question, it is common in exploratory research to rely on several kinds of data sources. The research methods used in this thesis are (respectively): literature research, semi-structured interviews and a discourse analysis of Breivik's manifest. Below, the three methods are explained in greater depth.

Chapter 2 and chapter 3 of this thesis function as the theoretical framework of this thesis. They discuss notions on Norwegian society and its integration policy. The starting point of the literature search is an article by Hagelund (2005). In it, it becomes clear that Norway's integration policy is often referred to as being perfect. However, at the same time, amongst academics and in Norwegian society, debates are carried on about

the functioning of the integration policy. Its 'perfectness' is being questioned. The article inspired us to further investigate this discourse of the 'perfect' Norwegian society. At the same time, ambiguities within the integration policy in Norway were investigated.

Chapter 2 focuses on the 'perfection' of the Norwegian society. According to the UN, of all countries Norway is the number one country to live in. This is the starting point of this chapter, which argues that a *discourse* exists in which Norway's society is reviewed as the perfect society. The chapter treats Norway's *economy*, *welfare state* and *integration policy* respectively. The question central in this part is "How is Norway seen as the perfect society?". For the literature research, (international) reports comparing Norway with other (European) countries were used.

Chapter 3 focuses on the second aspect of Hagelund's article, (the debate about) the integration policy in the Norwegian society. The intention of this chapter is to uncover possible ambiguities within the Norwegian integration policy. These ambiguities are distilled from scientific articles written about the integration policy in Norway and other Western European countries. Primarily, literature from two influential Norwegian research studies –Hagelund's and Brochmann's – are used. The chapter aims at investigating whether the ambiguities can lead to issues and possible tensions within Norwegian society. Therefore several preliminary hypotheses are formulated.

These preliminary hypotheses are reshaped in the next chapter. It is investigated to what extent and how the findings from the literature research are also found in empirical research. Therefore, in-depth interviews and observations were conducted. The interviews further explore the (possible) issues of the integration policy – as found in the literature research – by interviewing people living in Norway, who are to a certain degree connected with or affected by the concept of integration. While using an interview guide (further discussed in chapter 4), it was investigated whether and, if so, how these Norwegians recognised possible problems in the Norwegian integration policy. The interviewees were contacted through *snowball sampling*. Bryman (2008) explains snowball sampling as follows: "*the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contact with others*" (Bryman, p. 184). It was through an internship at a youth centre in Dønski – an area in Norway with a high percentage of immigrants – that a network could be contacted which then started the snowball sampling. The people who were interviewed were for example those working at the "*Ministry of Children, equality and social inclusion*" and the "Storting¹²". Next to the interviews, specific activities from the Norwegian integration policy were also observed (e.g. the Mela Festival, a multicultural festival in Oslo). The unstructured observation has as its "*aim [...] to record in as much detail as possible the behaviour of participants with the aim of developing a narrative account of that behaviour*" (Bryman, p. 257). Through the

12 Storting is the Norwegian word for Parliament.

observations, part of the Norwegian integration policy – and possible manifestations of the issues discussed earlier – could be directly witnessed. These observations will contribute to the narrative analysis of the interviews (as discussed above).

Chapter 5 focuses on Breivik's manifest, more specifically whether or not the issues presented in chapter 3 and chapter 4 are found in his manifest. This is done through a discourse analysis. The philosopher Foucault influenced the term discourse by expanding the linguistic features with the power structures within a society. According to Willems (1989), the term discourse – influenced by Foucault - is the ordering of principles which organize reality (p. 89). Certain institutions, organizations and practices create an order which leads to the construction of the human being (Willems, p. 89). To be more precise, Aitken & Valentine (2009) explain Foucault's view on discourse as follows: *“for Foucault, a discourse, while retaining connotations of dialogue and speech, refers more broadly to the totality of utterances, actions and events which constitute a given field or topic”* (Aitken & Valentine, p. 303). Discourse analysis is an element of the interpretative research method. This method explicates and reasons how these representations have been found. The aim is to reveal the meaning of Breivik's manifest. The analysis of Breivik's manifest, using statements of his manifest and further explaining them, will describe Breivik's 'truth' about the Norwegian integration policy. Thus, the result of this discourse analysis is that Breivik's manifest can be understood in the light of the ambiguities within the Norwegian integration policy.

In sum, *exploratory research* is used to explore whether new insights could be developed about the relationship between the 'perfect' Norwegian integration policy and Breivik's manifest. The tools of exploratory research in this thesis are: literature, empirical and interpretative research methods. Narrative analysis is the method used for analysis.

2. The Presentation of the 'Perfect' Norway

As mentioned in the introduction, according to the UN, of all countries Norway is the number one country to live in. Hence, a discourse exists in which Norway's society is reviewed as the perfect society. It also seems that Norway has an excellent working integration policy when compared to the rest of Europe. The objective of this chapter is to answer the following sub question "*How is Norway seen as a perfect society?*" This chapter aims to present the discourse – or a part of the discourse – in which Norway is seen as a perfect country. It serves simultaneously as a theoretical framework for this thesis. Norway's *economy*, *welfare state* and *integration policy* will be dealt with in that order. All insights originate from a literature research.

2.1 A PROSPEROUS ECONOMY

Norway is a prosperous country, compared to other countries, it has a relatively high "*Gross National Income (GNI) per capita expressed in constant 2005 international dollars converted using purchasing power parity (PPP) rates*"¹³. The past years show continued economic growth; there was only a short decline in the years 2008 – 2010. Other European countries are still suffering from the financial crisis that started in 2008 (Liebig et al., 2010). Scholars argue that Norway's shining economy is mainly caused by the discovery of oil in the late 1960's. The oil was found off the coast of Norway, in the North sea (Höök & Aleklett, 2008). Due to the fact that Norway has a relatively small population, much of the oil could be exported. Therefore Norway holds an important international position. Compared to other oil exporting countries – e.g. Russia and Saudi Arabia – it is a favourable country to do business with. Many (European) countries depend on the oil imports from Norway. Norwegian law indicates that the government is not allowed to spend more than 2% of its oil earnings each year. (However, because many people work for the oil companies, indirectly – through taxes – the government is able to spend more of its oil income¹⁴.) As a result of this measure, the Norwegian government invests its oil earnings in a fund. This is to ensure later generations can also profit from the oil returns, when oil production will gradually decline (Höök & Aleklett, 2008). The effects of the high GNI and the growing economy are low unemployment and low government deficits. This leads to secure government spending on e.g. housing and healthcare conditions (Liebig et al., 2010). According to *Statistics Norway*¹⁵ the Norwegian government spends money on salaries, leverage of goods and services; which includes public services, pensions and national insurance. An examples of public services are rehabilitation programs, retraining programs and means for immigration organizations. One could argue that Norway's welfare system benefits

13 This information is based on the Human Development Report 2013. This report was retrieved from <http://hdrstats.undp.org/images/explanations/NOR.pdf> on April 25, 2013

14 Baklien Brage, Personal communication, September 13, 2012

15 This information is based on Statistics Norway. This information was retrieved from: <http://ssb.no/offentlig-sektor/statistikker/offinnut/aar/2013-05-13#content> on May 13, 2013

from Norway's strong economic positions.

2.2 THE 'PERFECT' WELFARE STATE

Brochmann (2008) explains the Norwegian welfare state by comparing it to other countries: *"in an international context, Norway has been a country characterized by egalitarian income structures, maintained through collective bargaining and a tradition of social insurance systems that aim to ensure financial security for all citizens"* (Brochmann, 2008, p. 529). Socio-economic equality is an important value in the Norwegian society. Three welfare state principles that are presented by Arter (2008) support this value. The first is: *"Universalism as the basic principle of welfare distribution"*, the second: *"comprehensiveness as the basis for public welfare provision"*, and the third: *"equality, equality of opportunity and, above all, equality of outcomes as the basic policy goals"* (Arter, 2008, p. 178). There is a historical basis to the importance of equality in Norway, linked to the genesis of the welfare state (Maagerø & Simonsen, p. 16). *"Norway stands out in European history as a country where feudalism never had any real success"* (Maagerø & Simonsen, p. 14). Due to the geographical landscape, the population of Norway has always been scattered across the country. The farmers working on the land did not have a landlord wielding power over them. In that sense, power was also distributed across the country. Popular 19th century movements also helped to shape the Norwegian concept of equality. Most of these movements were inspired by religions with an egalitarian view of society. The movements believed in the sharing of power among the people.

Building the welfare state followed right after the Second World War (Heidar, p. 169), *"Norway received about 3 NOK billion¹⁶ as part of the Marshall Aid from the United States, along with various goods and household necessities"* (Maagerø & Simonsen, 2008, p. 51). The economy changed to a *"Scandinavian model"*, *"combining economic efficiency and performance with minimal inequality and welfare state benefits"* (Maagerø & Simonsen, 2008, p. 51). The Labour party, which has been in government since World War Two, was in favour of a state that takes care of its citizens (Heidar, 2004). The years after the Second World War were however tough. There was a high unemployment rate and housing conditions were poor. An era of emigration emerged. Almost half of the Norwegian population moved to the United States. It was difficult to build up a well functioning welfare state. But eventually the Norwegian government was successful:

[t]he decades following World War II would bring about the founding of one of the world's most comprehensive welfare systems, which is possibly the main reason why Norway today ranks as the top country on the UN Human Development Index (Maagerø & Simonsen, 2008, p. 51).

Maagerø & Simonsen (2008) relate the top ranking in reports such as the Human Development Index to the comprehensive welfare system. The component *socio-economic equality* is ranked high in reports

16 On March 23, 2013 1 NOK is 0,13 Euro cents

measuring the living conditions in various countries. On this specific point, Norway scores high on average, which means that the difference between the rich and the poor is not so great. Another important factor in the UN report is the spreading off and access to political power within the society. The general discourse in Norway is that there is a connection between 'equality and equal opportunities' and 'power'. Power should be close to the people, hence officials of the state are easily accessible. The economic growth over the last decades had made it possible to keep the power division horizontal and the socio-economic equality stable. The power of the local government who *“dispose of a very large proportion of government resources and play a key role as a provider of education and welfare services”* was maintained (Maagerø & Simonsen, 2008, p. 137). *“It is important to emphasize that local governments have not merely been passive recipients and implementers of national plans; historically they have also been active initiators in developing many social welfare practices”* (Heidar, 2004, p. 169). Where in recent years there have been reforms in Denmark and Sweden in order to reorganize the welfare state, Norway has not been reforming so dramatically. Political power is not limited to the local and central government, the influence of unions, businesses and other organisations – as e.g. farmers and the fishing industry – have a significant influence on policy making (Arter, 2008, p. 158).

2.3 AN 'EXCELLENT' INTEGRATION POLICY

The economic conditions and the structure of the welfare system in Norway have a substantial influence on the development and implementation of the integration policy. A high employment rate is important for the Norwegian government for two main reasons: it keeps the economy at a stable level *and* it ensures people participate in society. This became even more important when the society changed due to the influx of migrants. Norway has never had a guest worker program of recruitment, however migrants were coming in. *“Norway's immigrant population consists of people from 219 different countries and independent regions. They have come as refugees, as labour migrants, to study, or to join family living in Norway”*¹⁷ Over the period 1970 – 2011 there was an influx of immigrants.

Norway's integration policy is analysed by Mipex. In a report by Mipex¹⁸ the overall score of Norway on its integration policy is far above average. The overall score of Norway is 8 out of 10. The research report assesses integration policy on different aspects. These aspects are: *“Labour Market Mobility”*, *“Family reunification”*, *“Education”*, *“Political participation”*, *“Long term residence”*, *“Access to nationality”* and *“Anti discrimination”* (Mipex Norway, 2012, p. 1). The report makes a comparison between Norway in 2007

¹⁷ This information is based on information from Statistics Norway. The information has been retrieved from http://www.ssb.no/innvandring_en/ on May 7, 2012

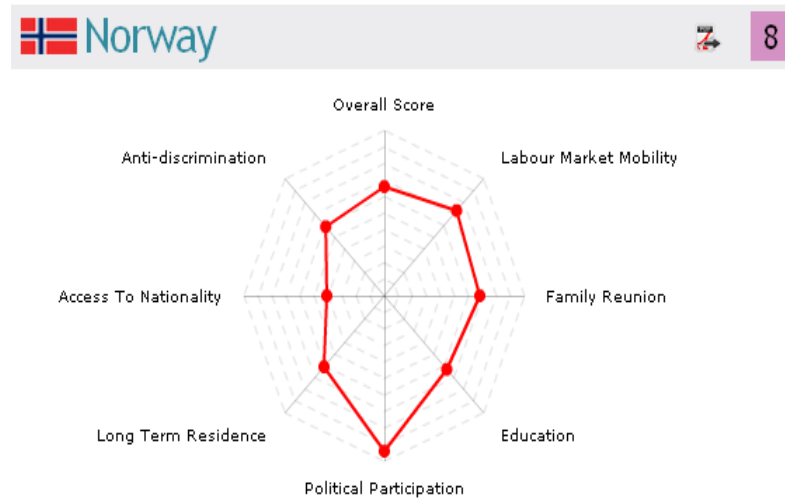
¹⁸ I will refer to this report as: Mipex Norway, 2012, due to the fact that there is no author indicated. The report has been retrieved from: <http://www.mipex.eu/norway> on May 7, 2012.

and in 2010. The most remarkable changes are the effects of the *introduction program*. This program is been explained by Hagelund (2005) as follows:

[t]he introduction programme is to provide newcomers both with the qualifications they need to integrate successfully and with a source of income. Basically, the new law gives refugees the right, and in practice also a duty, to participate in a two year full-time education and training programme. It has a financial and an educational component – and arguably also a third, less acknowledged, mental component (Hagelund, p. 673).

Newcomers in Norway can apply for this program, which teaches them more about the country and its language, to increase their chances of finding a job. On the aspect of Labour market mobility, we see that the “*workers’ rights*” score less well in 2010 than in 2007. As they say: “*Still, non-EU qualifications may be recognised for Norwegians and EU nationals, but not for non-EU nationals, forcing this group into jobs below their skills*” (Mipex Norway, p. 2). The aspect of “family reunification” is stricter than in other European countries. As is to be expected, political participation in Norway is high. The newcomers are given chances to integrate, and can even vote in local elections sooner than in other European countries. However, the “*access to nationality*” is minimal when compared with other countries. “*Most countries that open political opportunities to foreigners have also opened a path to citizenship, unlike Norway*” (Mipex Norway, p. 5). Anti-discrimination has not changed much over the years. Norway ranks average in the index of European countries (Mipex, Norway, p. 5). All this information leads to the following diagram:

Figure 2 Overview of the Norwegian integration policy compared with other European countries¹⁹



3.4 IN SHORT: 'PERFECT' NORWAY

The goal of this chapter was to answer the following sub question “*How is Norway seen as the perfect society?*” This chapter aimed at searching for the explanation of the discourse – or part of the discourse – in which Norway is seen as a perfect country. It dealt with respectively Norway’s *economy*, *welfare state* and *integration policy*. It seems that the three issues are strongly interconnected Norway's welfare state benefits from the strong economic position, both internationally and nationally. The strong welfare state makes it possible for the state to engage in different programs to include everyone in the Norwegian society. It seems that, compared to other European countries, the Norwegian integration policy is preforms high. Norway seeks perfection, notwithstanding 'perfection' within any society is impossible. Thus, the question that arising from this chapter is, is the Norwegian integration policy really as good as it seems? This question is the preparation for the next chapter.

¹⁹ This figure is based on the research of the European research institute MIPEx. Mipex Norway, 2012, due to the fact I I that there is no author indicated. The report has been retrieved from: <http://www.mipex.eu/norway> on 7th May 2012

3. Tensions within the Norwegian integration policy; desk research

The previous chapter suggested the existence of a discourse in which Norway – its economy, welfare state and integration policy – is seen as an example to other countries. This chapter zooms in on the Norwegian integration policy. Instead of portraying it as a close to ideal system – as the MIPEX report might suggest – here is sought to portray possible ambiguities or issues within the policies. A literature research suggests the possibility for pinpointing friction within the integration policy and how people write about this policies. Later in this thesis it will be explained that these – often latent – prevarications may lead to tensions – especially since they do not fit in the ‘Norway is a perfect society’ discourse.

As mentioned above, a literature research suggests the existence of several ambiguities within the Norwegian integration policy. Five key issues will be discussed, respectively: *welfare state*, *multiculturalism*, *gender equality*, *citizenship* and *ethnicity*. It is important to stress that we do not claim to provide a complete list of issues here, nor that this approach is the only way of categorizing the issues. Notwithstanding, here is argued that thinking through the issues could lead to a better understanding of controversies of frictions stemming from the integration policy in Norway. It is for the researcher to argue why the issues taking from scientific literature detected on the Norwegian integration policy are significant. In essence, literature from two influential Norwegian researchers – Hagelund and Brochmann – is used here. Hagelund focuses on “*immigration and integration policy, political discourse, welfare, and sick leave policies*”²⁰. Brochmann’s focus is on “*international migration; European immigration policy; comparative integration policies in welfare states and in the Nordic region, as well as historical studies of immigration to Norway*”²¹. In addition, Brochmann conducted a considerable amount of research on the concept of citizenship. Furthermore, Brochmann and Hagelund often supervise research done for the Norwegian government. In addition, they wrote the book: “*Velferdens grenser*”, which means “*Welfare limits*”. Next to Hageland and Brochmann other sources were also consulted. The literature analysis led to the five key issues presented in the sections below.

3.1 THE WELFARE STATE

As discussed in chapter 2, the welfare state has a substantial influence on the creation and implementation of the Norwegian integration policy. However, Freeman (1986) raises the question whether a ‘closed’ welfarestate allows for an open market economy and correspondingly immigration of persons. Freeman stated that: “*the welfare state represents an imperfect but important structural transformation of capitalism*” (1986,

20 Website of research institution Norway. <http://www.samfunnsforskning.no/Ansatte/Vitenskapelig-ansatte/Anniken-Hagelund>, retrieved on 24th November 2012

21 Website of the University of Oslo. <http://www.sv.uio.no/iss/english/people/aca/gbrocman/index.html>, retrieved on 24th November 2012.

p. 62) – *i.e.* redistribution of welfare among the members of the *closed* society. According to his view, the paradox between the *closed* character of the welfare state and the need for the free flow of labour or persons within the capitalist system will lead to a clash. Freeman argues that, within an ‘open’ world and economic system, the continued existence of the Norwegian welfare state is under pressure. This reasoning could lead to the conclusion that the simultaneous existence of a perfect welfare system and a perfect integration policy is an antinomy. A perfect integration policy implies open borders to – at least some – immigrants. According to Freeman this will not allow for a sustainable welfare state.

However, there are also those who argue that migration could solve problems of the welfare state within the ‘closed’ community. Maagerø & Simonsen (2008) express four main challenges to the welfare state: 1) “*rapid increase in the number of people receiving disability pension*”, 2) “*poverty as an issue in the Norwegian public debate*”, 3) “*an aging population*” and the 4) “*capacity of the hospital system*” (Maagerø & Simonsen, 2008, p. 119-124). These challenges express demographic changes within the Norwegian society. Like most European countries Norway is going through an age of an ageing population. As discussed in the previous chapter, in a welfare state such as Norway, the active labour force should be relatively large in relation to the ‘inactive’ population – *i.e.* the unemployed, elderly and children. The active workforce supports the ‘costly’ arrangements and benefits of the welfare state. Hence, an ageing population forms a threat to the sustainability of the Norwegian welfare system. Expanding the absolute size of the labour force through labour immigration could solve such threats. Immigration could increase the active labour force and thus sustain the financial balance.

Thus, it is being debated whether or not immigration is a challenge or a solution to the future of the welfare state. According to Brochmann and Hagelund (2011, p. 13) in Norway the issue is framed through the following question: “Is immigration **bad**²² for the welfare state?” Freeman and Maagerø and Simonsen might present the most opposing and straightforward positions in answering the question. Brochmann and Hagelund portray a more nuanced image of the issue, by presenting four tendencies regarding the question. Four different analytical positions show how the relation between immigration and the welfare state should or could be regarded (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2011, p. 14):

The first analytical position relates closely to Freeman’s framing of the question on the issue. When assessing whether immigration forms a threat to the future of the welfare state, one should focus on economic sustainability. Hence, the key characteristic of the welfare state is the generous distribution of welfare. However, since there cannot be unlimited distribution of resources and rights, only a limited group can benefit from this redistribution. Restriction of immigration might be necessary to ensure ‘the system’ is not

22 Part is marked bold by the author of this thesis. One could argue that framing the question by using the word ‘bad’ rather than *e.g.* ‘good’ implies a biased position towards the answer of the question.

overburdened. In this light one could argue that Maagerø and Simonsen also frame the issue through this – the first – analytical position. They argue however that to maintain economic sustainability labour immigration is *favourable* (something that is – wrongly – not concluded by Brochmann and Hagelund) . Hence, in accordance with the first analytical position, (labour) immigration might not be an issue as long as it is regulated and – when it serves the welfare state. This notion may lead to the conclusion that the simultaneous existence of a perfect welfare state and a perfect integration policy is **not** an antinomy. For those who enter the state – regulated – a system is in place that helps them to fully participate within the new society – *i.e.* to serve, but also benefit from, the state. However, liberal states with well functioning welfare systems **cannot** fully regulate immigration. Firstly, a country such as Norway signed the 1951 Geneva Convention²³ and is a member of the European Council²⁴. Therefore it deliberately gave up a part of its sovereignty by always giving shelter to refugees. This could result in an unregulated (*i.e.* not welfare system ‘proof’) immigration ‘wave’. Secondly, a country such as Norway might need labourers to help sustain the welfare state (as Maagerø and Simonsen argue). However, as shown in many European countries (*e.g.* the Netherlands) ‘guest workers’ do not function as commodities. When in an economic downturn labour demand declines, guest workers do not leave the state. Rather they benefit from the welfare state and bring their families over. This is often called the ‘liberal paradox’ (Hollifield, 2004). Labour migrants make use of rights in liberal democracies, they stay and bring over their families. One could say that just because Norway is a liberal democracy, with its welfare state, it has long giving up the possibility to *fully* regulate immigration. Thus, following the first analytical position, an ideal economic sustainable welfare in the realities of this globalization world cannot exist. That does not imply that a perfect integration policy cannot exist. However as long as immigration cannot be regulated both the “perfect integration policy” and the “perfect welfare state” cannot exist simultaneously (Hollifield, 2004) (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011).

Related to the first position is the second, which “*deals with the interconnection between boundaries and bonds*” (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011, p. 14). Immigration could not only be a challenge to the economic sustainability of Norway’s welfare state, it is also a challenge to social cohesion within the (welfare) state. Social cohesion is important for the existence of the welfare state, because: “*popular support [is] necessary to sustain the basic structure of a redistributive welfare state in democratic societies*” (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011, p. 14). Everyone entering a community could change group dynamics and its culture. One could argue that strictly regulated immigration is a precondition for the continued existence of the welfare state. This might lead to the conclusion that the *ideal* welfare state is a fully closed community with a total ban

23 This information is found on the website of the United Nations Treaty collection, retrieved from http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetailsII.aspx?&src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=V~2&chapter=5&Temp=mtdsg2&lang=en on May 16, 2013.

24 This information is found on the website of the Council of Europe, retrieved from <http://hub.coe.int/country/norway> on May 16, 2013

on immigration. Hence, *again* in this ideal state, no such thing as integration policy exists, because immigration is non-existent.

The third position challenges the second position on the concept of social cohesion. One could argue that there is a *“lack of empirical proof as to the cohesion hypothesis”* (Brochmann & Hagelund, p. 14). The welfare state is robust, so therefore the importance of social cohesion to the continued existence of the welfare state is negligible. The strong institutions of the welfare state nullify such possible threats. As part of the ‘perfect’ welfare state, a ‘perfect’ integration policy could be set in place to counteract possible negative effects of immigration. Because immigration is inevitable (discussed above), it is necessary to have a well-working integration policy to sustain the future of the welfare state. Thus, following the third analytical position a ‘perfect’ integration policy is a precondition to sustain an ‘ideal’ welfare state. This is in contrast with the conclusions stated above, which argue that both ‘ideal’ systems cannot exist simultaneously.

The fourth analytical position - about framing the question whether the welfare state is sustainable with immigration – is based on the thoughts of Koopmans (2010). Brochmann & Hagelund summarise Koopmans view as follows: *“it is the unfortunate combinations of welfare and multicultural policies which are unsustainable”* (Brochmann & Hagelund, p. 14) The assumption here that integration policies are based on a concept of multiculturalism, that holds that different cultures can exist together within one society. What multiculturalism is or implies (for Norway) has never been an issue of public debate. However, as Hagelund (2002) argues, in the political and scientific discourse there is a presumption that Norway is ‘in fact’ a multicultural society. In a research of Koopmans (2010), welfare structures between eight different European countries are compared.. (It should be mentioned that Norway was excluded from Koopmans’s research. However, thoughts and concepts from his analysis are applicable to the case of Norway, because Koopmans argues that there is a connection between the sustainability of the welfare state and integration policies based on multiculturalism.). Koopmans has the following conclusion: *“in countries with a ‘limited’ welfare state such as the UK and the classical immigration countries, immigrants are, by and large forced by the discipline of the market to make it on their own”* (Koopmans, p. 21). This suggests that ‘new’ immigrants will develop or integrate better in time, when they cannot benefit generously from (limited) ‘welfare’ states. It is interesting that in the fourth analytical position the question on the compatibility of the welfare state and immigration focuses on the integration potential of the immigrant rather than on the sustainability of welfare state systems in the receiving society. Brochmann and Hagelund argue: *“easy access to equal rights, when combined with a generous welfare state, leads to weak labour market participation, high levels of spatial segregation, and overrepresentation in the criminal statistics”* of the immigrant (Brochmann & Hagelund, p. 14). Following this line of reasoning, if one assumes that an ‘ideal welfare system’ is one with generous benefits to all (including immigrants), a ‘perfect’ integration policy cannot exist within an ideal welfare system. The above

shows that generous benefits will lead to a less favourable position within the society. Immigrants integrate better in countries with less generous welfare systems. Koopmans also emphasized that “*less-tolerant reactions to immigrants in European welfare states must also be seen in this context*” (Koopmans, p. 21). When integration is lagging behind, and immigrants remain dependent on social arrangements, this could lead to anti-feelings towards newcomers.

In sum, in this section, it is argued that the relation between Norway’s integration policy and Norway’s welfare system contains a potential inconsistency or ambiguity. It seems almost untenable to maintain a discourse that holds that in Norway a ‘perfect’ or ‘ideal’ integration policy and an ‘ideal’ welfare system exist side by side. Several notions lead to this conclusion. First, as it applies to the economic sustainability of the welfare state, one could argue that immigration should be under strict control (immigration may only serve the welfare state’s economic interest). However, international law and the principles of the liberal democracy do not allow for such precise regulation. Hence, an ‘ideal’ welfare state cannot exist. Secondly, there are those who argue that to maintain public support for the welfare state, it should be a ‘closed’ society. In that light, a welfare state should *not* even have an integration policy. However, thirdly, there are scholars who argue that to maintain the ‘ideal’ welfare state, institutions should carry out the ‘ideal’ integration policy. Both ideal types *can* and *should* exist simultaneously. However, turning back to the first notion, one could argue that it is ‘unwanted’ immigration that undermines the (economic) possibility to put such strong arrangements in place. Finally, and most convincingly, empirical evidence shows that integration does not thrive in states with generous welfare systems. In that sense, a perfect integration policy *is* a less generous welfare state.

All notions show that on empirical and theoretical levels tensions exist between a well functioning welfare state and a ‘perfect’ integration policy. This shows the complexity of the relationship between the welfare state and integration policy. One could strongly argue against the possibility to portray a society with both an ideal welfare system and a perfect integration policy. Almost always a tension between the two systems certainly exists.

3.2 MULTICULTURALISM

The above shows that there is a friction between the 'perfect' integration policy and an 'ideal' welfare state. In this section the focus is on the concept of multiculturalism. To what extent does the concept of multiculturalism affect the Norwegian integration policy. Investigated is how the term multiculturalism is used in the current Norwegian debate on integration policy. Claimed is, that *not* defining and utilizing the concept could lead to tensions within the integration policy. Before determining how multiculturalism is used within

the Norwegian integration policy, it is useful to give a scientific definition of the concept. According to Nye (2007, p. 110) “*the term multiculturalism describes the complex range of issues associated with cultural and religious diversity in society, and the social management of the challenges and opportunities such diversity offers*”. Nye emphasizes that multiculturalism is a complex process that should be actively managed or guided by different political institutions throughout all levels of society. According to Nye, it is important that politics utilize a multidimensional approach or conceptualization of the issue. Populist tendencies towards the issue oversimplify what multiculturalism stands for. Often, it is questioned whether multiculturalism is alive or not (Huddleston, 2012). Nye argues that one cannot choose for or against multiculturalism. It has become a reality in contemporary western societies. One can choose how to deal with the phenomenon. Therefore politics should constantly elaborate what multiculturalism means for its society.

Nye (2007) mentions three approaches to understanding the concept multiculturalism; 1) “*multiculturalism as an ideology*”, 2) “*multiculturalism as a social issue*” and 3) “*the academic study of multiculturalism*” (Nye, p. 111). To fully understand the concept it is important to combine these approaches and use them together within the context of a country, in this case Norway. Cultural and religious diversity can lead to tensions between people within a society. According to Nye, it is for the state to ensure that those tensions are minimized. What should be done is the creation of a sense of common ground - *e.g.* a shared understanding of constitutional principles such as the freedom of expression or freedom of religion. In order to achieve a sense of common ground it is important to define what values are important within a society (Nye, 2007; Scheffer, 2000).

As Nye (2007, p. 118) argues:

[t]he management and governance of multiculturalism is necessary, to ensure that there is widespread and effective respect for diversity, whilst at the same time there is an element of cohesion and shared identity—a common ground upon which the society and nation works as more than a collection of diversities.

Hagelund (2002) argues that the term multiculturalism is never used explicitly in the Norwegian discourse on integration. She holds that “*the term multiculturalism has rarely been applied in mainstream public and political debates*” (Hagelund, 2002, p. 402). Integration has been promoted as a means towards a multicultural society. However, what that implies for Norway is vague and has changed over time. Thus according to Hagelund, Norway *is* (as discussed in chapter 2, it houses immigrants from 219 different countries) and has been seen as a multicultural society, but what that implies is not clear. As Hagelund (2002) argues, in the political discourse on the issue, the term integration is more often and explicitly used than the

term multiculturalism. Hagelund explains that integration in Norway is often explained by opposing it to assimilation. *It is not assimilation*. However, no clear definition of integration is provided.

The lack of clarity about the meaning of multiculturalism, but also the term integration, within the Norwegian integration policy leads to possible tensions. There are several reasons for this. First, as Nye and Hagelund argue, multiculturalism is a reality in Norway. Not acknowledging this or by not continuing to keep going a scientific debate over the issue, the state may not carry out its duty of minimizing possible tensions that are a result of the multicultural society. Secondly, a common definition of what multiculturalism means for a society could be a common ground or shared values – as discussed above – which also minimizes tensions between different groups in that society. In that sense, ‘creating’ a common definition would be a means for the government to carry out its duty. Finally, by not defining integration and multiculturalism different parties – institutions and citizens – can read their own meaning into the concepts. Therefore it is not possible to have an actual debate on the issue. It is hard to oppose a concept, when it is not defined properly. This could lead to a feeling of ignorance and thereby tensions.

3.3 GENDER EQUALITY

This section will analyse one of the core values within Norwegian society; gender equality. This value is closely related to the value *equality* as discussed in Chapter 2. The question in this section is whether or not gender equality is an ambiguous concept in the Norwegian integration policy. Akkerman & Hagelund (2007) focus on gender equality policies in Norway in relation to multiculturalism. They argue: “*there is potential tension between multiculturalism and women’s rights when the cultural or religious groups/identities that multicultural policies seek to protect are groups that systematically suppress the rights of women and children*” (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007, p. 199). In Scandinavia, gender equality is seen as an important issue. In scientific research, Scandinavia is often seen as a model to the Western world in its approach to women’s rights:

Gender equality – in the sense of formal equal rights – had already achieved increasing political support in the Nordic countries during the last decades of the 19th century, and around 1920 women had obtained formal equal rights with men in terms of education and government posts, voting and political positions (Melby, Ravn and Carlson Wetterberg, 2009, p. 1).

This statement shows that gender equality has been an important value in the Scandinavian countries for a long time. That is not to say that no changes in the intensity of the debate have occurred during the past decades (Arter, 2008). According to Akkerman and Hagelund (2007), recently gender equality has been put back onto

the political agenda under the influence of the populist parties. In Norway, it was the Fremskrittspartiet²⁵ that made gender equality a central issue again. According to the party, immigration forms a threat to gender equality in Norwegian society. The party argues that under 'plurality policies' it is often tolerated that the rights of women are not fully protected in immigrant communities. One could argue that the absence of a clear definition of the concept of multiculturalism – and integration – results in tensions as expressed by the Fremskrittspartiet.

In addition, feminist organizations express their concerns over the relation between women's rights and integration. Thun (2012) wrote an article about the discourse of the feminist movement in Norway. Her research is about the main ideology of this feminist movement in Norway, and how it applies to Norwegian women. The question Thun asks herself is: "*Who is included and excluded in the definition of "women" in contemporary Norwegian feminist discourse?*" (Thun, 2012, p. 38). The goal of her research is to explore the different representations within the feminist discourse in Norway. More specifically, she focuses on the representation of minority women in the Norwegian feminist discourse.

Okin (1999) has a similar approach. She wrote a book called: "*Is multiculturalism bad for women?*", in which she examines the connection between multiculturalism and feminism. She argues that: "*multiculturalism and feminism are, in some ways, related struggles*" (Okin, 1999, p. 131). In order to understand the clash between both concepts it is important to quote the way both feminism and multiculturalism are explained by Okin (1999). Feminism is explained as follows: "*the belief that women should not be disadvantaged by their sex, that they should be recognized as having human dignity equal to that of men, and that they should have the opportunity to live as fulfilling and as freely chosen lives as men can*" (Okin, 1999, p. 10). This statement shows that the focus of feminism is on gender. Multiculturalism is explained as: "*that minority cultures or ways of life are not sufficiently protected by the practice of ensuring the individual rights of their members, and as a consequence these should also be protected through special group rights or privileges*" (Okin, 1999, p. 10-11). The focus of multiculturalism is on the rights of cultural groups. The different focal points of both concepts may lead to tensions. Because the different categories – women and cultural groups – are not mutually exclusive, there can be a conflict of interests. The interest feminists defend might conflict with the interests cultural groups – that include women – defend.

The conclusion of Thun's research is: "*I found that minority women are excluded in majority representations of feminism by being defined as "different" and that there is a boundary between the "Norwegian woman" and the "immigrant/minority woman"*" (Thun, 2012, p.52). The controversy as explained by Okin (1999) is becoming prominent in the Norwegian discourse. One could argue that when there is 'perfect' integration policy, migrants will integrate well into the society. This should also be the case for

25 Fremskrittspartiet is the populist party in Norway. In English it is called the Progress party (FrP).

women. However, the research of Thun (2012) shows that the minority women are not represented well in the overall debate about gender equality.

This section examines whether one of the core value of Norwegian society - gender equality - could lead to tensions in the Norwegian integration policy. First, as Okin (1999) shows in her book, the aims of feminists and the aims of cultural groups may differ fundamentally. This could often lead to tensions. Secondly, according to Thun (2012), as a consequence of the above, feminists struggle to include every woman in the 'equal rights' debate. In that sense, integration is lagging behind.

3.4 CITIZENSHIP

The question that is raised in this part is whether or not the idea of citizenship has an influence on the Norwegian integration policy. On the website of "*The [Norwegian] ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion*" citizenship is explained as a social contract between the state and its citizens²⁶. When immigrants want to settle permanently in Norway they may apply to obtain Norwegian citizenship. According to Castles and Miller (2009) "*citizenship is the essential link between state and nation, and obtaining citizenship is of central importance for newcomers to a country*" (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 42). This statement about citizenship suggests that there is a difference between the concept of nation and the concept of state. *The state* stands for the formal political organization of a country. *The nation* is symbolic for a community. Through citizenship both concepts are legally combined (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 42). The legal bond between the newcomer and the country through citizenship could have a positive influence on the social bond with the new country. This is however under debate (Brochmann & Seland, 2010). According to Castles and Miller "*the central issues [of citizenship] are: defining who is a citizen, how newcomers can become citizens and what citizenship means*" (p. 44). In order to address the central issues Castles & Miller (2009) present five models for citizenship: "*the imperial model*", the "*ethnic model*", the "*republican model*", the "*multicultural model*" and the "*transnational model*" (Castles & Miller, p. 44-45). These models are based on the way newcomers can obtain their new citizenship. Norway typifies the *multicultural model*, where different cultures are accepted. This model is based on the principle that migrants could become citizen of the new countries, while keeping certain personal values as long as they do not conflict with the country's laws. However, in recent years countries with this model have changed their tolerance towards different cultures. The focus of this model has shifted from tolerance, towards duties for the new citizens. This shift – from tolerance towards duty in the multicultural citizen model – is found in Norway (Hagelund, 2005). One of these practical changes is the introduction program (as discussed in section 2.3):

26 <http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/bld/Topics/integration-and-diversity/citizenship.html?id=670063>, Accessed on 6th December 2012

[t]he introduction programme is to provide newcomers both with the qualifications they need to integrate successfully and with a source of income. Basically, the new law gives refugees the right, and in practice also a duty, to participate in a two-year full-time education and training programme (Hagelund, p. 673).

On a theoretical level one could argue that as long as one is not a citizen of a certain country full integration *de facto* has not occurred. In that light, one could argue that the shift within the multicultural model in Norway makes it more difficult to eventually obtain Norwegian citizenship. Therefore one could argue that due to stricter policies, ‘full’ integration is not being promoted. In short: the increasing inaccessibility to Norwegian citizenship for immigrants complicates the Norwegian integration process.

3.5 ETHNICITY

The question that is central in this part is whether or not – and to what extent – the concept of ethnicity has its influence on the Norwegian integration policy. In this section the analytical discussion of the concept of ethnicity within the integration policy in The Netherlands will be presented. The analytical discussion will be used to analyse the Norwegian integration policy.

The concept ‘ethnicity’ can be explained by *the categorization of people by their background*. In the Netherlands, the distinction between *allochtoon* and *autochtoon* is used. An *autochtoon* is someone with both parents born in The Netherlands, regardless of the country s/he her-/himself was born²⁷ in. Whereas an *allochtoon* is someone with at least one parent born outside the Netherlands. The latter term also makes the distinction between the country of origin and the generation of those born outside The Netherlands²⁸. One could speak of western and non-western *allochtonen*. According to some prominent researchers²⁹, the terms ‘*autochtoon*’ and ‘*allochtoon*’ should no longer be used. By making this distinction, people are put into boxes and will behave accordingly.

Ham and Van der Meer (2011) wrote a report about ethnic categorization in the Netherlands. In their report, commissioned by NIDI³⁰, two main questions are central: “*What are the pros and cons of ethnic categorization for the knowledge about integration and integration policy?*” and “*What are the alternatives and what are the pros and cons of the alternatives?*”³¹” (Ham & Van der Meer, 2011, p. 9). Their report

27 <http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=88>, retrieved on 13th December 2012

28 <http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=37>, retrieved on 13th December 2012

29 The researchers P. Scheffer & H. Entzinger

30 NIDI stands for Nederlands Interdisciplinair Demografisch Instituut, which translates into: Dutch Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute

31 The questions are translated from dutch. The two questions are: “Wat zijn de voor- en nadelen van etnische categorisering voor de kennis over integratie en voor het integratiebeleid?” en “Wat zijn alternatieven en wat zijn daar de voor- en nadelen van?”

explains the different terminology as used throughout recent history. The terms *allochtoon* and *autochtoon* were introduced in the 2000s. The terminology was introduced with the idea of helping *allochtonen* integrate by making policies that focus on the difficulties *allochtonen* experience. Therefore, using ethnic categorization was seen as an advantage. Ham and Van der Meer (2011) point out that the distinction between different groups could help make policy more productive. However, it also puts people into boxes, which prevents them from growing. Using these terms emphasises the difference between people, rather than what they have in common. Because in the Netherlands there have been some (perceived) problems with immigrants, '*allochtoon*' became synonymous for '*trouble*'. This did not improve the integration process of '*allochtonen*'.

Van Houtum (2005) researched ethnic categorization while focussing on the concept of the border. The border is a social construct made to prevent people from illegally entering the state. The moment migrants enter a new country, which makes them 'guests' in a defined territory. Frangen (2010) makes the remark that there are different ways of making people different. Frangen (2010) uses the term '*othering*'. "*These cases of 'othering' can vary from overt racism, to institutionalized ways of treating someone as 'different', such as special classes or projects targeted to specific groups of people*" (Frangen, p. 136). Frangen thus argues that '*othering*' is expressed in the terminology *allochtoon*/*autochtoon*. Entzinger (2012) reasons that this form of '*othering*' does not stimulate integration. He argues it does the opposite. Entzinger demonstrates that policy made specifically for minority groups should no longer be used. He demonstrated this with a report on integration in Amsterdam and Rotterdam (the two biggest cities of the Netherlands) written together with Scheffer. The key question in this report is how the individual fits into a society³². Entzinger argues that the term "integration policy" suggests that people will come into an unchangeable society. This is not the case. Entzinger argues that policy should aim at the society as a whole, not just one particular part of it. Policy aimed at the whole of society will lead to social cohesion³³ and therefore better integration. Hence, policy or a discourse focussing solely on the individual or an ethnic group does not help integration.

The above shows that focussing on ethnicity will not improve the integration of minorities into a country. In itself, they might be problematic concepts when used in the context of integration policy. In Norway integration policy is based on ethnic minorities. Talkle (2012) wrote an article about "*Ethnic based organisations in the City of Oslo [receiving] financial support from the government for their daily operations*" (p. 4). The Norwegian government assumes that ethnic democratic organisations support the process of the integration of minorities in Norway. However, research by Entzinger and others shows that no integration policy should be based on ethnic categorization. Ethnic categorization will not contribute to the integration, the opposite appears to occur, it is stereotyping people. In that sense, the concept ethnicity might lead to a form of

32 Personal communication Entzinger, May 15th 2012.

33 Personal communication Entzinger, May 15th 2012.

tension within the Norwegian integration policy.

3.6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter is based on a literature study. The goal was to find possible tensions within the Norwegian integration policy, using scientific research. The starting point of this chapter was the perfection of Norway. The exposure of the issues will be tested in the next chapter, using empirical research. The aim of this chapter is to find out whether these issues are also found in the narrative of people dealing with the Norwegian integration policy. The conclusions – presented in table 3.1 - of these issues will be verified in the next chapter.

Table 1 Possible issues of the Norwegian integration policy

Possible Issue	
1. Welfare state	One could strongly argue against the possibility to portray a society with both an ideal welfare system and a perfect integration policy.
2. Multiculturalism	By not defining integration and multiculturalism different parties – institutions and citizens – can read their own meaning into the concepts. This makes a actual debate about this issue impossible.
3. Gender equality	Feminists struggle to include every woman in the ‘equal rights’ debate. In that sense, integration is lagging behind.
4. Citizenship	The increasing inaccessibility to Norwegian citizenship for immigrants complicates the Norwegian integration process.
5. Ethnicity	Ethnic categorization will not contribute to the integration, the opposite appears to occur, it is stereotyping people, this could lead to tension.

4. Tensions within the Norwegian integration policy; the interviews

Chapter 3 describes five possible issues within the Norwegian integration policy – *welfare state*, *multiculturalism*, *gender equality*, *citizenship and ethnicity* – that could lead to tensions in the Norwegian integration policy. This chapter discusses empirical research on these issues. The question is whether the issues are also found when interviewing people connected to or somehow affected by the Norwegian integration policy and in the observations of various activities (related to integration policy) in Norwegian society. The interviews are analysed using a *narrative analysis*, investigating whether the issues – as found in academic literature – are also manifest among, and experienced by people with a link to the Norwegian integration policy (e.g. refugees, policy makers and civil servants).

Table 2 shows an overview of the approach used in chapter 4. The first section of this chapter will explain the research approach, i.e. the interview guide, snowball sampling and narrative analysis respectively. The second part will focus on the observations, and the third part will answer the sub question central to this chapter: “*Are (if so, to what extent) the possible ambiguities or issues in the Norwegian integration policy as defined in chapter 3 actually found in Norwegian society?*”

Table 2 Approach of chapter 4

Action	Goal
1. Interview guide	To keep the focus on the issues during the interviews, in order to collect specific information
2. Selecting interviewees	Interviewees connected with integration policy, using the snowball sampling
3. Observing as a participant	Observation and participation in different activities related to integration policy, in order to understand the context and outcomes of this policy
4. Transcribing interviews	A collection of useful quotes that can be placed into context
5. Summarizing interviews	A practicable data set, with the focus on the issues as discussed in chapter 3
6. Selecting quotes	A representative collection of quotes, in which the different opinions on the issues are described (this does not mean that everyone is represented equally, the goal of the quotes being that they show the bigger picture)
7. Analyzing narrative	A presentable narrative of the interviews and observations

4.1 THE INTERVIEWS

The goal of the interviews is to further explore the issues of the integration policy (Chapter 3) by interviewing people living in Norway, who are to a certain degree connected with or affected by the concept of integration. By using this type of interview strategy “*there is much greater interest in the interviewee’s point of view*” (Bryman, p.319). Through the use of an interview guide, the interviews are categorized as semi-structured interviews. According to Bryman (2008), there are pitfalls in using semi-structured interviews. The researcher collects a lot of information, some of which is not relevant. Therefore, the focus of the researcher is essential. As Bryman (2008) points out: “*The researcher must guard against being captivated by the richness of the*

data collected, so that there is a failure to give the data wider significance for the social science” (Bryman, p. 538). However, by too much focus, difficulties could arise, for instance that the researcher misses important information. That is why in this research, the researcher utilized an interview guide³⁴, with the focus on: “*welfare state*”, “*multiculturalism*”, “*gender equality*”, “*citizenship*” and “*ethnicity*”. Of each issue, several quotes are presented to the interviewees. The interviewees were contacted through a snowball sampling. Next, a narrative analysis is made to find out what the interviewees have to say on the tensions within the integration policy. The narratives of the interviewees are supported by observations. It will be further explained below.

4.1.1 Interview guide

Firstly, the interviewees are asked about their occupation. These questions are standard questions such as “*What does your organization do?*” and “*What does your normal day look like?*”. However, using specific follow-up questions, personal opinions and decisions of the interviewees in the field of integration are given. Secondly, the interviewee is given the opportunity to freely express his or her view on the issues (welfare state, multiculturalism, gender equality, citizenship and ethnicity). Thirdly, the interviewees are asked in-depth questions about their views on the issues, using specific quotes selected from scientific articles (which were also used in chapter 3). The quotes are presented to the interviewees, helping them to specify their thoughts about the issues and explain how these issues relate to their work. In addition to the issues presented above, there are also specific questions and quotes about Breivik in the interviews. Because this is an exploratory research study, the insights about Breivik will be presented in the next chapter. The fourth and the fifth part of the interview guide are general questions about the ‘perfect’ Norway discourse. The five parts in the interview guide aim at collecting a richness of data and at the same time keep the focus on the research question in this thesis. The next part will present in detail how the *snowball sampling* has been performed (Bryman, 2008, p. 184).

4.1.1 Snowball sampling

The search for suitable candidates for this research started with an internship at Bærum Kommune, “Marie P, Ungdomstjensten”. This is a youth center in the area of Dønski, where children of various ages participate in various activities. Among others, the activities are adapted to the season and to the wishes of the children. The activities are often a combination of education and leisure. Thanks to my liaison, who is the manager of the youth center, my network rapidly expanded to Oslo and surroundings. I mobilized this growing network to approach potential interviewees. Also, I contacted different institutions by email and telephone. Besides, after

³⁴ Appendix 1 contains the practical interview guide (1a) and the interview guide itself (1b). The practical interview guide uses the researcher as supporter at the beginning of each interview. The interview guide proper contains the questions used during the interviews.

each interview, I asked the interviewees if they knew another person somehow affected by or linked to integration that I could interview. Thus by *snowball sampling* I managed to arrange interviews as well as interviews with individual contacts. Besides persons working in the field of integration, it was also significant to interview migrants. This was more difficult. Many of the migrants did want to speak to me, but informally. I managed to participate in different activities in which they were also involved. These activities made it possible for me to talk more profoundly and informally with the migrants. Most of these activities were in the eastern part of Oslo. These observations will be further explained in section 4.2. Table 3a and table 3b present an overview of all the interviewees, indicating the *name*, *appendix number* and *reason for the interview*. The main characteristic of the interviewees is that they are working (or have worked) in the context of the Norwegian integration policy, either on an operational level, or on a policy making level. This criterium is broadly applicable chosen, to obtain an overall picture of the Norwegian integration policy. As mentioned in section 1.5, this is an exploratory research study with a wide range of interviewees helping to explore possible ambiguities within the integration policy. Appendix 3 shows more details about the interviewees. In this table, the focus is on the operational level of the interviewees, and what the power branch is. The possible bias of the chosen interviewees is that all of them are working (have worked) in the field of the Norwegian integration policy and thus involved in every detail of the Norwegian integration policy, which could lead to bias.

Table 3a Overview of the interviewee

Interviewees ³⁵	Appendix	Organization	Reason for interview
Arne & Brit	A1	Bærum Kommune	Managing introduction program in Bærum Kommune
Baklien	A2	Fremskrittspartiet (The Progress Party)	Former spokesperson for immigration issues of the Progress Party
Berit	A3	Bærum Kommune	Manager of the youth centers in Bærum. How the integration policy is implemented in this work
Anonymous 1	A4	University of Oslo	The academic background of integration policy
Anonymous 2	A5	IMDi (Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet) The Directorate of Integration and Diversity	This organization implements the policy initiated by the ministry
Anonymous 3	A6	Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking (AUF), The Workers' Youth League	Involved within the AUF, the youth party that was attacked by Breivik
Anonymous 4	A7	Red Cross	Support Organization for new migrants. Works with volunteers.
Ketil	A8	Norwegian People' Aid	Manager of transit camp. What happens with newly arrived migrants
Anonymous 5	A9	Writer	Writer, wrote many article about integration in Norway

³⁵ The interviewees are only named by their for first name, for privacy reasons. Also some of the other interviewees explicitly asked to keep their names anonymous. No migrants are mentioned by name, which was the pre-condition for interviewing them.

Table 3b Overview of the interviewee

Interviewees	Appendix	Organization	Reason for interview
Lise	A10	Labour Party	Parliamentarian of the Labour party. Also closely involved with the start of the introduction program.
Marianne	A11	Labour Party	Parliamentarian of the Labour party.
Per	A12	Aftenposten	Editor of the biggest newspaper in Norway, wrote about Breivik
Sinisa	A13	Hero	Staff member of Hero Mottak center in Bærum (center for refugees). Has a migrant background
Tellef	A14	Hero	Manager of Hero Mottak center in Bærum
Timothy	A15	Ministry of Children, Equality and Social inclusion	Senior advisor of the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social inclusion. Worked with IMDi and worked on the report: “Better integration”
Jan	A16	Bærum Kommune	Manager of social center in Bærum Kommune, where he knows a lot of youths in Bærum. Is also in contact with the center for under- aged migrants
Migrant I	A17		Asylum seeker waiting for a residence permit
Migrant II	A18		Refugee ³⁶ with a residence permit, participating in the second year of the introduction program
Migrant III	A19		Single Refugee with residence permit, attending regular education
Migrant IV	A20		Under-aged refugee with residence permit, attending regular education
Migrant V	A21		Refugee with Norwegian citizenship

4.2 OBSERVATION

During the research period (July 2012 – October 2012), I lived, worked and observed in Bærum Kommune. My network was mainly based in this area, more specifically in the area of Dønski. I lived next to the youth center, where during the weekend different activities of migrant organizations often took place. This gave me the chance to participate in these activities and make observations. This approach shows similarities to ethnographic research whereby: “[t]he ethnographer immerses him- or herself in - a group for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions” (Bryman, 2004, p. 292). This research approach is an element of the exploratory research as used in this thesis, which is discussed in section 1.5. According to Bryman (2004), there are different roles the ethnographer can play. I played the role of “*observer-as-participant*”, “*In this role, the researcher is mainly an interviewer. There is some observation, but very little of it involves any participation*” (Bryman, p. 301). I recorded the observations with the use of a Dictaphone. Those notes were short and discrete. Besides persons working in the field of integration, it is also significant to interview migrants. This was more difficult. Many of the migrants did want to speak to me, but informally. I managed to participate in different activities in which they were also involved. These activities made it possible for me to

36 The refugees have a certain status, that makes them part of the Norwegian integration policy.

talk more profoundly and informally with the migrants. Most of these activities were in the eastern part of Oslo.

Thus, by using a snowball sampling, potential interviewees were contacted. Migrants were contacted for different observations and participation in activities organized in Bærum and Oslo. The next section will elaborate on the data analysis.

4.3 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The narrative analysis is used to draw conclusions from the interviews and the observations. This analysis is explained by Bryman (2008, p. 696) as follows:

An approach to the elicitation and analysis of data that is sensitive to the sense of temporal sequence that people, as tellers of stories about their lives or events around them, detect in their lives and surrounding episodes and inject into their accounts. However, the approach is not exclusive to a focus on life histories

The narrative analysis is used because the story (narrative) of the interviewees, in relation to the Norwegian integration policy, is essential to understand the possible outcome of the issues found in Chapter 3. Every interview is transcribed. However, for the focus of this research the analysis is on the third section of the interviews. The focus of the analysis in this section are the in-depth questions about the issues. Bryman (2008) emphasizes that an analysis is not sufficient with random quotes of the interviewees. This remark is taken into account while making the interview guide and the summaries of the interviews. The coding system implemented in this research is based on summarizing the key sentences of the interview. In appendix 2, the summaries of the individual interviews are presented. In the next section, the analysis is classified per issue. In this analysis, quotes are used that represent the overall narrative of the interviewees. In some cases, quotes are used that contradict the narrative, to give a better understanding of a certain issue. The goal is to discover the narrative behind the issue, in which not only the interviews are used, but also the observations.

4.4 NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUES

4.4.1 The Welfare State

Whether or not immigration challenges the existence of the Norwegian welfare state was discussed above. The conclusion was that a certain tension exists between the ('perfect') Norwegian integration policy and the ('perfect') Norwegian welfare state. Central to this section is whether and how those that have a connection with or are affected by the Norwegian integration policy do indeed experience these tensions. Therefore interviewees were presented with the following questions:

1. *The welfare state is a much discussed issue among scientists. Some of them argue the future of the welfare state will depend on immigrants, in order to keep the population growing. Do you think that is true? Why(not)?*
2. *In her research, Hagelund (2010) points out: “When must the welfare state take steps to curb diversity, and thus choice and autonomy, in order to protect other aims such as social equality, or even, to protect people against themselves?”³⁷What are your views on this?*

Overall, the interviewees argued that integration policy is an *element* of the welfare state. The state’s integration policy is generally considered to be positive and effective. The overall narrative is that this policy has a positive influence on the participation of migrants in Norwegian society. An uncertain future of the welfare state, due to immigration, does not play a role in the narratives of the interviewees. The opinion does however exist that the state *should* initiate policies aimed at optimizing the integration process of immigrants. Norwegians are proud of their welfare state. Most interviewees understand the complexity and cost of maintaining the Norwegian welfare state, but they argue that they do not experience it as such.

An example of integration policy is that in Bærum Kommune there are five houses with underaged male refugees. Most of the young men have a residence permit and have been in Norway for about a year. The refugees are living under 24-hour supervision, because they are too old to live with a family, but too young to live without. A project like this makes it possible for these migrants to participate in society, by doing work and going to school. It helps them to act like ‘normal’ Norwegian youths, even though their home situation – as provided by the Norwegian state – is not so ‘normal’.

The program would not be possible without the support of the state (Bærum Kommune)³⁸. It shows that the Norwegians consider it their duty to help migrants, despite the financial burden. This is also demonstrated by the following quote:

From my point of view whether the welfare state depends on asylum-seekers or not is not interesting. We have an obligation to provide an opportunity for people to have a good life. The birth rate in Norway is 2.2, so I don’t think it is necessary for immigrants to keep the population growing. Most Norwegian families have 2.2 children³⁹.

Furthermore, for the interviewees it is important that the system has a humanitarian face. It becomes clear that the guidelines of the Human Rights Declaration of the United Nation are exactly followed. This implies that the interviewees are aware of the regime of international law and conventions, in which migration is inevitable (as discussed earlier). However, it is also pointed out that there is not room for everyone in Norway. The

37 This statement is retrieved from Hagelund’s article (Hagelund, 2010, p. 80)

38 This information is based on a visit to one of the houses.

39 Appendix A8

selection about who should be allowed to enter the country should be strict in order to be able to properly help the ones in need. This shows that a discussion does indeed exist about how many migrants Norway should and can allow in. When this group becomes too large, it is not possible to maintain the same number of integration programmes. However, as pointed out above, the interviewees acknowledge that the sovereignty of Norway to determine who can enter the country is limited by international laws and conventions.

The second question focuses on the dilemma between the main value of the welfare state: equality. There are questions as to whether the key value of the welfare state is put under pressure due to integration and its policies. Most of the interviewees pointed out there is enough room for both equality and diversity. There are differences between people. Being different is experienced as something good as long as people keep having the same opportunities. Equality is thus often explained as “*equal opportunities*”. The slogan of Bærum Kommune is: “*all are equal, all are different*”. One experiences it in the youth centres, with every youth centre organising different activities, according to the needs of the youths. “*We try to offer what they [the children] are looking for. In doing so, we also look at the different areas. For example, for Dønski it is important to be open during the holidays*”⁴⁰. This statement shows that there is diversity among the youth centres. However, the coordinator of the youth centres in Bærum Kommune at the same time emphasized “*It’s [i.e. the youth centres] open to everyone*”. Officially all of the interviewees agreed with the statement that everyone should have the same opportunities. Off the record, however, another statement was made. One of the interviewees pointed out that it is *only natural* that migrants get fewer opportunities in a new society. *That is life*⁴¹. This is a remarkable comment, uttered after the official interview had ended. In this official interview, the interviewee pointed out that everyone should be equal. Another interviewee expressed his concern about discrimination in the Norwegian labour market. He pointed out that non-Norwegians have less chance to be selected for a job interview. “*When a person came from outside Norway (e.g. being a refugee), his chances of getting an interview were 70% less than a Norwegian named application*”⁴². This statement shows that within the Norwegian welfare state, people are not treated equally.

To conclude, in this part the focus is on a possible tension between the welfare state and the integration policy. Overall, this tension is not found in the interviewees’ narratives. They express that the integration policy is *an element* of the welfare state. It seems that the welfare state is flexible in its operations within the field of integration. The interviewees are proud to live in a welfare state. Some, however, recognize that too many immigrants could be a burden to the welfare state. In essence, in the narrative of the interviewees, the possible problem between (uncontrolled) immigration and the continued existence of the welfare state does exist. However, they do not experience tensions between the integration policy and the future of the welfare

40 Appendix A3

41 This statement is made off record.

42 Appendix A8

state. As integration policy is an element of the welfare state, both can function very well together.

Nevertheless, it seems that there is a tension between diversity and equality as ‘values’ within Norwegian society. The narrative is that people are different, but should have equal opportunities. However, off the record, it is argued that it is *only natural* that immigrants do not have the same opportunities as native Norwegians. This storyline is not part of the ‘public’ discourse, though it is experienced by many of the interviewees, including the migrants. This indicates an overlooked tension.

4.4.2 Multiculturalism

Section 3.2 argues that the term multiculturalism needs a definition *inter alia* to specify a common value within Norwegian society. In Norway, there is a lack of clarity on what multiculturalism means for society. This leads to misunderstandings in debates on immigration and integration, which could lead to tensions within society at large. The central question in this section is whether and how the interviewees experience the above. Three questions that were put to the interviewees:

1. *How would you describe multiculturalism?*
2. *Is multiculturalism still translated into policy? How?*
3. *According to Akkerman and Hagelund (...): “In Norway and the Netherlands, one can observe a general shift away from multiculturalism and a growing emphasis on citizenship and social cohesion⁴³”. Do you agree? Why (not)?”*

The interviewees often explain the meaning of the term multiculturalism through the Norwegian word *Mangfold*. *“I would use other words. I do not believe in the word multiculturalism. I prefer to use the word diversity. The most important words are acceptance, tolerance and freedom (of speech). I always use “Mangfold” which means diversity⁴⁴”*. During the interviews, it became clear that, because of the attacks of the 22nd of July, the term multiculturalism is experienced as something negative. Another interviewee expressed the negative feeling towards multiculturalism in a different way. He emphasized that he has difficulties with terms that end with *-ism*. *‘There is always a problem with -isms. Isms is an ideology, it has its own way of living. Start living their own lives, independent of reality. It does not take into consideration that reality is changing⁴⁵’*.

⁴³This statement is retrieved from an article written by: Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007, p. 197.

⁴⁴ Appendix A6

⁴⁵ Appendix A9

Responses to the second question varied widely. A Norwegian government contact argued, “*Norway is a multicultural country. We don’t have a multicultural policy as such. The policy is integration and inclusion*”. Other interviewees who are policy makers endorsed this statement. At the same time, there were those who argued that in Norway multiculturalism is (still) translated into policy. They gave the example that Oslo subsidises the *Mela Festival* with its focus on multiculturalism. The official *Mela Festival* statement on its website is: “*Mela -World Performing Arts Festival is an established festival, which brings together artists from around the globe. The central aim of the festival is to celebrate the world’s many forms of music, arts and dance*”⁴⁶ The opening of the Mela festival was done by Prince Royal Haakon. This example could suggest that multiculturalism is indeed part of Norway’s integration policy, however is not referred to as such.

The third question led to a variety of answers, with most of the interviewees agreeing to the statement that the focus nowadays is more on other terms. The discourse has changed, by the use of other terms, for example: Norway is a multicultural society, however not many people refer to that anymore. Thus the concept of *the multicultural society* is not prominent in the narratives of the interviewees.

The interviewees are not certain whether the focus has shifted towards citizenship – which some linked directly to adaptation – and social cohesion. Adaptation was used negatively. The following quote expresses this feeling: “*A place where different cultures can exist on an equal level side by side. I know that many people in Norway think that multiculturalism is to adapt to other cultures. I don’t think so*”. Hence, it was argued that people should have the opportunity to keep values of their own. These different values and manners can also be to the advantage of Norway. Without immigration, Norway would be a homogeneous society, where there is “*not even a pizza place*”⁴⁷. Hence, narratives are found reviewing negatively a possible shift towards homogenizations.

Nevertheless, a narrative exists expressing an opposite attitude. The term *multiculturalism* has changed in the debate over the years. It is pointed out that the FrP [Fremskrittspartiet] has had a great influence in the debate on *multiculturalism*. The FrP explains multiculturalism as:

*Many cultures living in the same area keeping their own values. There is a need to have something in common. The other political parties were in favour of them keeping their own languages. However, interaction happens through languages. We emphasized the importance. We won that debate. Norway is behind. We are 20 years behind*⁴⁸.

The language requirement for migrants seemed to be accepted. Some interviewees pointed out the importance for immigrants to learn the Norwegian language. They accept that the discourse has changed over the years, with the focus shifting towards an attitude of adaptation of the migrants. This argument can be illustrated by

46 http://www.melifestivalen.no/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=474&Itemid=151 , retrieved 30th of March 2013.

47 Appendix A8

48 Appendix A2

the following quote:

It is more acceptable today than some years ago. In that sense it is right. They [the migrants] have to accept the human rights. People coming from really far away, there is more willingness today that those migrants have to live according to those [Norwegian] values⁴⁹.

So, where some think that adaptation led to resistance, in the case of other interviewees the importance of adaptation is explained.

To sum up, the above shows that among the interviewees different definitions of multiculturalism are given. What it means for Norway is unclear. Some interviewees argue that they avoid the word multiculturalism. It was pointed out that the term multiculturalism has a negative connotation, due to Breivik's manifest. The answer to the question whether the concept is still used in policy diverges. When it comes to experiencing a shift from the term multiculturalism towards citizenship and social cohesion the link is often directly made to 'adaptation'. A narrative exists that argues that when it comes to integration the shift towards adaptation is important and a positive thing. However, others *heavily* argue against adaptation. In section 3.2, it was argued that due to the lack of a clear definition of multiculturalism in Norway, different people and organizations give their own meaning to the term. This was validated in the interviews. One could argue – as was argued above – that this may lead to misunderstanding and competing ideas on integration, something that could become problematic.

4.4.3 Gender Equality

The literature search of chapter 3 shows the importance of “gender equality” in the Norwegian welfare state. It argues that the value “gender equality” in relation to the Norwegian integration policy leads to tensions. This section focuses on whether and how these tensions come to light. Therefore interviewees were asked the following questions:

- 1. Is gender equality one of the priorities of the Norwegian government?*
- 2. Do you consider gender equality one of the priorities of the Norwegian government?*
- 3. Thun (2012) wrote an article about the powerful feminist movement and their difficulties with minority group women. “I found that minority women are excluded in majority representations of feminism by being defined as “different” and that there is a boundary between “Norwegian women” and “immigrant/minority women”⁵⁰” What is your view on this?*

⁴⁹ Appendix A12

⁵⁰ Thun, 2012, p. 52

During the interviews, it became clear that people agree with the statement that gender equality is one of the priorities of the Norwegian government. They are proud of it. *“We have grown up with the idea that women are equal to men, and that they are supposed to be treated the same”*⁵¹. However, there are also critical voices *“Yes, Norway has come very far, but in other places in Norway, for example boardrooms, the ratio is still 80% men, and 20% women. I think again that in Norway we have a tradition of talking about how good we are, but in practice the salary of women is less. We are not as good as we pretend to be”*⁵². An interviewee points out that gender equality could also be seen as an element of the integration policy by stating that: *“[t]he integration of women is important. Participating in the labour market is important for the integration”*⁵³. In most of the interviews, gender equality was argued to be of significant importance. Many of the interviewees want newcomers to respect this Norwegian value.

There is, however, a discussion about the implementation of this value in combination with the integration policy. The question is how policies on this value will interfere with other core values of Norwegian society, such as religious freedom. Most of the interviewees argued that indeed, within the Norwegian feminist movement, there is not much diversity, and that the representation of minority women is minimal. *“I think it is really bad. I think it is true as well. The feminist movement are treating the minority women as different. It is important to fight for all women. The minority are staying much more at home”*⁵⁴. At the *Mela Festival*, there was a stand with a minority women’s rights organisation. The organisation actively tries to make minority women participate in the debate on women’s rights. When it comes to minority women’s rights in the media, the focus is mainly on *forced marriages*. During the observations and the interviews, it became clear that the debate about minority women’s rights is more complicated and nuanced than just being about forced marriages.

Often immigrant women feel misunderstood by Norwegian women. The Norwegian feminist movement does not acknowledge the problems immigrant women have to deal with. At the same time, it is difficult for immigrant women to speak out. They want to be more actively involved in the women’s organisations, so that their objectives can be looked after. *“Blond Norwegian women, who do not know anything about the challenges we are facing”*, now dominate the women’s rights movement⁵⁵.

It is important to stress that to the questions of gender equality, the interviewees responded more intensely than to questions about other issues. Some of the interviewees came with a specific example of friction between gender equality and the Norwegian integration policy. A policy is in place that makes it possible for parents to choose whether or not they bring their children to kindergarten. When they decide to not

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bring their children to kindergarten, they receive money from the state. The goal of the policy is to give parents the freedom to choose whether they should bring their child to kindergarten. One interviewee pointed out that this law also has a negative outcome: *“we are against this solution, because we want that the children of immigrants go to kindergarten to learn Norwegian and also adjust to Norwegian culture. We also want the Muslim mother to go to work to integrate better”*⁵⁶. In other words, they point out this law has negative consequences for the integration of both children and women. Integration – in this context – is taking part in Norwegian society, a society in which women also work and participate. This example shows a tension between the integration policy and the value of gender equality.

In sum, this part has shown that there are indeed issues when it comes to gender equality within the Norwegian integration debate. The minority women do not feel represented by the women’s rights movements, because these are mainly dominated by native Norwegian women. In addition, the feeling exists that the movement does not look after the objectives of migrant women. In that sense, the issues that were discussed in section 3.3 are validated by the interviews.

4.4.4 Citizenship

Section 3.4 argued that the increasing inaccessibility to Norwegian citizenship for immigrants could complicate the Norwegian integration process. The central question in this section is whether and how the interviewees *experience* such complications. Therefore, the following questions were asked:

1. *According to MIPEX, Norway has a really good immigration policy. However, access to citizenship is ranked low in the reports. Why is that, do you think?*
2. *Researchers argue that in order to become a citizen, people should adjust. Following this line of reasoning, do you think that becoming a Norwegian citizen (and thus have all the advantages) is a way of exerting pressure to “become” as the Norwegians?*

Most of the interviewees do not understand why the aspect of *access to citizenship* is ranked lower than the other aspects in the MIPEX report. They argue that it is *normal* to wait for Norwegian citizenship. Some interviewees supported this by the statement that in other countries also, there is a waiting time. In addition, some argue that in order to participate in Norwegian society, it is not necessary to have Norwegian citizenship. One interviewee explains this as follows: *“If your identity [card] is correct, you can work. In our Mottak centre, many cannot work. If they have an identity [card], if it is officially recognised, then they have the same rights as the Norwegians. 70% of the refugees do not have an identity card. They are afraid that if*

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they do have a passport, they will have to return to their home country”⁵⁷. This statement demonstrates that when migrants get a residence permit, this allows them to work in Norway. An interviewee with a migration background confirmed the statement that migrants can participate in Norwegian society with a residence permit. One interviewee has a residence permit, which allows her to work and follow certain educational programs. She illustrated she is being treated the same as Norwegians: in school, her children get the same laptop as all the other children⁵⁸. These statements might suggest that a residence permit is easy to get, however another migrant pointed out that he has been waiting for a residence permit for more than 3 years. Thus, the above might suggest that getting a residence permit is more important to migrants than obtaining a Norwegian passport. It allows them to work and participate in Norwegian society. Many interviewees see this as integration.

The response of an immigrant interviewee who has lived in Norway for more than two decades is remarkable. He pointed out a negative side effect to having Norwegian citizenship. He worked in construction and, recently, his company had fired him. He pointed out that there is a lot of competition in this sector with labourer immigrants from Eastern Europe, because they are working under the minimum wage. *“I do not look like a Norwegian, but I am a Norwegian. That makes me less competitive against other migrants”*⁵⁹. Hence, a narrative exists that having Norwegian citizenship is not per se seen as a positive thing.

An interviewee from the Norwegian ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion argued the following on the report of MIPEX:

we have issues with the way they look at the access to citizenship. We believe that they may not fully understand it. The main reason that we do poorly is that we don't have dual citizenship. What I can say is that the 'better integration' report suggests that the government should revise this. It is on the political agenda. That it takes 7 years is a very long time, even though this is the average in Europe. We see that there is a high uptake of citizenship by people with a refugee background. It is very understandable, they come from places where travelling with their passport is not easy. So of course, they are interested in a Norwegian passport. Now, for those that are coming from EU countries, it is less profitable to acquire citizenship. After all, you are allowed to work with a residence permit. There are only a few jobs that you are not allowed to do, when you are not Norwegian⁶⁰

This statement shows that the official policy is that migrants do apply for Norwegian citizen to stimulate integration in Norway. It also shows that there are competing narratives when it comes to citizenship. Where officials want immigrants to acquire Norwegian citizenship, some immigrants point out that obtaining citizenship is not so important.

The word *adjusting* – in the second question – has met with some resistance during the interviews. *“It*

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sounds negative. It sound like the thinking of the FrP⁶¹ party, of Carl Ivar Hagen. The view is that migrants should participate in everything Norwegians do. However, when they are in Spain (many older Norwegians move to Spain during the winter) they will not be able to speak Spanish. It is negative, integration cannot happen from one side. It should come from both sides. I believe that immigrants should adjust, but Norwegians also have to adjust. We also need the migrants”. This statement shows that – as pointed out in the section about multiculturalism – some of the interviewees have difficulties with the word adjusting. They emphasize that integration into a new society means adjustments on both sides. So overall, the outcome of this question was that they do not think they should become like Norwegians, but should be allowed to keep some of their own values.

Summing up, in this part the focus is on whether the inaccessibility to Norwegian citizenship for immigrants complicates the Norwegian integration policy. It seems there are two competing narratives. The *official* narrative is that migrants should acquire Norwegian citizenship, because this promotes integration. However, to the migrants the priority is the residence permit.

4.4.5 Ethnicity

Section 3.5 argues that ethnic categorization of migrants will not improve their integration. It is argued that Norway's integration policy is based on categorizing ethnic minorities, which – theoretically – seems to lead to tensions in society. This section focuses on whether such possible tensions are *experienced* by the interviewees. The questions asked are:

1. *In the Netherlands, there is at present a discussion about ethnicity. According to some researchers, the terms “Allochtoon⁶²” and “Autochtoon” are not useful any more. Allochtoon means: “a person who at least has one parent born in a foreign country”. Whereas an autochtoon is a person with both parents born in The Netherlands. What is your view on this?*
2. *Takle (2012) wrote an article about the financial support of immigrant organisations in Oslo. She raised the question of ethnicity. Do you think it is still necessary to help people by labelling them? She is talking about the dilemma. How would you explain this dilemma?*

The interviews reveal that Norway applies the same distinction between people as does the Netherlands. “*In Norway, we do not make this distinction. The second generation cannot be considered separately. Also I would like to point out that it has nothing to do with ethnicity*”⁶³ However, others say that a distinction between

⁶¹ <http://www.frp.no/>

⁶² <http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=37>

⁶³ Appendix A2

Norwegians and non-Norwegians **is made** by using the term “second generation migrants”. Hereby is meant a *group* born in Norway, but whose parents were not born in Norway. However, one of the interviewees pointed out that his children do not use this distinction: “*The terms are superficial*”⁶⁴. However, it seems that the categorization of minorities is still used in the public debate. When I asked a journalist whether he puts the background of people into an article, he answered: “*I would only mention the ethnic background when it is relevant to the case. Often, you can see people writing about it, even though it is not relevant*”⁶⁵

Thus, there seem to be competing ideas in the narratives of the interviewees about whether the stereotyping of people with a migrant background is being used. Overall, it seems that in the public debate stereotyping is still being used, but not by the younger generation.

In their answer to the second question, the interviewees argued that they understand that labelling is used, however the interviewees also acknowledged problems with labelling. “*I think it is important to make a distinction because of the statistical data. We need to know how many people need help, a language course, etc. Statistics are important, to know what is going on. On the other hand, you reach a certain point when you have to stop doing it [the definitions]*”⁶⁶ This narrative, echoed by many other interviewees, suggests that there is not a strong positive or negative feeling about whether or not the focus on ethnicity will lead to better integration.

However there were interviewees with a stronger opinion. Some interviewees expressed their concern about support for minority organizations. They are not sure it will lead to better integration. One of the interviewed illustrated this statement as follows: “*the Somalis have 42 organisations in Oslo alone. They receive money from the government. I think they are not doing what they say they are doing. Just some friends coming together. I think that more organizations are not necessary. They have too many already*”⁶⁷ This statement shows a negative feeling towards supporting organizations, just because they are a minority organization.

When observing the Ramadan party of the Somali community in Bærum – supported by Bærum Kommune – I found that those gatherings create a feeling of social cohesion. The function of this party was more than just a gathering. They talked and discussed problems they were facing in Norway. For example, they help each other finding a job. An interviewee pointed out that support for (minority) organizations is a tradition in Norway. “*In Norway, we have this tradition [supporting organizations]. If we want to push people forward, we arrange money and we try to help. What will happen when you stop this financial help? What did you achieve?*”⁶⁸. So this statement and the observation demonstrate the positive feeling about supporting organizations.

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In short, it seems that there are contradictory ideas in the narratives about the support for minority organizations. Where some point out that this will help integration, others contradict this. So, it could be that the issue of ethnicity leads to tension within the Norwegian integration policy, because competing narratives exist.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

The question central to this section was: “*Are (if so, to what extent) the possible ambiguities or issues in the Norwegian integration policy as defined in chapter 3 actually found in Norwegian society? (Chapter 4)*”. The issues that were researched are: *welfare state, multiculturalism, gender equality, citizenship and ethnicity*. During the interviews, several questions were asked concerning these issues. The goal was to study the interviewees’ answers by narrative analysis. It seems that some of the issues are indeed experienced as a tension, where others are not. Table 4 shows the outcome of the research. It complements table 1.

Table 4 Possible issues of the Norwegian integration policy complemented by the narrative analysis

Possible Issue	
1. Welfare state	<p>In essence, in the narrative of the interviewees possible problems between (uncontrolled) immigration and the continued existence of the welfare state exist. However, they do not <i>experience</i> tensions between the integration policy and the future of the welfare state.</p> <p>It seems there is a tension between the value of diversity and the value of equality within Norwegian society. However, this friction is not visible on the surface. This could lead to tensions.</p>
2. Multiculturalism	<p>By not defining integration and multiculturalism, different parties – institutions and citizens – can read different meanings into the concepts. This actually makes a debate about this issue impossible. This was confirmed in the interviews.</p>
3. Gender equality	<p>There are indeed issues when it comes to gender equality within the Norwegian integration debate. The feeling exists that the movement does not look after the objectives of migrant women. These issues are indeed confirmed in the interviews.</p>
4. Citizenship	<p>The inaccessibility to Norwegian citizenship is explained through the impossibility of having dual citizenship. The official view is that the immigrants should apply for Norwegian citizenship – this will promote integration. However, the immigrants point out they do not think becoming Norwegian is necessary. More important to them is having a residence permit. So, It seems that on this issue competing narratives exist.</p>
5. Ethnicity	<p>It seems there are contradictory ideas in the narratives about the support for minority organizations. Where some point out that this will help integration, others argue against this. This could lead to tensions, because competing narratives exist.</p>

5. Framing Breivik's manifest; a discourse analysis

The aim of this chapter is to investigate whether the issues and correlating tensions (as discussed above) are also found in Breivik's manifest. The first section of this part analyses the narrative on Breivik as told by the interviewees. During the interviews (discussed above), the interviewees were asked about their opinion on the impact of Breivik's terrorist attacks on Norwegian society. The second part focuses on the five issues in relation to Breivik's manifest. These possible similarities will be analysed by applying a discourse analysis on Breivik's manifest, also claimed to be his first act of terror. The following sub-question is central to this chapter: *"Is there a possible connection between the issues within the Norwegian integration policy and Breivik's manifest?"* The approach used to answer this sub-question is summarized in table 5.

Table 5 Approach of framing Breivik's manifest

Action	Goal
1. Analyzing narrative	A Presentable narrative of the interviews and observations
2. Explaining two important concepts of Breivik's manifest: <i>political correctness</i> and <i>the enemy</i>	To provide a brief summary of Breivik's manifest
3. Selecting quotes	To gather a representative collection of quotes, in which the opinions of Breivik on the issues are described
4. Discourse analysis	Exposing Breivik's narrative on the issues

5.1 ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWEES' NARRATIVES

The aim of this research is to seek an explanation of Breivik's actions on the 22nd of July 2011 vis à vis the integration policies in Norway. This exploratory research allows for an open research approach. Therefore, during the interviews, questions⁶⁹ were asked about Breivik's acts of terror. This section will analyse the answers to these questions. Breivik was a difficult topic to talk about. Many of the interviewees knew people who were on Utøya (*the island where Breivik committed his second act of terror*) on the 22nd of July⁷⁰. This makes that in some cases the two following questions could be asked:

1. *Do you think Breivik has changed Norwegian society? If so, in what ways?*
2. *Is the discussion about multiculturalism/integration more open?*

⁶⁹ The questions are presented in the interview guide, appendix 1b.

⁷⁰ When the emotions heightened, I gave the interviewees time, in most of the cases I shifted the topic not to offend the feelings of the interviewees.

Overall, the first response of the interviewees was that they do not *want* any change in society as a result of Breivik's attacks. However, when I kept asking, many pointed out that Breivik **has** had a huge effect on society. *"Without a doubt, the event had an impact on Norway. Whether or not it changed society is difficult to know. I think I have seen evidence of both. It has changed, while at the same time it has had little impact"*⁷¹. The interviewees argued that, before the 22nd of July, Norway was naïve about terror attacks. Now, the country is less naïve. *"We were naïve. We thought this could only happen in other countries. Norway was not prepared. There should have been more police and more helicopters at that moment. However, it is something that is hard to prevent"*⁷².

Some of the interviewees argued that they were proud about how Norway dealt with Breivik. *"The proudest moment I had of being Norwegian was in the court. I was there during the whole week. Breivik had the freedom to speak"*⁷³. The AUF⁷⁴ member continues about her feelings by stating the following:

I noticed that right after the attacks, whether migrant or Norwegian, everyone came together and had a community feeling. Everyone was part of Norway and therefore it was much easier to take part in the discussion. The debate has to be open, but of course these kinds of waves they cannot go on for very long. It might be more difficult for the extremist people to get room for the discussion. In his New Year's speech, the prime minister pointed out that from now on we need to be the curious neighbour. We need to be that kind of neighbour. If one notices that someone has plans, we have to try to stop him/her before it happens. It is important to reach out to people before they get radicalized. I think it is a good thing that the extreme ideas are not heard any more. Not all opinions are supposed to be tolerated.⁷⁵

Almost every interviewee pointed out that they found the prime minister's response – after the attacks –really good. He said that Norway should fight these attacks with love. This made the interviewees proud to be Norwegian.

Some of the interviewees expressed their concern about what would have happened if the attacker had turned out to be a Muslim. One of them used the following statement: *"Thank God he was a Norwegian"*⁷⁶. Rumours right after the attacks were that many Norwegian people shouted at Muslims that they should leave the country. Most of the interviewees confirmed these rumours during the interviews. The immigrants in particular pointed out that people they knew had been assaulted right after the attacks. One respondent (migrant) argued that, after Breivik's attacks, he now understood why some people had stared at him in the bus, right after the New York attacks on September 11, 2001. He now also stares at people looking like Breivik. However, the rumours about the assaults are hard to confirm. The Aftenposten journalist argued that his newspaper investigated the rumours.

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74 AUF stands for Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking (AUF), The Workers' Youth League. This is the organization that was attacked by Breivik on Utøya.

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We ran a report of this in our newspaper. That people were shouted at in the metro and other public places. We tried to follow up on it, a colleague of mine wrote an article about it. It was difficult to find out if it really had happened. I am not sure about it. It would have surprised me if there would not have been any incidents. Many people are skeptical about migrants. The first hours after the attacks, people thought it were Muslim terrorists doing this⁷⁷

The question whether discussion in the society about multiculturalism is now more open, was responded to in different manners:

No, I do not think so. It is difficult. There is a heated debate about Breivik and his mental state. That was dominating the case for such a long time. It focused on whether he could be punished or not. It is now clear that he can be punished. The debate has changed a lot over the past months. Whether it was clear from the beginning that he was in fact a political terrorist, or if he was a part of an organization. Then it would have been different⁷⁸.

It seems that at the time of the interviews it is still unclear how society had changed and whether it was now more open for discussion. What became clear is that the media had and still have an influence on the changing narrative about the attacks. The attacks dominated the news for too long. *“The influence of the media is really great. Breivik got too much attention in the media. He got what he wanted”*. One argues that she hopes people can put it into perspective.

There are so many massacres happening around the world all the time. Of course, everything that happened that day in Norway, but we are a part of the world, where terrible things are happening. I hoped that Norway could bring that perspective into the debate⁷⁹

During the interviews, it became clear that the attacks of the 22nd of July had had a great influence on most of the interviewees. The AUF member pointed out that her ideas about integration have changed due to the attacks. Now she considers herself more conservative than before. However she also points out Breivik will never ‘win’ in a country such as Norway, where the response after the attacks was to fight this evil with love, instead of hatred. During the interviews, it seems that none of the interviewees asked him/her self the question whether the debate about multiculturalism and integration should change. The narrative of the interviewees is that Breivik's ideology is troubled and thus irrelevant. Hence, there should not be any attention to what he is saying. However, if Breivik is not a “lone wolf”, it is important *and* relevant to examine his ideology. Hence, the important value of this research, which investigates whether there is a connection between the (visible) narrative about the (possible) issues found in the analytical debate about integration policy and Breivik's manifest.

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5.2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BREIVIK'S MANIFEST

This section investigates whether the (possible) issues that are analysed in this thesis are also found in the manifest – *first act of terror* – of Breivik's. Are the issues parts of Breivik's discourse on integration/multiculturalism in Norway? If that is the case, it would reaffirm that Breivik is not a 'Lone Wolf'. Parts of his ideas are part of the academic discourse and the narratives of the interviewees on integration in Norway. In addition, one could argue that Breivik articulated tensions of the integration policies in Norway. In that sense maintaining the discourse that in Norway a perfect integration policy is in place – and thus failing to discuss the issues – could be dangerous. Hence, the relevance of this section.

To investigate whether the issues are part of the discourse in Breivik's manifest, a brief summary of the most important concepts in his manifest is presented here: *political correctness* and *the enemy*. Breivik starts his manifest with his views on "*political correctness*". According to him, this phenomenon has changed societies negatively over the last decades: "[*political correctness is seeking*]to alter virtually all the rules, formal and informal, that govern relations among people and institutions. It wants to change behaviour, thought, even the words we use" (Breivik, 2011, p. 12). Political correctness is based on thoughts of Marx: "*Political Correctness is in fact cultural Marxism (Cultural Communism) – Marxism translated from economic into cultural terms*". He emphasizes that in the 'old' Europe everything was better. He expresses this in the following statement, in which he also presents guidelines to avoid the 'new' living conditions:

those who would defy Political Correctness must behave according to the old rules of our culture, not the new rules the cultural Marxists lay down. Ladies should be wives and homemakers, not cops or soldiers, and men should still hold doors open for ladies. Children should not be born out of wedlock. Glorification of homosexuality should be shunned. Jurors should not accept Islam as an excuse for murder. (Breivik, 2011, p. 13).

Breivik argues that over the years Europe has become less European. In the old days, people were safe and free, and now they are not. He uses the term "*political correctness*" to explain how Europe has changed in a – to him – bad way. Under the cover of '*political correctness*', women have emancipated, homosexuals got equal rights, refugees were granted shelter and there is freedom of religious expression of the Islam. Breivik's narrative is that everything used to be better in the past.

The enemy is the other essential item in Breivik's manifest. It is used to describe the *bad* within contemporary Europe, and thus also within Norway. The enemy practises "*political correctness*". Breivik argued that there is not just one enemy, but that there are multiple enemies, both in and outside Norwegian society. The Islam is enemy number one. Also, different Norwegian groups are considered an enemy. These other groups, such as the universities, are misleading the people. That leads to Breivik's following statement:

People who get most of their information from the mainstream media, which goes for the majority of the population, will thus be systematically fed biased information and half-truths about Islam from our universities, which have largely failed to uphold the ideal of free inquiry (Breivik, p. 51).

This misleading information is also given by international organizations such as the European Union and the United Nations. Breivik's statement about the United Nations is the following: *"Increasingly, it is turning into an outright enemy, an enemy funded by us but used to attack us. I don't know about anybody else, but I'm goddam tired of sponsoring enemies, at home and abroad"* (Breivik, p. 319). The enemies have in common that they support mass migration by misleading the people about the Islam. They are acting according to Breivik's view on *political correctness*.

The above shows two important concepts of Breivik's manifest. Breivik argues that *political correctness* has changed and is changing Europe in an evil way. His *enemies* are living by and through the rules of political correctness. The next part investigates whether the five issues of this thesis are part of Breivik's discourse on integration policy in Norway.

5.2.1 Welfare state

One of Breivik's key recommendations for contemporary Europe is to ban all Muslims. Europe, and thus Norway, should remain free from any kind of influence from Islam. Breivik sees the influence of Islam as a danger to the democratic values in Europe, such as the freedom of speech, something Breivik is prepared to fight for (Breivik, p. 520). Breivik focuses on the concept of sovereignty and therefore the concept of boundaries. He states that less sovereignty has negative consequences. The term sovereignty means control over a certain territory, where according to Breivik too much control is now in the hands of international institutions. The nation state – including Norway – has lost sovereignty as a consequence, because of international frameworks of institutions, such as the UN and the Council of Europe. These institutions are controlling national institutions. Sovereignty, according to Breivik, should be returned to the individual countries. He states the following:

[u]pholding national borders has become more important in the age of globalization, terrorism and mass-migration, not less. No nation regardless of political system can survive the loss of its territorial integrity, but democratic states especially so. Those who don't want to uphold national borders are actually tearing down the very foundations of our democratic system, which is based on nation states. The fight for national sovereignty is thus the fight for democracy itself, since nobody has so far made any convincing model of a supranational democracy (Breivik, p. 323).

This statement demonstrates that loss of sovereignty will eventually mean the loss of the democratic system. Through the UN *among others*, Norway has given up the power to fully control its borders (they have to

accept refugees). According to Breivik, this allows *enemies* to enter the country. In addition, Breivik argues that Islam is part of the UN. Thereby, non-democratic values are transposed into Norway's institutions. The “*political correctness*” of organisations such as the UN not only opened Norway’s borders (to enemies), but also made Norway more “*politically correct*”.

Breivik argues that the implications of *political correctness* contaminated the nation-state. He demonstrates this with the example of the Norwegian welfare state. Norwegian institutions (in this case the university and the media) argue that migrants could save the welfare state by providing cheap labour. This is a “*big lie*⁸⁰” (Breivik, p. 304). More specifically, this *big lie* is that “*Muslim immigration is 'good for the economy' and is necessary for funding the welfare state in the future, despite the fact that it drains away enormous resources*” (Breivik, p. 304). The argument that migrants will save the welfare state demonstrates that the Norwegian institutions are contaminated by *political correctness*. Thus, by opening up the borders to the *enemy*, the institutions’ views are infected, and this will lead to even more immigrants. Not only the institutions are infected by *political correctness*. He argues that the welfare state creates a false sense of security (Breivik, p. 336). This false sense of security demonstrates that the *political correctness* of the international framework has penetrated into the minds of the citizens of the welfare state. The welfare state puts hidden pressure on its citizens and interferes in their private lives. (Breivik, p. 600). Thus, the welfare state is an extension of the thoughts and power of *political correctness*. The citizens should be liberated of this power.

The argument that territorial integrity is important to the future of the welfare state is used in section 3.1. In this section, the statement is made that there is a tension between immigration and the sustainability of the welfare state. In a sense, this is a part of Breivik’s discourse. Breivik argues that newcomers may change the dynamics and cultures of a group (second analytical position in section 3.1). Thus, the functioning of the welfare state or the democratic system may change. His solution about this tension is that the nation-state should close its borders by taking back sovereignty. By closing borders, no migrants will come in, and therefore there is no need for an integration policy. Interesting is however, that Breivik also sees being part of international organisations as a kind of immigration of ideas (“political correctness”). By leaving such organisations, this ‘bad’ influence is also counteracted.

Section 4.2 reveals the narrative of the interviewees, in which integration policy is a part of the welfare state. In other words, to the interviewees it seems inevitable that the Norwegian welfare state has an integration policy. Contrary to Breivik’s argument, it is accepted that Norway operates within an international framework. Leaving these international organisations is not part of the narrative of the interviewees. The narrative is also that Norway has an obligation to take in certain migrants. Breivik would argue that this

80 This term: “Big lies” is based on Hitler’s book *Mein Kampf*. Breivik explains that these lies, put in place by the European Union, are propaganda.

demonstrates how the *political correctness* has penetrated into the minds of people in Norway. This is dangerous for the democratic system in Norway. Hence, in this case, Breivik's discourse is completely different from the narratives found in the interviews. In that sense, with Breivik's manifest an anti-discourse is launched.

5.2.2 Multiculturalism

The concept of multiculturalism is frequently used as an example of "political correctness" in Breivik's manifest. He states the following about multiculturalism:

[m]ulticulturalism is wrong because not all cultures are equal. However, it is also championed by groups with a hidden agenda. Multiculturalism serves as a tool for ruling elites to fool people, to keep them from knowing that they have lost, or deliberately vacated control over national borders (Breivik, 2011, p. 332).

Breivik contests the concept of multiculturalism by stating that **not** all cultures are equal, and that the lack of criticism directed against other cultures will place Europe into the medieval ideology (Breivik, p.306). The lack of respect of the culture of Norway will lead to several clashes, for example it opens up the possibility for Sharia, which is fundamentally against the European democratic values, such as freedom of speech. Breivik's definition of multiculturalism is the opposite of the definition that the elites in Norway have, who propagate that every culture **is** equal.

The analysis of section 4.1 shows that there is a tension between the value of equality and that of diversity. It seems that in theory everyone in Norway is equal, which means that everyone should have equal opportunities, however in practice it seems to be different. Thus, the official narrative is that everyone has equal opportunities. However, the unofficial narrative demonstrates the opposite⁸¹. This contrast leads to tensions within society. This tension, which is found in the unofficial narrative is explained by Breivik's view on multiculturalism. Hence, not all cultures are equal.

Section 3.2 shows that it is important to accept multiculturalism as a reality, in order to act on it. By accepting multiculturalism, the state can manage the concept. Breivik does not agree with that. He does however refer to certain heads of government, who state that multiculturalism has indeed failed. Breivik is cautious about this statement. He emphasises that those leaders have been raised with the idea of multiculturalism, this concept is everywhere in Europe. It is taught in schools and at universities. The concept is closely related to tolerance and weakness, it will prevent students to learn about the *real* Europe, the *old* Europe (Breivik, p. 24). It also prevents them - citizens of Europe - from creating a critical mind. Also,

⁸¹ This narrative is found in the section of The Welfare state, where it is pointed out that the welfare state propagates that everyone should have the same opportunities.

because “*more than 95% of today’s journalists, editors, publishers are pro-Eurabians (support European multiculturalism). The same goes for 85% of Western European politicians and more than 90% of EU parliamentarians*” (Breivik, p. 42). This made it almost impossible to create a critical mind about multiculturalism. What it does do, however, is further dull the minds of the citizens. Multiculturalism is an element of *political correctness*. Breivik emphasises that there **is** and **was** no room for discussion about the concept *multiculturalism*. According to Breivik, multiculturalism – put in place by the elite - will lead Europe into decline. “*Europe’s elites have lost contact with the people, and the people have lost contact with reality. Western Europe is now a collection of several layers of different Utopias*”(Breivik, p. 337). One of these utopias is multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism – propagated by the media and the European Union - has negative influences on western culture. Islamisation is also possible due to this concept. Breivik does not believe that countries within Europe need to understand the underlying reasons of multiculturalism. One of the main arguments for presenting this manifest is to show people *the real consequences of multiculturalism*.

Breivik's view on multiculturalism – not all cultures are equal – is not found in the analytical analysis of section 3.2, which argues that multiculturalism is a reality. Breivik contradicts this by stating that multiculturalism should have no place at all in European societies. It therefore should not be managed by the state. Furthermore, he contests that cultures are equal. This is also part of the unofficial narrative found in section 4.1, where it is disclosed that indeed not all the cultures are treated the same. Following this line of reasoning, it seems that Breivik is the only one expressing that indeed not all cultures are equal. In other words, he explains what is already below the surface in Norway.

5.2.3 Gender equality

Breivik discusses the issue of gender equality, by arguing that it is another example of *political correctness*. Moreover, gender equality is, according to Breivik, often used as an excellent example of implementing *political correctness*. The concept of “*gender equality*” made it possible for other groups with *political correctness* ideals to be heard, by putting themselves into the role of the victim (Breivik, p. 346). Breivik follows this line of reasoning by stating that the feminist movements in Europe opened up the discussion for Muslims entering Europe. He explains that the victim role is introduced by the feminist movement and this victim role is used as an example for the Muslims entering Europe. Breivik explains the consequences of gender equality by using the narrative of *before and after*. He states that in the *old* Europe, the women were not working, and it was better for society.

The starting point of section 3.3 was that gender equality is one of the core values of Norwegian society. Breivik does not share this view. According to Breivik, it is not good for the women to be equal to

men. It is just another form of *political correctness*. In other words, gender equality as explained in section 3.3 is not found in Breivik's manifest. The outcome of section 3.3 is that the aim of gender equality and the aim of cultural groups differ fundamentally, which leads to tensions. This is found in the narratives of the interviewees, where it is emphasized that minority women are not represented in the gender equality debate. Breivik does not share this line of reasoning, in fact this is not found in his discourse. He does however connect gender equality with immigration, by stating that the rise of the number of rapes in the western cities are to be blamed on the feminist women. He indicates that gender equality made room for the Muslim immigration. He summarizes this by the following statement: “[t]he actual result is that you [western woman] have less freedom of movement and security than ever, as a direct result of the immigrant policies supported by you and your buddies [western women]” (Breivik, p. 343).

5.2.4 Citizenship

Breivik mentioned the concept of citizenship in this manifest. This concept is one of his solutions to get rid of multiculturalism, and withdraw Norwegian citizenship from the Muslims who are a danger to society. The solution is reasoned as follows:

“The best way to deal with the Islamic world is to have as little to do with it as possible. We should ban Muslim immigration. This could be done in creative and indirect ways, such as banning immigration from nations with citizens known to be engaged in terrorist activities. We should remove all Muslim non-citizens currently in the West. We should also change our laws to ensure that Muslim citizens who advocate sharia, preach Jihad, the inequality of “infidels” and of women should have their citizenship revoked and be deported back to their country of origin” (Breivik, p. 330).

In other words, in his discourse, Norwegian citizenship is **not** a solution for the integration of Muslims. On the contrary, the concept is dangerous and it will complicate the removal of Muslims from Europe and thus from Norway. One could argue that he does not believe in the possibility of newcomers applying for Norwegian citizenship, because it will only lead to opening up the borders (political and cultural) and he does believe that would change Norway and Europe negatively. Thus, Breivik's discourse does not include citizenship as a solution to integration. On the contrary, it is a danger.

Section 3.4 argues that Norwegian citizenship could be a positive impulse for the integration of immigrants into Norwegian society. It will provide the migrants with a feeling of belonging to society and will thus be a positive impulse to their integration. These analytical arguments are not found in the narrative of the interviewees. It seems that when migrants have a residence permit, they already can work, and that will help them integrate. As discussed above, Breivik does not believe in this form of integration, whether it is a residence permit – which is found in the narrative of the interviewees – or citizenship. Breivik does not believe

in integration of Muslims migrants, because their culture is **bad** and too different from European culture. Their culture will undermine the democratic values. Therefore he does not believe that any Muslim should get Norwegian citizenship. The Muslim will not be loyal to the nation-state, even though s/he has obtained citizenship. Loyalty to the nation-state is the condition on getting citizenship, something that no Muslim will ever be (Breivik, p. 530).

In conclusion, one could argue that the concept of citizenship is not part of Breivik's discourse. He does not even believe it should be an option to hand out citizenship to Muslims migrants.

5.2.5 Ethnicity

Breivik mentions the term *ethnicity* in his manifest. He uses the term with aversion, which he explains by stating the following:

The following essay includes an assessment and conclusions around the anti-European or "anti-white" racist aspects of multiculturalism. At first, I hesitated to include anything including the word race, white or ethnicity, mainly because I instinctively dislike writing about anything related to these words. I was brought up that way (indoctrinated in a multiculturalist system for 30 years to be more precise). Partly, I also originally convinced myself that I was first and foremost against Islam, and that writing about skin colour (or multiculturalism for that matter) would only complicate this fight. In this regard I attempted to replace the term with more compromising expressions: the words culture, native European or ethnic group (Breivik, p. 390).

This statement demonstrates two things. The first is that Breivik acknowledges that he was indoctrinated by *political correctness* through the system he was raised in. This statement further strengthens the argument that with the opening of borders, the *political correctness* infiltrates the system. The second part of the statement strengthens Breivik's argument that not all cultures are equal. However, by pointing this out, Breivik is afraid that people will only respond to him by arguing that he is a racist. While all Breivik wants is to demonstrate the danger of Islam for Europe. He finds it his task to stop Islamisation, by not only focussing on the Muslim, but also on the political elites of the countries that made Islamisation possible in the first place.

Section 3.5 will explain that ethnicity can lead to tension in the Norwegian integration. It is argued that integration policy based on ethnicity will complicate the integration and could thus lead to tension. Section 4.4.5 argues that there are competing narratives about the support for minority organizations based on categorization, which could lead to tensions. This line of reasoning is not found in Breivik. In Breivik's discourse ethnicity is not believed to be a tension, it is just another way of expressing *political correctness*.

Conclusion

On the 22nd of July, Anders Behring Breivik killed 77 people in two attacks, an explosion in the centre of Oslo and the shooting at Utøya respectively. Before these attacks, Breivik had launched his manifest, which is called: “2083: a declaration of European independence” (Breivik, 2011). In this manifest - *first act on terrorism*⁸² - Breivik warns Europe and therefore also Norway against the dangerous consequences of multiculturalism. This thesis studied why a country as perfect as Norway could bring forth someone like Breivik. Instead of regarding Breivik as a *lone wolf*, this research prefers to study him in the context of the integration policy, the policy which he opposes so strongly.

“How are potential issues within the Norwegian integration policy related to an extreme ideology such as Breivik’s?”

Exploratory research was used to investigate this question. This is an open approach, which allows for a variety of research methods. In this thesis, the following methods are used: literature study, narrative analysis of observations and interviews, and discourse analysis. Exploratory research will not give a clear, unambiguous answer. However, it researches hitherto undisclosed fields with an open attitude, which will lead to preliminary conclusions and new hypotheses. It thus offers the opportunity for a new research design.

In chapter two, an explanation of the discourse, in which Norway is seen as perfect, is sought. This leads to a 'perfect' integration policy. It is interesting that Norway scores really high in international reports, hence, a discourse exists in which Norway is seen as perfect. Chapter 3 further explores this perfection. Are there possible ambiguities or issues within the Norwegian integration policy, since Breivik focuses on the *danger* of these policies. A literature study, based on scientific articles written about the integration policy in Norway and other Western European countries, revealed that there are five potential issues - *welfare state, multiculturalism, gender equality, citizenship* and *ethnicity*. Chapter 4 investigated - using empirical research - to what extent and how these issues lead to tensions. It concludes that some issues of the integration policy lead to more tensions than others. The possible bias in this chapter is that the interviewees – who have a connection with integration in Norway- are asked about the specific issues, using *inter alia* specific quotes from the literature study. This chapter confirmed that all the issues lead to a certain degree of tension, some however more than others. In particular the issues of multiculturalism, gender equality and the welfare state are validated as tensions within the Norwegian integration policy. The final chapter aimed at investigating the issues and correlated tensions (as discussed in the previous chapters) are also found in Breivik's manifest.

Next the preliminary conclusions of this thesis are made per issue.

82 Bachmann et al., 2012, p. 193

1. The outcome of the analytical analysis about the relationship between Norway's integration policy and Norway's welfare state is that one could strongly argue against the possibility of portraying a society with both an ideal welfare state system and a perfect integration policy. Immigration is a challenge to economic sustainability and to the social cohesion of the welfare state. Therefore one could argue that for the existence of the perfect welfare state, immigration should be under strict control. However, international law and the principles of liberal democracy do not allow for the regulation of immigrants. In essence, in the narrative of the interviewees, these problems between (uncontrolled) immigration and the continued existence of the welfare state do exist. However, overall, the interviewees do not *experience* this as a tension. Breivik follows the analytical line of reasoning that the only way for the welfare state to survive is to get back its sovereignty. Breivik argues that by opening up the borders, *political correctness* steals into the national institutions and minds of the citizens. It made people think that it is good for the borders to open up. However, he wants the states of Europe to get back their sovereignty. He wants out of all the international regimes. This is a total break with the narrative of the interviewees. However, it does not contradict the analytical discussion. Breivik's narratives lie within the existing discourse. In short, Breivik draws far-reaching conclusions from an existing discourse about the existence of the state.
2. The analytical discussion is in part about the effect of the concept of multiculturalism on Norwegian integration policy. The outcome is that by not defining integration and multiculturalism, different parties – institutions and citizens – can read their own meanings into the concepts. This makes an actual debate about this issue impossible. This complication is confirmed in the narrative of the interviewees. It is interesting that an *unofficial* narrative by the interviewees exists, in which not all cultures are equal, and moreover that not everyone should have equal opportunities. This shows that there is a tension within Norwegian society between the value of diversity and the value of equality. Breivik launched an anti-discourse on multiculturalism, in which he states that *not* all cultures are equal. So, he does not believe that multiculturalism works, he thinks that it is *evil*. Breivik argues that in Europe, the concept of *multiculturalism* is explained as all cultures *are* equal. In this line of reasoning, Breivik's anti-discourse on multiculturalism makes the private narrative of the interviewees public. Breivik states the opposite on the meaning of multiculturalism. His anti-discourse, in which he makes the private narrative about equality public, is illustrated by picture 2, in which the private narrative shows the man imprisoned inside the circle. Breivik wants to break open the private by placing the man outside the circle. He finds it important that people can talk freely about issues, they should not be kept inside a circle, it is time to step out.
3. The analytical discussion in this part is about the effect on the Norwegian integration policy of the key concept of Norwegian society: gender equality. The Norwegian feminists struggle to include every

woman in the 'equal rights' debate. In that sense, integration is lagging behind. The narrative of the interviewees confirmed the feeling that this movement does not look after the objectives of migrant women. Breivik uses the concept of gender equality in this manifest. However, he does not use the term as it is used in the narrative of the interviewees and of the analytical discussion. One could argue that Breivik does use the term, but does not connect it with the *general* meaning of gender equality. In other words, Breivik speaks another language in this part.

4. The analytical discussion in this part is about the effect of the concept of citizenship on the Norwegian integration policy. In section 3.4 it is argued that the increasing inaccessibility to Norwegian citizenship for immigrants complicates the Norwegian integration process. The inaccessibility to Norwegian citizenship is explained through the impossibility of having dual citizenship. The official view is that the immigrants should apply for Norwegian citizenship – this will promote integration. However, the immigrants point out they do not think becoming Norwegian is necessary. More important to them is having a residence permit. Breivik does mention citizenship in his manifest. Following his line of reasoning, access to citizenship for migrants does not exist. He does not want immigrants coming into the country. This means citizenship is not a problem in his ideology.
5. The analytical discussion in this part is about the effect of the concept of ethnicity on the Norwegian integration policy. The outcome is that ethnic categorization will not contribute to integration. The opposite appears to occur, it is stereotyping people. It seems there are contradictory ideas in the narratives about the support for minority organizations based on categorization. Where some point out that this will help integration, others argue against it. Thus, there are competing narratives about this concept. However, it does not seem to lead to tension. Breivik does talk about the term. However, he wants to avoid it. He acknowledges that the term is problematic. Thus, a careful conclusion can be made by stating that Breivik's manifest agrees with the narratives of the interviewees.

The added value of these preliminary conclusions is that this could be seen as ground for a follow-up study. The above proves that Breivik is not a *lone wolf* and that some of this ideology (the welfare state and multiculturalism) can be traced back to the tensions in the analytical and empirical discussion about the integration policy. It is also demonstrated how these possible relations are presented. Generally, it seems that Breivik's ideology continues an existing discourse about the integration policy. In the specific example about multiculturalism - the tension between the equal treatment of different cultures – he turns a private narrative into a public narrative. In the example of the welfare state, he continues the discourse, where the scientific analytical discussion stops. Concluding, the possible tension of the issues of the welfare state and multiculturalism, shows the relation between the Norwegian integration policy and Breivik's manifest.

The relevance of this research is to better understand the origin of such extreme ideologies such as Breivik's as a possible product of society, rather than of another *mad man*. A better understanding of such a product of society will possibly lead to a better handling of such extreme ideologies. It might even prevent an escalation of destructive violence. Interesting for a follow-up study is to investigate the aspect of multiculturalism in more detail. To be more specific: research the private narrative about the value of equality among a more diverse group of Norwegians.

*Picture 2 The captive male*⁸³



83 Picture from my personal collection, made on February 2, 2011

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Appendix

APPENDIX 1A PRACTICAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

Thank you for your time and effort.

Do you mind if I tape the interview?

The thesis will be published on the website of the university. However, the tapes will not. At the beginning of next week I will send you a document with an overview of what we discussed. If you want, I could send you a copy of the final thesis as well.

Before we start I will introduce myself and my research.

I am a Dutch student doing the Human Geography master at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. For this master, I needed to write a thesis that would fit into this program. My interest in Norway started a couple of years ago. Since then, I have been writing about this country. Last year I was studying at the UIO. In addition, I was involved in the AIESEC project, which is how I met Ikhlake.

The subject of my thesis is the integration policy in Norway. During my literature research I found different articles related to this subject. I combined the scientific discourse of the Netherlands with that of Norway. By doing this I found different important issues that were presented in the article and reports. I would like to know what your views and your experiences tell you about these issues. The interview will be conducted in five parts. The first part will contain overall information about you. During the second part, I will ask you questions about the issues. The third will contain more in-depth questions about the issues. The fourth will contain questions concerning the future of Norway. Part five will contain a few closing questions.

A last remark before we start, if there is any question you don't want to answer, please let me know. I will then continue with the next question.

APPENDIX 1B INTERVIEW GUIDE

Part 1 Introduction

Name:

Date:

Email:

Gender:

Function:

Organization:

Internet site:

Current nationality:

Occupation:

Why did you choose this profession?

When did you start at this job?

What does your organization do?

Do you see yourself working in this place for another 5 years?

What does your normal day look like?

Part 2 Verification of the issues

During my research I found different issues that could be important for the integration and immigration policy making. With your experience, do you think that the following issues have an impact on these policies?

Welfare state/Role of the government

Multiculturalism

Gender equality

Citizenship

Ethnicity

European Union

Breivik

Part 3 In greater detail

Let us continue with the issues. I will now put to you various statements on these issues. How are these connected with you and your work?

I will first mention the issue and then I would like to know what your thoughts and experiences are with it?

Welfare state/ role of the government

- ⌚ The welfare state is a much discussed issue among scientists. Some of them argue the future of the welfare state will depend on immigrants, in order to keep the population growing. Do you think that is true? Why(not)?

In her research, Hagelund (2010) points out: “When must the welfare state take steps to curb diversity, and thus choice and autonomy, in order to protect other aims such as social equality, or even, to protect people against themselves?” (p. 80) What are your views on this?

(She is pointing out the dilemma of equality versus diversity)

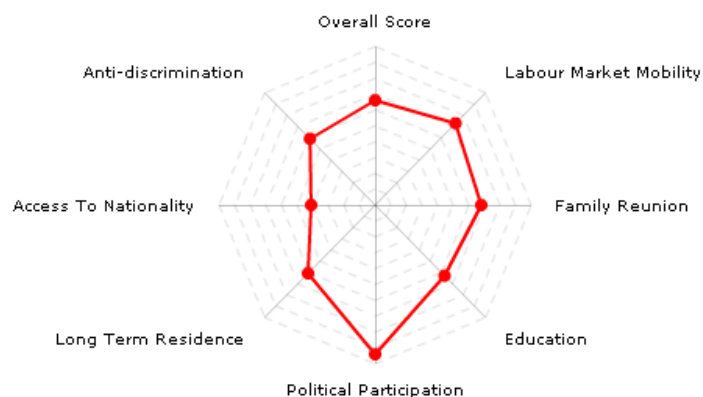
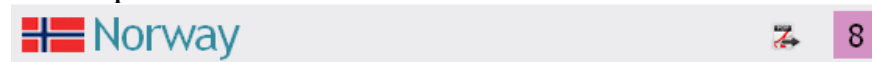
Multiculturalism

3. How would you describe multiculturalism?
4. Is multiculturalism still translated into policy? How?
5. According to Akkerman and Hagelund (...): “In Norway and the Netherlands, one can observe a general shift away from multiculturalism and a growing emphasis on citizenship and social cohesion. Do you agree? Why (not)?

Gender equality

- ⌚ Do you consider gender equality one of the priorities of the Norwegian government?
- ⌚ Do you consider the feminist movement in Norway as powerful? If so, what can I compare it with?
- ⌚ Thun (2012) wrote an article about the powerful feminist movement and their difficulties with minority group women. “I found that minority women are excluded in majority representations of feminism by being defined as 'different' and that there is a boundary between 'Norwegian women' and 'immigrant/minority women' (Thun, 2012, p. 52). Are we able to draw conclusions from this statement? Conclusions we can use in our daily lives?

Citizenship



1. According to MIPEX, Norway has a really good immigration policy. The one thing that stands out is the access to citizenship. Why is that, do you think?
2. Researchers argue that in order to become a citizen, people should adjust. Following this line of reasoning, do you think that becoming a Norwegian citizen (and thus have all the advantages) is a way of exerting pressure to “become” as the Norwegians?

Ethnicity

In the Netherlands, there is at present a discussion about ethnicity. According to some researchers, the terms “Allochtoon” and “Autochtoon” are not useful anymore. Allochtoon means: “a person who at least has one parent that was born in a foreign country”. Whereas an autochtoon is a person with both parents born in The Netherlands. What is your view on this?

Take (2012) wrote an article about the financial support of immigrant organisations in Oslo. She raised the question of ethnicity. Do you think it is still necessary to help people by labelling them? She is talking about the dilemma. How would you explain this dilemma?

Breivik

- Do you think Breivik has changed Norwegian society? If so in what ways?
- Do you think that Breivik will change society in the longer run? If so, how?
- Is the discussion about multiculturalism/integration more open?
- According to Thomas Hylland Eriksen, three main aspects have changed after Breivik
 - Security issues
 - The number of inquiries into the “ethnic version of Norwegian nationalism”
 - The way Norwegians discuss multiculturalism
- What is your opinion about these statements made by Eriksen?
- What could be the reason for the right wing parties in Norway?
- Is there a link with the rest of Europe? If so how?

Part 4 General questions

In my second chapter of the thesis, I will present the “perfect Norway” based on statistics and reports published on the Statistics Norway website, UN and Migration Policy Institute, and many others.

Is Norway really that good?

What makes Norway so good?

What could be improved?

What could lead to the “best results”?

What are the best results?

If you were able to change government policy, what would you change?

Part 5 Finally

Do you have any reading suggestions?

Do you have any suggestions as to what persons to speak with?

Last question:

“Do you think Norway will continue to be the example to the western world, or will it need to look more beyond her borders?”

Thank you for your cooperation

APPENDIX 2A SUMMARIZE OF THE INTERVIEWS

Interview 1

Names: Arne and Brit
Name organization: Bærum Kommune
Key words: Local and Executive
Date: August 12th, 2012: 8.30

Summary

Key players in the Introduction Program at Bearum Kommune. The framework of this program is determined by law (national and international), the implementation is ours (local). It is a matter of rights and duties. There is a great deal of cooperation with the different departments and organizations. Within as well as outside Bærum. The key sentence is: "All are equal, all are different". The changing rules considering language requirements are hard to achieve. Sometimes, we think that this is too much to ask for (Appendix A1).

Interview 2

Name: Baklien
Name organization: Fremskrittspartiet, FRP
Key words: National and legislative
Date: September 13th, 2012, 14.00

Summary

The party has a lot of similarities with the Dutch VVD. The aspect of equality has perhaps been stretched too far in Norway. The FRP is for an open labour immigration policy. However, they are strict on family reunification. People should respect the Norwegian values. The citizenship test should help with the acceptance of our democratic values. Norway should have more room for individual freedom. Breivik thought that we were too soft on immigrants. That is why he left our party. The press in Norway is also subsidized by the government, which makes our job difficult (Appendix A2).

Interview 3

Name: Berit
Name organization: Bærum Kommune, coordinator of 7 youth centers in Bærum
Key words: Local and Executive
Date: August 10th, 2012, 11.00

Summary

The youth centers are open to everyone. They are different in character. It is good to question the welfare state, which makes the system better. Equality means 'equal opportunities'. It does not mean 'the same for everyone'. The citizenship ceremonies are optional. Ceremonies could be important for human beings. We are proud of gender equality. We try to solve the isolation of the immigrant women at Bærum Kommune by involving the mothers in the youth centers. We have to adjust our work to the people living in the municipality. The reaction of the Norwegians after the 22nd of July gave me a good feeling in such times of horror. I hope and think we can keep that idea of an open society and more democracy, and maintain the dialogue. However, it is not because of Breivik, we should not give him any credits. (Appendix A3).

Interview 4

Name: Anonymous 1
Name organization: University of Oslo
Key words: Executive and Scientific

Date: August 29th , 2012, 16.00 (Telephone)

Summary

The telephone call had a structure different from the rest of the interviews. This one was more specifically focused on her research. The refugee organizations are being outsourced to gain efficiency. The welfare society is a partly public and partly privately-owned model, within a generally capitalistic world. It is not a contradiction. The question 'what makes the integration policy in Norway "better" than that of other countries' is too broad a question. It has different aspects. They score better on the employment of immigrants. Society has changed since the 22nd July. It is also more polarized than before. It is more sophisticated. Maybe even more extreme, maybe even more open. I haven't done any research into this subject. After Christmas, it has become more open, although people can be nervous, afraid of saying something wrong (This information is based on her personal opinion, not everything is based on research) (Appendix A4).

Interview 5

Name: Anonymous 2
Name organization: The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi)
Key words: National and Executive
Date: September 3rd , 2012, 16.30

Summary

We implement the policy of the ministry. The most important task is to settle the refugees. The local government has the power, but once the number is determined, then it is up to the administration office. The biggest challenge is housing. "It is a cooperation between all kinds of stakeholders". "Bærum Kommune is doing really well". The goal is to get the immigrants a job. The discussion about the welfare state is about the "stay-at-home payment". Some aspects of the welfare state are good but the outcome can be different. We need the refugees to contribute to our workforce. We are looking for a balance between adapting and keeping one's own identity. I am not sure if Norway has changed due to the 22nd July. Maybe people have now seen that not all terrorists are Muslim, which could be a good thing (Appendix A5).

Interview 6

Name: Anonymous 3
Name organization: Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking, AUF
Key words: Local, legislative
Date: August 21st ,2012, 16.00

Summary

Norwegians are spoiled when it comes to the welfare state. The state has a lot of impact. "We need to get better". AUF wants to adopt policies that the youths want. The goal of multiculturalism is that we should not force it on people. The word multiculturalism does not cover the goods, better are: diversity, tolerance, acceptance and freedom of speech. We should adjust both ways. Gender equality is difficult, due to the fact that different cultures are looking differently at this aspect (stay-at-home payment). It does not matter so much that people do not have citizenship, they have the right to e.g. healthcare. Also Norway is a young, proud country. People should work to become Norwegian. Ethnicity is a matter of generations. Globalization is positive for immigration. Society has changed after 22nd July, has become less naïve. My personal view has changed as well, politically I am more conservative now. The danger is not coming from the immigrants, but from the extreme right. We should be more aware of extremists. The answer is to fight this with love and tolerance. Because Norway wants to be an example we keep pushing (Appendix A6).

Interview 7

Name: Anonymous 4
Name organization: Red Cross
Key words: Local, NGO
Date: August, 9th , 2012, 12.00

Summary

We have a special program called the *refugee guide*. For the refugee program, we get money from the county of Bærum. That is how I am paid. It means that the refugees in the introduction program are sent here. I think equality does not mean that everyone is going to

be completely the same. Norwegians are proud, proud of our value 'equality'. We think that other countries should change into our kind of democracy. It means that issues such as equality and democracy are important. It is challenged, though. The changes relating to gender equality are not easy for the present generation, because they are stuck in-between generations. I think that when you have a document saying you are Norwegian, you will feel more at home, it is better than to fight the system. Society has not changed. Right after the attacks it changed, and will perhaps do so in the next few years, but not in the long run. I thought it was almost provocative how much attention it got. I hoped that Norway could bring that perspective into the debate. It will change for example the security. "Thank god he was Norwegian" (Appendix A7).

Interview 8

Name: Ketil
Name organization: Norwegian People Aid
Key words: National, Executive and NGO
Date: September, 28th, 2012, 13.30

Summary

Norwegian People Aid should also keep the economy stable, but we are not here to provide more money (like HERO). Different families are treating their children differently. Norway has legislation specifically for the protection of women and children. These laws are different from what the refugees are used to. The ones that stay long in our camp are the single individuals and families without children. The question about the welfare state is a major political issue. To me, how to treat asylum-seekers is not a matter of the state, it is a matter of humanity. From my point of view, whether the welfare state depends on asylum-seekers or not is not interesting. We have an obligation to provide people with an opportunity to build a good life. I think we Norwegians excel in talking about equal rights, but I am not sure if we are good at practising it. There is a lot of discrimination and racism in Norway. I am not sure, partly because Norway is a rich country, and when you are rich you tend to take care of your own values and property. Again, I think that Norwegians are good at talking, but I don't see them do much. I think we are good at complaining. Every time something goes wrong we get focused on the problems. Gender equality has connections with multiculturalism. You can live in Norway for 10 years without having a residence permit. It is a human right to be able to work. I would like to think that Norwegian society has changed since the 22nd July, but I don't think it has. I know the Norwegian society. Whenever we have some kind of crisis it will bring people together. But when the crisis is over, the feeling of oneness ebbs away again. We are back to where we were before. Then again, I don't think Breivik achieved what he wanted to achieve (Appendix A8).

Interview 9

Name: Anonymous 5
Name organization: Writer
Key words: National
Date: September, 10th, 15.00

Summary

Before anyone else Khalid was already discussing the topics of diversity and equality. They are both strongly connected. Diversity means sharing the power. That is the key word. We are not interested in sharing the power. The only way to stop talking about integration is to achieve integration. In order to achieve integration you should have equality, in order to have equality you need a power share. That circle is still cut in different places. Look in a society who is having the power, who are sitting at that table? I don't find any meaning in the word integration. Bargaining. How free are the non-whites? I have power in the society. Isms are ideology. There is no use for that. In the old days a passport did not matter. The debate has more nuances (Appendix A9).

Interview 10

Name: Lise
Name organization: Labour party, Arbeiderpartiet
Key words: National, legislative
Date: August, 20th, 2012, 10.00

Summary

Parliamentarian, had been mayor of Drammen for years. Drammen had the first introduction program in Norway. We must have room

for diversity. Human rights are important. Multiculturalism has not failed. The gender equality debates are difficult. How much should we give in? How tolerant are we supposed to be? We are not making the distinction between autochtoon/allochtoon. During my time as mayor, I looked for examples in other countries. After July 22, we may have become more aware, more open to discussion. The internet is really ruthless. We might have to change the rules of the internet (Appendix A10).

Interview 11

Name: Marianne
Name organization: Labour party, Arbeiderpartiet
Key words: National, legislative
Date: August, 13th, 2012, 12.00hrs.

Summary

Parliamentarian for the Labour party.

The way the welfare state should act is an economic and ethical question. There needs to be a balance between the rights and the duties. The right of the children to be protected is more important than culture. "I hate the word multiculturalism". The most important is that we are individuals. Maybe I am angry about the history of this word, because it reminds me of him (Breivik). In my opinion, most people don't want to apply for Norwegian citizenship. That it takes a long time is also to protect the welfare state. I think it is important to make a distinction, in order to provide useful statistical data. We need them to help people. I don't think he changed the structure. He doesn't change how things work here. Something has changed, maybe we have become less naïve (Appendix A11).

Interview 12

Name: Per
Name organization: Aftenposten, national newspaper
Key words: National, Press
Date: September, 18th, 2012, 12.00

Summary

There is a discussion about childcare support. In principle, it is a good idea, but in practice you see that many migrant women stay at home and do not integrate well. The term now is cultural diversity. "Mangfold" is the Norwegian term that is used. It has a positive ring. Multiculturalism is not used in the same way. The integration of women is important. Participating in the labour market is important for integration. Citizenship is not so high on the agenda. It is so easy to speak about people in terms of groups and not of individuals. I would only mention the ethnic background when it is relevant to the case. Often, you can see that people write about it, even though it is not relevant (Appendix A12).

Interview 13

Name: Sinisa
Name organization: HERO
Key words: Local, executive
Date: August 22nd, 2012, 10.00

Summary

Sinisa is from Montenegro. He came to Norway as a refugee, now he is working for HERO. Which is doing almost everything having to do with refugees (money, doctor, housing and food). The policy in Norway is good for refugees, it treats the refugees in almost the same way as the Norwegians. The second generation migrants will not have so many children. Norway is a multicultural country. Gender equality is difficult, especially for the people coming from outside of Europe. Citizenship is easy, identity however is difficult. Also due to the fact that children who are born in Norway do not automatically have the right to citizenship. Ethnicity is not so important. Breivik has not changed society. He has some influence, the media's role is really great, however (Appendix A13).

Interview 14

Name: Tellef
Name organization: HERO

Key words: National, legislative
Date: August, 28th , 2012, 15.00

Summary

Tellef Grønlie is Head of the HERO centre Sandvika. The company needs to make a profit. UDI says that it is a balance between providing a good service and a good price. I talk about business, but I would like to talk about people. I did not study business. We do need immigration. But if we get people who struggle, they will be a drain on the welfare system. The system will not survive as it is today. We are focussing less on multiculturalism, however the Mela festival shows that we still have multiculturalism. It seems natural to me that the feminists are mainly focusing on the difference between the sexes. And it will make it more complicated if they involve issues such as ethnicity and minority groups. I don't know if it is a way of exerting pressure to become Norwegian (citizenship). "I know that they support a lot of organizations. It is probably good to have an environment and a group assisting new Somali women in their integration. I don't see it as money wasted" (Ethnicity). I do think that people are more open to discussion after July 22. We do know how important it is to listen to the right-wing. He did not achieve anything (Appendix A14).

Interview 15

Name: Timothy
Name organization: Ministry of Children, Equality and Social inclusion
Key words: National, executive
Date: August, 14th , 2012, 10.00

Summary

The approach the government takes is that immigrants provide an opportunity to the welfare state. There are challenges, but in general immigrants are a necessary resource for the future development of the welfare state. The official government perspective is that the Norwegian values (if they exist) are grounded in human rights. We tend to say that Norway has a multicultural population, and it has. It is difficult to deny it. We don't necessarily have a multicultural policy as such. I do not think that there is a multiculturalism in Norway, therefore I cannot agree there is a shift. There has been a shift in Norway towards more actively working at assuring that integration does occur. Women with a minority background are not fully represented in the broader main stream debate about gender. That is something the government is actively working towards. The main reason that we do poorly is that we don't have dual citizenship. Without a doubt, the event had an impact on Norway. Whether or not it changed the society is difficult to know. There is an overwhelmingly negative focus on integration. In general, integration is going into the right direction in Norway (Appendix A15).

Interview 16

Name: Jan
Name organization: Bærum Kommune
Key words: Local, Executive
Date: August, 16th , 2012, 10.00

Summary

We are an office with one leg in the social office and one leg in the child's office. In Norwegian society, some things became more private and thus created isolation. That's a problem in Norway. This society contributes to make people feel isolated and lonely. The main purpose is to make sure that people are contributing to society. That means integrating. To me, multiculturalism is like a festival. I am not sure if I would do this kind of registration. It doesn't make any difference. I treat everyone the same, doesn't matter where they are coming from (Ethnicity). The system has not changed. The inhabitants of Norway easily forget. The grief is not greater when a child dies in a "normal" way. It has become more public because the grief is on a national scale (Appendix A16).

APPENDIX 3 DETAILED INFORMATION INTERVIEWEES

Table 6 Detailed information about the work of the interviewees.

Interviews	Level		Power Branch		Other		Private Company
	National	Local	Executive	Legislative	Press	NGO	
Arne & Brit		*	*				
Baklien	*			*			
Berit		*	*				
Anonymous 1			*			*	
Anonymous 2	*		*				
Anonymous 3		*		*			
Anonymous 4		*				*	
Ketil	*		*			*	
Anonymous 5	*						
Lise	*			*			
Marianne	*			*			
Per	*				*		
Sinisa		*	*				*
Tellef		*	*				*
Timothy	*		*				
Jan		*	*				
Migrant I		*	*				
Migrant II		*	*				
Migrant III							
Migrant IV							
Migrant V		*	*				

Appendix A Confidential Transcripts of the interviews